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THE

# LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOLUME CXXXVIII

JANUARY — APRIL, 1875.

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AMERICAN EDITION.

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# LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. CCLXXV.

FOR JANUARY, 1875.

ART. 1.—*The Greville Memoirs: a Journal of the Reigns of King George IV. and King William IV.* By the late Charles C. F. Greville, Esq., Clerk of the Council of those Sovereigns. Edited by Henry Reeve, Registrar of the Privy Council. In 3 volumes. London, 1874. Second Edition.

WE approach the critical examination of the late Mr. Charles Greville's Journal with a sense of more than ordinary responsibility. It has attracted an unusual amount of attention: it has been widely circulated, at home and abroad: our estimate of it differs essentially from that of the great majority of our contemporaries in the Press; and as they have been, we think, unduly prodigal of commendation, the invidious duty is forced upon us of redressing the balance by dwelling more on the demerits than the merits of the book. It has raised, moreover, a question of no slight importance to society: a question which cannot be summarily set aside by assuming that, provided people are interested or amused, it matters little or nothing what feelings are wounded, what confidence is broken, or what reputations are assailed. The very first consideration forced upon us by the perusal was, whether many of the most popular passages ought to have been published for the next fifty years: whether many ought not to have been wholly obliterated or permanently suppressed. But before laying down and applying what we take to be the sound and received doctrine on these points, we must come to a precise understanding as to the position and character of the writer, the conditions or circumstances under which he

wrote, and the moral or honourable obligations imposed upon him.

Only two meagre paragraphs are devoted to his biography by Mr. Reeve:

‘Of the Author of these Journals it may suffice to say that Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville was the eldest of the three sons of Charles Greville (who was grandson of the fifth Lord Warwick), by Lady Charlotte Cavendish Bentinck, eldest daughter of William Henry, third Duke of Portland, K.G., who filled many great offices of State. He was born on the 2nd of April, 1794. Much of his childhood was spent at his grandfather's house at Bulstrode. He was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford; but he left the University early, having been appointed private secretary to Earl Bathurst before he was twenty.

‘The influence of the Duke of Portland obtained for him early in life the sinecure appointment of the Secretaryship of Jamaica, the duties of that office being performed by deputy, and likewise the reversion of the Clerkship of the Council. He entered in 1821 upon the duties of Clerk of the Council in Ordinary, which he discharged for nearly forty years. During the last twenty years of his life Mr. Greville occupied a suite of rooms in the house of Earl Granville in Bruton Street, and there, on the 18th of January, 1865, he expired.’

He was born in a wing or side-building of Burlington House, Piccadilly, which had been lent to his father for a residence. He was admitted a student of Christ Church on the 24th December, 1810, on the nomination of Canon Dowdeswell, having entered as a commoner a few days before. He retained his studentship till December 24th, 1814,—as long as he could retain it without taking a B.A. degree; but he resided or kept only seven terms, from January 1811 to June 1812; when, being then in his nine-

teenth year, he became private secretary to Lord Bathurst. He also obtained a clerkship in one of the public offices; we believe, the Board of Trade. He always regretted that his father's circumstances did not allow of his remaining longer at the University. Once upon a time, pointing out to a lady the rooms he had occupied in his undergraduate days, he paused before a window from which he and two others had dropped after the college gates were closed, to reach a spot where a chaise and four was waiting for them. They dashed off to London to witness the execution of Bellingham, the assassin of Mr. Perceval. Having satisfied their curiosity, or love of excitement, they dashed back again, and were lucky enough to escape discovery.

His net income from his two offices exceeded 4000*l.*; and as, with little or no private fortune, he died worth 30,000*l.*, he was probably a gainer on the turf. He took to it very early in life, and was wont to relate that, having lost 3000*l.* which he was unable to pay, he applied to his uncle, the Duke, who readily lent him the money. As soon as he was in funds, he procured three new Bank of England notes of one thousand pounds each, and presented himself to discharge his debt. 'Oh, no, Charles, keep the money by all means. It will bring you luck. I never meant it as a loan.' Greville made some show of reluctance, and unluckily laid the notes on the table. He was quite sure, he said, that if he had offered a bundle of dirty notes, or a cheque, the Duke would have refused still, but the bright, clean notes were too much for his Grace, who placed them, neatly folded, in his pocket-book, saying, 'Well, Charles, since you insist upon it—but whenever you have a bad time of it come to me.'

Moralising on Lord Bathurst's death, in 1834, after describing him as a very amiable man, with a good understanding, Greville sets down:

'I was Lord Bathurst's private secretary for several years, but so far from feeling any obligation to him, I always consider his mistaken kindness in giving me that post as the source of all my misfortunes and the cause of my present condition. He never thought fit to employ me, never associated me with the interests and the business of his office, and consequently abandoned me at the age of eighteen to that life of idleness and dissipation from which I might have been saved had he felt that my future prospects in life, my character and talents, depended in great measure upon the direction which was at that moment given to my mind.'

When the celebrated Lord Chesterfield was named Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he chose for his secretary Mr. Lyddel, 'a very

genteel pretty young fellow, but not a man of business' (this is his Lordship's description), and addressed him thus: 'Sir, you will receive the emoluments of your place, but I will do the business myself.' It is not recorded that Mr. Lyddel went astray, and attributed his aberrations to Lord Chesterfield. There was a time when the heads of noble or princely houses, in which young men of family were bred up, were expected to keep an eye to their morals as well as their manners; but it was a little too much to expect a Cabinet Minister to direct the studies or pursuits of a private secretary fresh from Christchurch, singularly precocious for his years, with an approving uncle and a (we presume) not disapproving father to look after him. By way of consolatory assurance to the families of other people, Mr. Reeve states that 'the Journals contain *absolutely nothing* relating to his own family.' They contain a carefully composed character of his father, who died in 1832: a short graphic outline of his paternal grandfather and grandmother; and several allusions to his mother, who died July 1863, in her eighty-ninth year. Shortly before her death, a celebrated spiritualist, never dreaming that a man of his age could have a mother living, told him, at a *séance*, that her spirit was in attendance and ready to answer any question he might wish to ask. He coolly replied that this was needless, as he had been conversing with her in the flesh only two hours before. She was a woman of considerable personal attractions, and the Duke of Wellington took much pleasure in her society.

It was all very well in moments of despondency, after a black Monday at Tattersall's or when laid up with the gout, to lament the want of a mentor or good angel in the shape of an old Tory statesman; or to exclaim that, like the bard,

'He was born for much more, and in happier times  
His soul would have burned with a holier flame.'

The direction was already given to his mind: the taint or tendency was too deeply ingrained to be eradicated; and Lord Bathurst may be excused for not discerning a capacity for better things in a man to whom the management of a Royal racing establishment was one of the noblest objects of ambition at twenty-six.

'February 23rd, 1821.—Yesterday the Duke of York proposed to me to take the management of his horses, which I accepted. Nothing could be more kind than the manner in which he proposed it.

'March 5th.—I have experienced a great proof of the vanity of human wishes. In the

course of three weeks I have attained the three things which I have most desired in the world for years past, and upon the whole I do not feel that my happiness is at all increased; perhaps if it were not for one cause it might be, but until that ceases to exist it is in vain that I acquire every other advantage or possess the means of amusement.

'March 22nd.—I was sworn in the day before yesterday, and kissed hands at a Council at Carlton House yesterday morning as Clerk of the Council.'

Two of these three things are obvious; the third is left in doubt. He told a lady who saw the Journal in MS. that the one cause was an unrequited attachment; 'but,' he added, 'it was best for me as it turned out.' He was sadly compromised in a subsequent love-affair which led to a divorce, and left him a store of depressing memories embittered by remorse. He had ample reason more than once to exclaim with Edgar—

'The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices  
Make instruments to scourge us.'

During most of the time covered by the first and second volumes, he lived almost exclusively with the *élite* of the sporting and fashionable world—with the women who ruled Almack's when Almack's was a power, and the men who congregated in the bay window at White's, when White's was a sovereign authority on manners, equipage and dress. His Egeria was Madame de Lieven, and his oracle Henry (Lord) de Ros. As to friendship, he probably agreed with Selwyn, 'When I lose a friend, I go to White's and get another.' He imbibed the prejudices and spoke the language of his clique: as when he 'admires' an opulent and well-connected family, at whose country house he was a frequent visitor, for presenting a specimen of 'contented mediocrity;' or when he calls the Coronation Peers of 1830 'a horribly low set;\*' or speaks of Rogers' 'Human Life' as a failure, and Luttrell's 'Letters to Julia' as a success, although 'Human Life' abounds in genuine poetry, and 'Letters to Julia,' nicknamed 'Letters from a Dandy to a Dolly,' are merely clever sketches of society in verse.

\* The Marquis of Headfort, the Earl of Meath, the Earl of Dunmore, and the Earl Ludlow were created Barons of the United Kingdom; and nine Commoners were elevated to the Peerage:—Mr. Fox Maule (Panmure); Admiral, afterwards Earl, Cadogan (Oakeley); Sir George Bampfylde (Poltimore); Sir Paul Lawley (Wentlock); Sir Edward Lloyd (Mostyn); Colonel Berkeley (Segrave); Mr. Chichester, grandson of the second Marquis of Donegal (Templemore); and Colonel Hughes (Dinorben). Here are thirteen heads of families contemptuously disposed of in a sentence. They were in reality a more than ordinarily distinguished set.

The fastidious aristocrat stands confessed in such passages as these:—

'London, February 22nd, 1833.—Dined yesterday with Fortunatus Dwaris, who was counsel to the Board of Health; one of those dinners that people in that class of society put themselves in an agony to give, and generally their guests in as great an agony to partake of.'

'January 2nd, 1831.—Came up to town yesterday to dine with the Villiers at a dinner of clever men, got up at the Athenæum, and was extremely bored. The original party was broken up by various excuses, and the vacancies supplied by men none of whom I knew. There were Poulett Thomson, three Villiers, Taylor, Young, whom I knew; the rest I never saw before—Buller, Romilly, Senior, Maule, a man whose name I forget, and Walker, a police magistrate, all men of more or less talent and information, and altogether producing anything but an agreeable party. . . I am very sure that dinners of all fools have as good a chance of being agreeable as dinners of all clever people; at least the former are often gay, and the latter are frequently heavy. Nonsense and folly gilded over with good-breeding and *les usages du monde* produce often more agreeable results than a collection of rude, awkward intellectual powers.'

The reflections are just. But the circumstance to which we wish to call attention is, that Charles Buller, John (Lord) Romilly, Senior, Maule (Sir William), and Walker (author of 'The Original'), were, one and all, personally unknown to him in 1831. He never so much as saw Macaulay till the year following, although Macaulay (to say nothing of Cambridge fame) had flashed into full metropolitan celebrity by his article on Milton in 1825.

Fifty years since the two great parties were separated by a strict line of demarcation, except on neutral ground like Almack's, and for some years after his entrance into the great world, Greville (to use his own expression) 'herded' principally with the Tories. His brother, Algernon, was private secretary to the Duke of Wellington, another high Tory tie, which had no slight influence on his early opinions. As he advanced in life he widened his circle and gladly availed himself of his numerous opportunities to cultivate intimacy with men of intellectual mark of every class. Gradually, by dint of tact, temper, observation, and experience, he acquired so high a character for judgment, that he became the popular referee, not only in affairs of honour, but in differences of all sorts, social, literary, and political. Although termed the 'Gruncher,' from his habitual tone, he seemed naturally a kind-hearted man, with a wide range of sympathies, and an unfeigned disinterested eagerness to render useful services and

oblige. Such, at least, prior to these posthumous indications of character, was the impression of those who knew him best; and the portrait of Sir Gawain, as drawn by the Messrs. Whistlecraft in 1813, might have passed for a flattering likeness of Greville in his prime :—

'On every point, in earnest or in jest,  
His judgment, and his prudence, and his wit,  
Were deem'd the very touchstone and the test  
Of what was proper, graceful, just, and fit:  
A word from him set everything at rest,  
His short decisions never failed to hit;  
His silence, his reserve, his inattention,  
Were felt as the severest reprehension.

His memory was the magazine and hoard  
Where claims and grievances, from year to year,  
And confidences and complaints were stored,  
From dame and knight, from damsel, boor, and peer.

Lov'd by his friends and trusted by his Lord,  
A generous courtier secret and sincere,  
Adviser-general to the whole community,  
He serv'd his friend, but watched his opportunity.\*

Some clever verses in a less favourable tone that appeared ten or fifteen years before his death, lead to the conclusion that he was not uniformly successful or satisfactory as a referee. We give a specimen :

'Greville's freaks invite my song,  
Greville always in the wrong;  
Ever plotting, ever peddling,  
Master of all sorts of meddling.  
Does a Lady make a slip  
In morality or scrip,  
Is a quarrel to be made up,  
Or a balance to be paid up,  
Does a husband (wicked wight)  
Stay out very late at night,  
Is a note to be convey'd  
Without bustle or parade,  
To the Turk, the Czar, or Devil—  
Ring the bell and send for Greville.'

In 1845 he published a work which fully justified him in thinking that he might have achieved distinction in a higher arena had he not misemployed or frittered away the talents with which God had gifted him. It is remarkable for breadth and soundness of view, good arrangement, complete mastery of the

\* 'Prospectus and Specimen of an Intended National Work. By William and Robert Whistlecraft, of Stow-Market, in Suffolk, Harness and Collar-Makers.' John Murray. 1817. Canto i., verses xxiv. and xxv. In an entry of June 21, 1818, Greville sets down:—'I dined at Holland House last Thursday. The party consisted of Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Frere, and Mrs. Tierney and her son. After dinner Mr. Frere repented to us a great deal of that part of "Whistlecraft" which is not yet published. I laughed whenever I could, but as I have never read the first part, and did not understand the second, I was not so much amused as the rest of the company.'

subject, and a clear natural style, occasionally rising into eloquence.\*

All things considered, few men could be better qualified for producing a valuable and suggestive record of passing impressions and events. In common, therefore, with the whole round of his acquaintance, we looked forward to the publication of his Journal as to a new source of pleasure and instruction, a rich contribution to history, a repertory of observation and reflexion, a fund of anecdote and wit. Any lurking fear or suspicion that might have been entertained of the anticipated revelations was dispelled by the official position, high character and established reputation of the editor, whose name was accepted as an ample guarantee that the soundest discretion would be exercised throughout, and that no rule of taste or conventional propriety, much less any obligation of honour or principle, would be transgressed. Never, therefore, was surprise greater than ours when we were made acquainted with the contents of these volumes, and learnt from the storm of social reprobation which they called forth that the almost universal impression of Greville's surviving friends and acquaintance was as unfavourable and painful as our own. It may have been—we believe it was—the result of some unaccountable misapprehension of instructions or authority on the part of the editor; but be the cause what it may, we have no hesitation in declaring—what we shall presently prove in detail—that the publication, taken as a whole, is one which no well-constituted mind can regard without indignation and regret.

Mr. Reeve states in a Preface that Greville left the time of publication to his discretion, 'merely remarking that Memoirs of this kind ought not, in his opinion, to be locked up till they had lost their principal interest by the death of all those who had taken any part in the events they describe.' Is this not much the same as saying that they ought not to be locked up till those who might be annoyed or injured by them are dead? In the Preface Mr. Reeve also states (what we fully believe) that, in the discharge of this trust, he has been guided by no other motive than the desire to act in strict conformity with his (Greville's) own wishes and instructions. 'He himself, it should be said,

\* 'Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland.' One vol., 8vo, pp. 373. 1845. This book speedily reached a second edition, but, being published anonymously, seems to have escaped the notice of Mr. Reeve, who does not mention it, although it constitutes Greville's best claim to authority as a political writer and thinker.

had frequently revised them with great care. He had studiously omitted and erased passages relating to private persons or affairs, which could only serve to gratify the love of idle gossip and scandal.'

The Journal is contained in ninety-one manuscript volumes, or copy-books. It is broken by frequent chasms (one of eight or ten years), and it was discontinued some years prior to his retirement from his official life. Shortly before his death, he was much troubled in his mind about the Journal: being undecided what to do with it, and apprehensive that portions ought not to see the light during the living generation, or the next, or not at all. He stated repeatedly that he did not feel equal to a complete revision. He would occasionally take up a volume and make a correction or a note; and we could specify two important erasures suggested by one of the friends to whom the manuscript had been lent. On being reminded that he had been unjust to Lord Lyndhurst (with whom he had always lived in the closest intimacy), he said he really did not remember the passages in question, which (he added) must have been written long ago, and he intimated a wish that they should be struck out; which they would have been had he lived a few days longer. We shall call attention, as we proceed, to many others which could not have escaped the carefully revising hand.

If Greville had lived till 1874, would he have published his journal as it has been published? Would he have been justified in so doing? If not, in what respect does the position of his donee or literary representative differ from his own? The responsibility must rest somewhere; and the essential point is not that the journalist is dead, but that the widows, sons, daughters, and other near relatives or attached friends of the persons offensively introduced (in numerous instances the persons themselves) are alive. If (which we doubt) he really meant the publication to take place so soon after his own personal responsibility was removed by death, he would fall strictly within the principle (we do not say, the letter) of the famous sarcasm levelled by Dr. Johnson against Bolingbroke: 'Sir, he was a scoundrel and a coward: a scoundrel for charging a blunderbuss against religion and morality: a coward because he had not resolution to fire it off himself, but left half-a-crown to a beggarly Scotchman to draw the trigger after his death.'\*

\* Boswell's 'Johnson,' ch. xi. Bolingbroke's 'Philosophical Works,' edited by David Mallet, were published in March, 1754, a few days before this sarcasm was uttered.

A man cannot bestow or bequeath a legal or equitable right he never possessed. No one, morally speaking, has a right to take notes of the private conversation of another, great or small, without his or her knowledge or consent; much less to publish them, or leave them for publication at any time. Shortly after Colonel Gurwood's death, the Duke of Wellington was informed by Sir Charles Smith that Gurwood had been in the habit of taking notes of conversations with the Duke on military subjects. The Duke expressed great indignation at the unwarrantable nature of the proceeding, and immediately wrote to Mrs. Gurwood requesting that the notes might be given up or destroyed; remarking that her husband was no more justified in taking such notes without his (the Duke's) knowledge than in placing a shorthand writer behind the curtains of his dining-room. It turned out that Gurwood, a fortnight before his death, spontaneously and from the pure spirit of honour, had burned the notes, although, from the limited range of topics, they were as inoffensive as notes could be.

There cannot be a stronger example of the manner in which such questions have invariably been judged. Besides, many of Greville's notes relate to proceedings in Council which he had sworn to keep secret. A privileged or official position, inviting the careless confidence of the great, is one which no man of proper feeling would knowingly abuse; and Mr. Reeve suggests rather an aggravation than a palliation when, after dwelling on the liability of those who fill the most exalted stations to the judgment of contemporaries and posterity, he lays down: 'Every act, almost every thought, which is brought home to them, leaves its mark, and those who come after them cannot complain that this mark is as indelible as their fame.' Is this a justification for noting down every unguarded word they may let drop, for depreciating nine-tenths of the public men with whom the diarist comes in contact, for imputing the basest motives to statesmen, and heaping the grossest epithets of abuse on kings? If the marks are to be indelible, there ought surely to be a proportionate amount of caution in affixing them.

We begin with a class of notes which it would be difficult to reconcile with official duty, loyalty, or good faith.

'January 12th, 1829.—Lord Mount Charles came to me this morning and consulted me about resigning his seat at the Treasury. He then talked to me about Knighton, whom the King abhors with a detestation that could hardly be described. He is afraid of him, and that is the reason he hates him so bitterly. When

alone with him he is more civil, but when others are present (the family, for instance) he delights in saying the most mortifying and disagreeable things to him. He would give the world to get rid of him, and to have either Taylor or Mount Charles instead, to whom he has offered the place over and over again, but Mount Charles not only would not hear of it, but often took Knighton's part with the King. He says that his language about Knighton is sometimes of the most unmeasured violence—wishes he was dead, and one day when the door was open, so that the pages could hear, he said, "I wish to God somebody would assassinate Knighton." In this way he always speaks of him and uses him. Knighton is greatly annoyed at it, and is very seldom there. Still it appears there is some secret chain which binds them together, and which compels the King to submit to the presence of a man whom he detests, and induces Knighton to remain in spite of so much hatred and ill-usage. The King's indolence is so great that it is next to impossible to get him to do even the most ordinary business, and Knighton is still the only man who can prevail on him to sign papers, &c. His greatest delight is to make those who have business to transact with him, or to lay papers before him, wait in his ante-room while he is lounging with Mount Charles or anybody; talking of horses or any trivial matter; and when he is told, "Sir, there is Watson waiting," &c., he replies, "Damn Watson; let him wait." He does it on purpose, and likes it.

We need hardly say (although Mr. Reeve could not have been aware of the identity) that Lord Mount Charles is the present Marquis of Conyngham. He comes to consult Greville about a personal matter, and then drops into familiar conversation, in the course of which he tells things which he most assuredly would not have told could he have suspected or guessed that they would be noted down and the worst possible interpretation put upon them. The diary proceeds:—

'This account corresponds with all I have before heard, and confirms the opinion I have long had, that a more contemptible, cowardly, selfish, unfeeling dog does not exist than this King, on whom such flattery is constantly lavished.'

Greville was actually engaged in collecting charges against the Conyngham family, in the least defensible manner, about the very time when he was encouraging the blind confidence of Lord Mount Charles. Henri Heine (in reference to the familiar axiom) said that a hero is not a hero to his valet, because the valet is a valet, not because the hero is not a hero.\* But Greville seems to think that

the valet point of view is the best for forming a due appreciation of a king:—

'August 29th, 1828.—I met Bachelor, the poor Duke of York's old servant, and now the King's *valet de chambre*, and he told me some curious things about the interior of the Palace; but he is coming to call on me, and I will write down what he tells me then.'

On the 16th of the following month he sends for Bachelor and has a long talk. On the 13th of May, 1829, Bachelor called and sat with him an hour, 'telling all sorts of details concerning the interior of Windsor and St. James.' The old valet must have been given to repetition, and the diarist to forgetfulness, for many of these are printed twice over. A single specimen will suffice:

'The influence of Knighton and that of Lady Conyngham continue as great as ever; nothing can be done but by their permission, and they understand one another and play into each other's hands. Knighton opposes every kind of expense, except that which is lavished on her. The wealth she has accumulated by savings and presents must be enormous. The King continues to heap all kinds of presents upon her, and she lives at his expense; they do not possess a servant; even Lord Conyngham's *valet de chambre* is not properly their servant. They all have situations in the King's household, from which they receive their pay, while they continue in the service of the Conynghams. They dine every day while in London at St. James's, and when they give a dinner it is cooked at St. James's and brought up to Hamilton Place in hackney coaches and in machines made expressly for the purpose; there is merely a fire lit in their kitchen for such things as must be heated on the spot.'

These details, like the story of the loaded waggons leaving Windsor every night, are a palpable exaggeration of a current scandal which it could serve no useful purpose to revive. We are subsequently told, on the authority of the Duke of Wellington, that 'when the King died, they found 10,000*l.* in his boxes, and money scattered about everywhere; that there were above 500 pocket-books, of different dates, and in every one money—guineas, one-pound notes, one, two, or three in each; there never was any-

contains an essay on 'Over-Publicity,' which concludes by saying that 'this extreme publicity is a snare and a temptation for the great; that it tends to destroy the just privacy of private life; that it furnishes a worthless occupation for mankind in general; and that it is unwholesome, tedious, detractive, indelicate, and indecorous.' We know no more flagrant case of over-publicity than these Greville Memoirs. At all events, it will be a satisfaction to Her Majesty to know that the present Clerk of the Privy Council is not likely to imitate the bad practices of his predecessor.

\* This saying is attributed to Mr. Carlyle in 'Social Pressure,' by the Author of 'Friends,' in Council.' This thoughtful and agreeable book

thing like the quantity of trinkets and traps they found.' We should have thought that the contents of these pocket-books would have been more tempting and available objects of plunder than the bulky articles which it required waggons to convey. There was a caricature representing a stout lady engaged in removing a stuffed camelopard, which is not much more improbable than the conveyance of the dinners in hackney-coaches and machines.

— The day after Greville had received a special mark of kindness from the King, he sets down:—

'He sleeps very ill, and rings his bell forty times in the night. If he wants to know the hour, though a watch hangs close to him, he will have his valet de chambre down rather than turn his head to look at it. The same thing if he wants a glass of water; he won't stretch out his hand to get it. His valets are nearly destroyed.'

This is cited as a conclusive proof of the King's selfishness: yet it was notorious, from the nature of his complaints, that there were times when the slightest exertion or change of position would bring on an access of pain. What is the use of royal establishments of servants, if they are to do nothing which their master might do for himself? Why should they not be used as what they are—superfluities? As for the ringing of the bell forty times in the night, and the valets being nearly destroyed, these must be classed among those exaggerations of language which so constantly inspire distrust.

Let it be observed, that Greville, on one occasion, sends for the King's valet, and on another calls upon him, for the purpose of collecting these details. What would be thought of a gentleman in private life who should send for the valet of a friend with the view of ascertaining and noting down that friend's maladies and weaknesses? Yet where is the difference between the cases? except, indeed, to the disadvantage of the diarist, who, besides being the intimate friend of the Conyngham family, was basking in the sunshine of the Court, and could have given ample evidence, in the shape of repeated acts of kindness, that it was not all made up of selfishness:—

'December 18th, 1821.—I came to town, went to Brighton yesterday for a Council. I was lodged in the Pavilion and dined with the King.'

'March 19th.—17th.—I received a message from the King, to tell me that he was sorry I had not dined with him the last time I was at Windsor, that he had intended to ask me, but finding that all the Ministers dined there except Ellenborough, he had let me go, that El-

lenborough might not be the only man not invited, and "he would be damned if Ellenborough ever should dine in his house."

Swearing was then the order of the day, and this act of considerate courtesy was not affected by the expletive, evidently noted down to excite a prejudice, like the incident of the Sailor King remarking, 'This is a d—d bad pen you have given me;' or that of George IV. asking the Clerk of the Council, aside at the Council table, whether he was for the horse or the mare—doing (as His Majesty observed to the Duke of Wellington) 'a bit of Newmarket'—probably whilst some formal document was before the Board. Greville must have heard a story highly creditable to George IV., which better merited a place in his Journal than many which he has set down. When Romeo Coates was in the height of his notoriety, some wag sent him an invitation to a party at Carlton House. He went, unconscious of the trick, of which, fortunately, the Regent got timely notice, and gracefully turned the tables by desiring Coates to be presented, and giving him the most flattering reception as an invited and welcome guest. Mr. Meynell Ingram, of Temple Newsham, was staying with his aunt (the Marchioness of Hertford) at the Pavilion, when a large party was expected from London to dine and sleep. He was taken on a tour of inspection through all the bedrooms by the Regent, who remarked, 'You see, Hugo, my boy, when fellows come all the way from Town to visit one, they expect to be made comfortable.'\*

It was not in idle mockery that George IV., when Prince of Wales, was termed the first gentleman of the age, and His Majesty had been so well abused already, that Greville would have been better employed in defending him than in trying to outdo in prose the poetic virulence of Moore, who, besides direct attacks like the 'Lines on the Death of Sheridan,' gives vent to it in places where we should least expect to meet with it. Few of the dames or damsels who warble the beautiful melody, 'When first I met thee warm and young,' and pour their whole souls into the concluding verse, are aware that they are personifying Erin and apostrophising George IV.:

'Go, go, 'tis vain to curse,  
'Tis weakness to upbraid thee;  
Hate cannot wish thee worse  
Than guilt and shame have made thee.'

The scattered accounts of William IV. with the comments on his conduct and esti-

\* *Ex relatione* Mr. Meynell Ingram.

mates of his character, although capricious and contradictory, are so contrived as to leave a bad impression on the whole. The first entry after the accession runs thus :

‘Never was elevation like that of King William IV. His life has been hitherto passed in obscurity and neglect, in miserable poverty, surrounded by a numerous progeny of bastards, without consideration or friends, and he was ridiculous [from his grotesque ways and little meddling curiosity.]’

Turning back to an entry of 1827, relating to the formation of Canning’s Administration, we find—

‘His’ (Canning’s) ‘first measure was, however, very judicious—that of appointing the Duke of Clarence Lord High Admiral; nothing served so much to disconcert his opponents.’

How could this be, if the Duke of Clarence was without consideration or friends?

In imitation of St. Simon and with questionable taste, for the word sounds coarser in modern English than in the seventeenth-century French, Greville constantly speaks of the Fitzclarences as the bastards or *bâtards*. But he was on intimate terms with them, and had no compunction of conscience in laying them under frequent contribution for his diary. Thus, on his way to the Ascot course (June, 1835), he overtook Lord Adolphus, who rode with him, and gave him an account of his father’s habits and state of mind. As this entry has gone the rounds of the papers, we shall only extract a sentence :

‘After breakfast he reads the ‘Times’ and ‘Morning Post,’ commenting aloud on what he reads in very plain terms, and sometimes they hear ‘That’s a damned lie,’ or some such remark, without knowing to what it applies.’

On July 30th, 1830, Greville writes: ‘I tremble for him (the King): at present he is only a mountebank, but he bids fair to be a maniac.’ Within less than four months, all fears and doubts were seemingly at an end:

‘November 17th, 1830.—The fact is, he turns out an incomparable King, and deserves all the encomiums that are lavished on him. All the mountebankery which signalised his conduct when he came to the throne has passed away with the excitement which caused it, and he is as dignified as the homeliness and simplicity of his character will allow him to be.’

One would have thought that the King’s conduct in delaying the creation of peers and accepting Lord Grey’s resignation, would have confirmed Greville’s passing good opinion of His Majesty. Unluckily it had the contrary effect :

‘May 17th, 1832.—His ignorance, weakness, and levity put him in a miserable light, and prove him to be one of the silliest old gentlemen in his dominions; but I believe he is mad, for yesterday he gave a great dinner to the Jockey Club, at which (notwithstanding his cares) he seemed in excellent spirits; and after dinner he made a number of speeches, so ridiculous and nonsensical, beyond all belief but to those who heard them, rambling from one subject to another, repeating the same thing over and over again, and altogether such a mass of confusion, trash, and imbecility as made one laugh and blush at the same time.’

His Majesty may have been too fond of speechifying, and (like all who are so) have said many things that he had better have left unsaid; but we mistrust verbatim reports, especially at second-hand; and it is clear from his own showing that the language Greville puts into the royal mouth is commonly his own; for the King’s speeches, as given in the Journal, are anything but rambling and confused.

On September 21st, 1836, he undertakes to report, between inverted commas, a speech (or part of a speech) delivered on the 20th of August, from particulars supplied to him the day before (September 20th) by a person who spoke from memory unaided by a note. The scene is Windsor Castle :

‘Adolphus Fitzclarence went into his (the King’s) room on Sunday morning, and found him in a state of great excitement. It was his birthday, and though his celebration was what was called private, there were a hundred people at dinner, either belonging to the Court or from the neighbourhood. The Duchess of Kent sat on one side of the King and one of his sisters on the other, the Princess Victoria opposite. Adolphus Fitzclarence sat two or three from the Duchess and heard every word of what passed. After dinner, by the Queen’s desire, “His Majesty’s health, and long life to him” was given, and as soon as it was drunk he made a very long speech, in the course of which he poured forth the following extraordinary and *foudroyante* tirade:—

“I trust in God that my life may be spared for nine months longer, after which period, in the event of my death, no regency would take place. I should then have the satisfaction of leaving the royal authority to the personal exercise of that young lady (pointing to the Princess), the heiress presumptive to the Crown, and not in the hands of a person now near me, who is surrounded by evil advisers, and who is herself incompetent to act with propriety in the station in which she would be placed. I have no hesitation in saying that I have been insulted—grossly and continually insulted—by that person, but I am determined to endure no longer a course of behaviour so disrespectful to me. Amongst many other things I have particularly to complain of the manner in which that young lady has been kept away from my Court; she has been re-

peatedly kept from my drawing-rooms, at which she ought always to have been present, but I am fully resolved that this shall not happen again. I would have her know that I am King, and I am determined to make my authority respected, and for the future I shall insist and command that the Princess do upon all occasions appear at my Court, as it is her duty to do." He terminated his speech by an allusion to the Princess and her future reign in a tone of paternal interest and affection, which was excellent in its way.

'This awful philippic (with a great deal more which I forget) was uttered with a loud voice and excited manner. The Queen looked in deep distress, the Princess burst into tears, and the whole company were aghast. The Duchess of Kent said not a word. Immediately after they rose and retired, and a terrible scene ensued; the Duchess announced her immediate departure and ordered her carriage, but a sort of reconciliation was patched up, and she was prevailed upon to stay till the next day.'

Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence was not the most accurate or discreet of mortals. He was prone to improve upon a story. He did not sit two or three off the Duchess, the whole centre of the table being occupied by the royal family, members of the diplomatic body, the great officers of state, &c.; and a month had elapsed before he made his report to Greville. Against it, we are enabled to set an account of the scene by a highly distinguished person, then a member of the household, who was present, and had, moreover, the best possible opportunities of becoming acquainted with the circumstances which preceded and, in part, led to it.

'The King's constant wish was that the Princess, for whom he entertained the fondest affection, should visit him frequently, in order, as he said, to become acquainted with the details and procedure of public affairs. "I am an old man, and must soon go to my grave. I anxiously wish that the Duchess would let the Princess come to me; but she keeps her away from me." This was not said once or twice; it was constantly before the King's mind, and he referred to it again and again.' Sir Herbert Taylor and our informant expected an explosion on account of this, the fixed idea which possessed their royal master's mind, and waited with corresponding anxiety for the speech. This was delivered in giving the health of the Princess, not, as Greville's report would imply, in acknowledging the toast of 'The King' or 'His Majesty's Health': a toast, we believe, which never is acknowledged. 'After having uttered, in a voice broken with emotion, a panegyric on his niece's character, and pointed to the great position

she must soon be called to fill, he said it had always been his wish to make her acquainted with those rules of conduct by which Sovereigns of the House of Hanover had ever been guided, and also to show her the details of the kingly office, which could only be learnt by personal acquaintance with routine. "But a person that is in my eye," that was his expression, looking the Duchess full in the face, "has taken upon herself to prevent it; but, by God's help, she shan't succeed." Upon this the Duchess looked uncommonly uncomfortable. Somebody (not the Princess) burst into tears; and there was a sort of rustling sound from the whole assembly which drowned the last words of the King's speech. Recovering quickly from his emotion, the King said in his usual firm voice, "Let the band play;" and the band played, and the company recovered its serenity.'

It will be observed that in Greville's report the essential point is missed. The Princess is made an object of the tirade as well as the Duchess; and the grand grievance or gravamen is, that the Princess had been kept, not from personal communication with the Sovereign, but from his Drawing-rooms. As to the 'terrible scene' that ensued when the Royal ladies retired, it existed only in the lively imagination of the narrator, although no doubt they were agitated and distressed.

On July 1st, 1835, Greville reports what he terms "a most curious burst of eloquence from his Majesty." It was addressed to Sir Charles Grey, who (we are told by Mr. Reeve in a note) had just been appointed Governor of Jamaica. Unluckily Sir Charles Grey was not appointed Governor of Jamaica till 1843, six years after the King's death. If the speech was delivered at all, it must have been on Sir Charles Grey's appointment to the Canadian mission with Lord Gosford.

At a small private dinner, including some foreign guests, the King repeated, as an *anecdote*, the toast given by a Duke of Brunswick in the last century at a ceremonial dinner at Windsor. It was in verse, and two of the four lines contain words proscribed by modern delicacy or prudery, although frequently used by classical French writers, male and female, like Madame de Sévigné and Voltaire. Greville actually represents the King as giving the toast—"a very coarse toast"—at a great dinner: 'a dinner of ninety guests, all his Ministers, all the great people, and all the foreign Ambassadors:' in fact, of doing what he described the Duke of Brunswick as having done.

After expressly saying that the King was

'such an ass' that nobody did anything but laugh at what he said, and giving an exaggerated account of a scene with Lord Torrington, Greville adds: 'Torrington is a young man in a difficult position, or he ought to have resigned instantly and as publicly as the insult was given.' Lord Torrington did resign, and the matter was immediately set right: the King requesting that nothing more should be said about it. Would it not have been as well to inquire whether Lord Torrington had resigned before writing down or publishing that he had not?

In reference to the King's approaching death, Greville remarks: 'The public in general don't seem to care much, and only wonder what will happen.' This is in marked contrast to the impressions of a more trustworthy diarist:—

'June, 1837.—The reign is not yet quite a week old, and yet how many strange occurrences and stranger feelings one wishes to recall, that all have passed before the eyes or in the mind in this short space. First, how strange it is that, in thinking of a departed Sovereign, one can from the bottom of the heart pray, "*May my latter end be like his.*" Who that can look back some years—who would have thought that he would have died more loved, more lamented, than either of his predecessors on the throne? . . . .

'It is very interesting to compare the appearance of the town now, with that which it wore after the death of George IV.; then few, very few, thought it necessary to assume the mask of grief; now one feeling seems to actuate the nation; party is forgotten, and all mourn, if not so deeply, quite as unanimously, as they did for Princess Charlotte.\*

In the concluding paragraph of the third volume, qualified with faint praise, it is said that 'he (the King) always continued to be something of a blackguard and something more of a buffoon;' strong expressions to apply to the uncle of the reigning Sovereign, who stands in no need of an invidious contrast to place her grace and dignity of demeanour in broad relief.

The following memorandum was drawn up by the highly distinguished person to whom we have been already indebted, and we print it verbatim:—

'When the King's end approached, Sir Herbert Taylor sent me to London to tell Lord Melbourne that His Majesty wished particularly to go to Brighton; it was thought the sea air might be of service to him. I went to South Street in the morning and found Lord Melbourne at his toilet,

in the middle of the operation of shaving. "Well," he said, "what have you to tell me?" and he continued to shave. I delivered my message. "Well," he said, "and when will the King go to Brighton?" "Never!" I answered. "Never!" said Lord Melbourne, laying down his razor, "what do you mean?" "I mean," I replied, "that the King is dying; he will never leave Windsor alive." Lord Melbourne looked thunderstruck. "Why," he said, "I have never heard a word of this;" and the conversation then turned upon various matters, among which the King's charities were named. "How much does the King give away in charity?" asked Lord Melbourne. "Thirty thousand pounds a year," I replied. "It's impossible," said Lord Melbourne. I said, "But I have seen the Privy Purse accounts often enough to know that what I tell you is fact; and if you will examine those accounts for yourself, you will find what I say true."

'He seemed quite stupefied by the interview, and sat, half shaved, musing—musing. After waiting for several minutes, and finding that he asked me no more questions, I left him, still sitting before his glass, and apparently absorbed in a deep contemplation of his razor. He never moved or spoke as I left the room.'

'The first thing the King did, after his accession, was to pay his debts. He then made equal provision for his children. His eldest son, George FitzClarence, wished to be made a Peer and Governor-General of Australia. The King said repeatedly, "The days of Charles II. are gone by; I will never make an eldest son—you (his children) shall share and share alike." And he kept his word. George FitzClarence then applied to Lord Grey to be made a Peer. Lord Grey made known the fact to the King, who said that he would neither make nor meddle in the affair, and that, if Lord Grey thought proper to make his son a Peer, he might do so on his own responsibility; and Lord Grey did make George FitzClarence a Peer on his own responsibility. No sooner was he created Earl of Munster, than he applied to the King by letter to "*doter*" his Peerage. He used that French word. His letter was read and marked, in the usual course of business, "Dotation for Munster Peerage." 'The King said what he gave him would have to be taken from his brothers and sisters, and as he had steadfastly determined not to imitate Charles II., he absolutely refused his son's application.'\*

\* 'Diaries of a Lady of Quality.' Second edition, p. 296.

\* William IV. would allow no part of his Hanoverian revenue to be spent out of Hanover;

'From so much as I have read in extracts of the "Greville Memoirs," I consider that Mr. Greville knew nothing whatever of the mind of William IV. Of his truthfulness, kind-heartedness, attention to business, simplicity of life, tenderness to the Queen, love of his children, care of his servants, perpetual thoughtfulness and watchfulness for the public welfare, never failing, even when suffering torture from rheumatic gout in hands and feet, to attend levées, sign papers, and make (for a man of his age) considerable bodily exertion, when others would have sent for the doctor and gone to bed—of all these things I suspect Mr. Greville knew, and apparently cared, nothing.'

'The King, at times, was rough and curt in speech: he carried the quarter-deck into the drawing-room occasionally; but who ever heard a low maxim from this thorough Englishman? He gloried in his country, and, according to the faculties which God had granted him, he served it faithfully, passionately, honestly, loyally. He never forgot an old friend—witness those grey-headed old captains of the merchant-service who so often came to see him at Windsor, and who always called him "Your Royal Highness." The manners of the age had undergone a complete revolution between the date of his birth and that of his accession; and a man who can notice certain peculiarities of manner of the last century (or the commencement of this), and attribute them either to madness or innate ill-breeding, must be as ignorant as he is malevolent.'

'No scandal about Queen Elizabeth, I hope,' exclaims Mr. Sneer in the 'Critic.' Greville is not so scrupulous about Queens. After recording a joke of Lord Alvanley's, utterly unfit for publication (which Mr. Reeve italicises), he makes use of confidential communications to point and elucidate it for the benefit of the uninitiated:—

'January 3rd, 1833.—Lady Howe begged her Husband to show me the correspondence between him and Sir Herbert Taylor about the Chamberlainship . . . I told him my opinion of the whole business, and added my strenuous advice that he should immediately prevail on the Queen to appoint somebody else. . . . Lady Howe, who is vexed to death at the whole thing, was enchanted at my advice, and vehemently urged him to adopt it. After he went away she told me how glad she was at what I had said, and asked me if people did not say and believe everything of Howe's connexion with the Queen, which I told her they did.'

and he left accumulations from it to the amount of £300,000 at the disposal of his successor, King Ernest, instead of dividing the money amongst his children.

Then he told her what was notoriously not the fact; and he directly goes on to say that what passed was enough to satisfy him that there was 'nothing in it.' Then why perpetuate the scandal? Are we to suppose that he frequently revised these entries with great care, without its ever once occurring to him that to leave them for publication would be an offence against loyalty, delicacy, and propriety?

After applying sundry offensive epithets to Queen Adelaide's person, Greville does his best, on the strength of a ridiculous blunder, to depreciate her birth and family:

'August 19th, 1834.—On Sunday I went all over the private apartments of Windsor Castle, and walked through what they call "the slopes" to the Queen's cottage; all very splendid and luxurious. In the gallery there is a model of a wretched-looking dog-hole of a building, with a ruined tower beside it. I asked what this was, and the housekeeper said, "The Château of Meiningen;" put there, I suppose, to enhance by comparison the pleasure of all the grandeur which surrounds the Queen, for it would hardly have been exhibited as a philosophical or moral memento of *her humble origin* and the low fortune from which she has been raised.'

'September 4th.—Errol told me she (the Queen Consort) showed them her old bedroom in the palace (as they call it) at Meiningen—a hole that an English housemaid would think it a hardship to sleep in.'

A gentleman who filled a high position in the Queen Consort's household, has supplied us with a note on this passage:

'The housekeeper, at the period referred to, was an intelligent woman, who knew as well as I did that the model in question was one of Altenstein, a ruined "Schloss," which the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen had the idea of converting into a summer residence. The model had been sent to Windsor for the purpose of enabling Sir Geoffrey Wyatville to prepare a plan for restoring the Schloss. The "Schloss" at Meiningen is a vast substantially-built structure in the usual style of German "Residences." The reception rooms were large and handsome, and the private apartments exceedingly comfortable and well furnished.' Is it credible that no better bedroom than a hole could be found in such a residence for a princess?\*

The electoral, now royal, House of Saxony (of which the Houses of Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and Saxe-Weimar are branches) is one of the most ancient and il-

\* According to the 'Penny Encyclopædia,' the Schloss has a frontage of 500 feet with two wings, and contains a library of 28,000 volumes. It is now used for public offices; a new palace having been built for the residence of the ducal family.

lustrious of the reigning Houses of Europe ; and to talk of the humble origin of the daughter of an hereditary prince and sovereign is sheer ignorance or silly affectation.

Little less censurable is the use Greville makes of the details of a disreputable affair, which had been confidentially communicated to him by both parties :—

'August 8th.—There is a story current about the Duke of Cumberland and Lady Lyndhurst which is more true than most stories of this kind. The Duke called upon her, and grossly insulted her ; on which, after a scramble, she rang the bell. He was obliged to desist and to go away, but before he did he said, "By God, madam, I will be the ruin of you and your husband, and will not rest till I have destroyed you both."'

Ten days afterwards, August 18th :

'Yesterday, I met the Chancellor (Lord Lyndhurst) at the Castle at a Council. He took me aside and said that he wished to tell me what had passed, and to show me the correspondence.'

A note is taken of the principal letters, with or without leave, and these are now given to the world. Then (August 22nd) comes Sir Henry Cooke, on the part of the Duke of Cumberland, who wishes Greville to call on him and hear his statement of the facts ; which was that Lady Lyndhurst had begged him to call upon her, then to dine with her, and upon every occasion had encouraged him :—

'I heard all he had to say, but declined calling on the Duke. . . . The Chancellor has since circulated the correspondence among his friends, but with rather too undignified a desire to submit his conduct to the judgment of a parcel of people who only laugh at them both, and are amused with the gossip and malice of the thing.'

It can be only to amuse fresh and similar parcels of people that 'the gossip and malice of the thing' are revived, with a completeness and authority which were wanting at the time and which in no other manner could have been conferred upon them. But, of course, scandal loses its noxious quality, or, at all events, ceases to affect 'private persons or affairs,' when a royal duke is the principal performer in the piece.

Of the Duke of York he says : 'I have been the minister and associate of his pleasures and amusement for some years ; I have lived in his intimacy and experienced his kindness.' Yet the general impression he conveys of His Royal Highness is far from favourable —

'Although his talents are not rated high, and in public life he has never been honourably distinguished, the Duke of York is loved and

respected. He is the only one of the Princes who has the feelings of an English gentleman ; his amiable disposition and excellent temper have conciliated for him the esteem and regard of men of all parties, and he has endeared himself to his friends by the warmth and steadiness of his attachments, and from the implicit confidence they all have in his truth, straightforwardness, and sincerity. He delights in the society of men of the world and in a life of gaiety and pleasure. He is very easily amused, and particularly with jokes full of coarseness and indelicacy ; the men with whom he lives most are *très-polissons*, and *la polissonerie* is the *ton* of his society.'

Considering the times, we might be willing to make allowance for the royal taste in this respect, but Greville takes care to remind us of a few other things, such as owing money right and left—play debts included—which jar a little with the *beau idéal* of an English gentleman ; and His Royal Highness's alleged depreciation of the Duke of Wellington, coming from a Commander-in-Chief who must or might have been acquainted with the truth, is quite irreconcilable with the frank manliness of his character. It does not mend the matter to be told that his dislike of the Duke arose from a belief that he himself would have been appointed to the command of the Peninsular army instead of Sir Arthur Wellesley had not His Royal Highness been 'betrayed.' As the result of various conversations with His Royal Highness, Greville says (what might easily be disproved) : 'I think it not possible for any man to have a worse opinion of another man than the Duke (of York) has of the King.' In the account of the Duchess, the virtues are thrown into the shade by the eccentricities, and she is made to appear not more refined than her husband in point of taste :—

'Her mind is not perhaps the most delicate : she shows no dislike to coarseness of sentiment or language, and I have seen her very much amused with jokes, stories, and allusions which would shock a very nice person.'

The establishment at Oatlands is thus described by the grateful partaker of its hospitality :—

'Oatlands is the worst-managed establishment in England ; there are a great many servants and nobody waits on you ; a vast number of horses, and none to ride or drive.'

The reckless extravagance of the royal host and hostess is illustrated by the sudden break-up of 'an immense party, the most numerous ever known there. The Duchess wished it to have been prolonged, but there were no funds. The distress they are in is inconceivable.'

The second novel of Boccaccio is the story of the conversion of a wealthy French Jew, which was brought about by a journey to Rome, where he was irresistibly struck by the dissolute habits, impiety, and immorality of the hierarchy and priesthood, from the Pope downwards. Seeing that the Christian religion flourished in spite of all they had done and were doing to discredit it, he came to the conclusion that it must be the truest, the most divine, and was baptized into it forthwith.

On reverting to this novel, it occurred to us that the Clerk and the Registrar of Her Majesty's Privy Council, in their capacity of loyal servants of the Crown, must have meditated the conversion of republicans by an analogous train of reasoning; or why, in a book blazoning their official designations on the title-page, should they have accumulated so many alleged instances of royal vice and folly, except for the purpose of demonstrating the inherent excellence of the monarchy which stands unshaken by the strain? At the same time it may be as well to bear in mind that vice and folly in princes have generally proved less dangerous to free institutions than morality, sobriety, and fixed principles of right. Charles I., a pattern of the domestic virtues, tried to arrest the five members in defiance of the privileges of Parliament, and died on the scaffold. Charles II., a selfish sensualist, passed the Habeas Corpus Act, and died quietly amongst his courtiers, courteously apologizing to them for being so long about it, and leaving a safe throne to his more conscientious brother, who bartered it for a Mass.

Lord Byron said or sang of George III. :—

'A better farmer ne'er brush'd dew from lawn.'

Nor, we would add, a better husband or father of a family; but he prolonged the American War of Independence and indefinitely postponed the conciliation of Ireland (which we begin to think never will be conciliated) by dogged adherence to his principles. He had a strong will of his own, and never fully accepted or acted on the constitutional doctrine, *Le Roi règne et ne gouverne pas*. George IV. behaved unexceptionally in this respect. He never insisted long on a line of policy disapproved by his responsible advisers; and the capital charge on which satirists rang the changes was, that he had no personal leanings or was always ready to sacrifice them to expediency.

'I am proud to declare I have no predilections,  
My heart is a sieve, where some scatter'd affec-  
tions

Are just danced about for a moment or two,

And the *finer* they are, the more sure to run through.\*

William IV., again, although he jibbed a little when he thought the Reform Ministry were driving him too fast, held the balance fairly between the conflicting parties, and seemed simply anxious to consult the welfare of his people and carry out their constitutionally expressed wishes.

It is almost superfluous to add that, whilst indicating the causes which have happily prevented preceding monarchs from weakening monarchy by their extravagance or their eccentricity, we are not blind to the vast increase of strength it has acquired from a reign like the present, in which the domestic virtues of the Sovereign have been no less eminent than her enlightened appreciation and observance of the true spirit of our institutions.

Greville speaks in the same disparaging manner of the great landed aristocracy; admitting all the while that they are the bulwarks of the throne. 'What great men are Lord Lonsdale, the Duke of Rutland, and Lord Cleveland; but strip them of their wealth and power, what would they be? Amongst the most insignificant of mankind.' This recalls Crambo's attempt to form an abstract notion of a Lord Mayor without his furred robe, gold chain, and other ensigns of his dignity.

It is not unusual for Greville to lay down a rule for his own condemnation. In the affair of 'Who's the Traitor?' the charge against Sheil was, that he had approved in private a measure (the Irish Coercion Act) which he had publicly opposed.

'Hill (the accuser) called witnesses; one of whom, Macaulay, refused to speak. He said he would not repeat what had been said in private conversation. The Committee approved, and Hill threw up his case.'

Sir Francis Burdett went further than Macaulay, saying, that his memory was so constituted as not to retain any conversation that passed at or after dinner. Greville calls it 'a silly and discreditable business.' Yet he himself, if summoned as a witness in such a case, might have been served with a *subpœna duces tecum* and required to produce his notes. To name one occasion among a score, he writes down two private conversations with Lord Melbourne, for the express purpose of establishing a charge of political treachery, very similar to that against Sheil.

Whilst the Reform Bill was yet pending (April 1st, 1832), he represents Lord Mel-

\* Moore's 'Parody of a Celebrated Letter.'  
(From the Regent to the Duke of York.)

bourne intimating a wish that it might be thrown out, and asserting that the Government could not be carried on without the rotten boroughs.

'We had a great deal more talk, but then it is all talk, and *à quoi bon* with a man who holds these opinions, and acts as he does?'

Greville was obviously prone to confound what he himself said in the course of conversation with what was said by others, and to mistake a partial agreement, or a courteous non-denial, for unequivocal assent. Lord Melbourne may have regretted the loss of the rotten boroughs, whilst convinced of the impossibility of retaining them. Every sane politician must have felt that it had become impossible. Even Canning, their most eloquent advocate, must have given them up in 1832.

On February 7th, 1832, Lord Melbourne 'extremely surprised' him by stating 'that all the members of the Cabinet were *bond fide* alarmed at, and averse to, the measure (the Reform Bill).'

'We then parted. Downstairs was Rothschild the Jew waiting for him, and the *calet de chambre* sweeping away a *bonnet* and *shawl*!'

It is a pity he did not peep into the dining-room to see if covers were laid for two.

'Stanley (not the ex-Secretary, but the Under-Secretary) told me last night an anecdote of Melbourne which I can very easily believe. When the King sent for him he told Young "he thought it a damned bore, and that he was in many minds what he should do—be Minister or no." Young said, "Why, damn it, such a position never was occupied by any Greek or Roman, and, if it only lasts two months, it is well worth while to have been Prime Minister of England." "By God, that's true," said Melbourne; "I'll go." Young is his private secretary—a vulgar, familiar, impudent fellow, but of indefatigable industry, and a man who suits Melbourne.'

Lord Melbourne, careless and frank, had a high-bred air which repelled undue familiarity. Tom Young's manner towards him was invariably respectful: rather that of an upper servant than of an equal, or of an intimate member of his society, which, indeed, Young never was. His business was to make himself generally useful. The style of the remonstrance, too, is entirely out of keeping with the character. Greeks and Romans were not at all in Young's line. He began life as a purser; and Greville says he was a writer and runner for the newspapers, which is only half true. He was a runner, not a writer.\*

\* Lord Houghton says in his 'Monograph of Sydney Smith': 'He was, indeed, not given to

The only statesman or public man of note whom Greville does not systematically depreciate, is Canning, a connection through the Bentincks; and the refusal to join Canning was, we fancy, at the bottom of his persistent hostility to Lord Grey.

'June 17th, 1827.—Lord Grey is in such a state of irritation that he will hardly speak to any of his old friends, and he declares that he will never put his foot in Brookes's again.'

This is sheer fabrication.

'More than this' (continues Greville), 'when it was the unanimous opinion of all the Whigs who joined Canning, that they could not join an Administration of which Peel formed part, this opinion was warmly combated by Lord Grey, who contended that there was no reason why they should not coalesce with Canning and Peel.'

Lord Grey had formally declared in 1812, that he would be no party to any Government which was not formed on the principle of carrying Catholic emancipation.\* Canning's Government was formed on the neutral or open question principle, like Lord Liverpool's. The junction with Peel would have confirmed Lord Grey's objections instead of removing them, and to assert that he contended for it is absurd.

'What induced him to alter his opinion so decidedly and to become so bitter an enemy to the present arrangements does not appear, unless it is to be attributed to a feeling of pique and resentment at not having been more consulted, or that overtures were not made to himself. The pretext he took for declaring himself was the appointment of Copley to be Chancellor, when he said that it was impossible to support a Government which had made such an appointment.'

He could not alter an opinion he never entertained: and he had no need of a pretext for acting on his known and frequently declared views. He, moreover, had distrusted Canning since 1806.

We pass on to December 12, 1830, the third week of the Reform Administration; when, after expressing his conviction that a more overrated man than the new Premier never lived: that he was influenced by pride,

severe censure, but could convey it under light words when he chose; thus, when he checked the strong old-fashioned freedom of speech in Lord Melbourne, by suggesting that "they should assume everything and everybody to be damned and come to the subject." Sydney Smith never addressed Lord Melbourne in this fashion.

\* Letter of Lords Grey and Grenville to the Duke of York, dated Feb. 15, 1812, published in the Appendix to 'The Life and Opinions of Charles, second Earl Grey;' by his son, General Grey.

still more by vanity, caprice, and 'a thousand weaknesses:' that 'anybody who is constantly with him, and can avail *themselves* of his vanity, can govern him;' that 'now Lambton (Lord Durham) is all in all with him'—Greville proceeds:

'Everybody remembers how Lord Grey refused to lead the Whig party when Canning formed his junction with the Whigs, and declared that he abdicated in favour of Lord Lansdowne; and then how he came and made that violent speech against Canning which half killed him with vexation, and in consequence of which he meant to have moved into the House of Lords for the express purpose of attacking Lord Grey. Then when he had quarrelled with his old Whig friends he began to approach the Tories, the object of his constant aversion and contempt; and we knew what civilities passed between the Bathursts and him, and what political coqueties between him and the Duke of Wellington, and how he believed that it was only George IV. who prevented his being invited by the Duke to join him. Then George IV. dies, King William succeeds; no invitation to Lord Grey, and he plunges into furious opposition to the Duke.'

Here again is a mass of misstatement, with the exception of what relates to the speech against Canning and its effects. Any one would suppose that the Whigs went over in a body to Canning; the fact being that Lord Althorpe, Lord Folkestone, Lord Howick, Sir John Hobhouse, and several others, stood aloof with Lord Grey, who was not required to abdicate. If he did abdicate, when and why did he resume the leadership?

After the lamentable break-up of Lord Goderich's Government, Lord Grey saw no prospect of any but the Duke's, and was, therefore, unwilling to oppose it, until the Duke crossed the Rubicon by his memorable declaration against Reform. This, not the death of George IV., was the turning-point. We have the best authority for stating, as matter of fact, that Lord Grey never contemplated joining the Duke at any time: that no political coqueties passed between them, and that no advance towards a junction was ever made on either side; although it is just possible that feelers may have been put forth by the Duke's friends.\* As matter of probability or speculation, if Lord Grey was not only ready to give up the proud position he occupied as leader of the Whig party, but eager to join the Duke of Wellington after refusing to support Can-

ning, all we can say is, he must have been smitten with political blindness of the most unaccountable kind. The grand opportunity for which he had patiently waited was obviously at hand; the Tories were getting weaker and weaker; the Reform cry was in the wind; and this is the time when, towards the close of a consistent and honourable career, he was willing (we are assured) to fling principle and consistency to the winds, to coalesce with the objects of his 'constant aversion and contempt.'

There is not, we repeat, the semblance of plausibility in these charges against Lord Grey, nor are they strengthened by what comes next:

'About three years ago the Chancellor, Lyndhurst, was the man in the world he abhorred the most; and it was about this time that I well recollect one night at Madame de Lieven's I introduced Lord Grey to Lady Lyndhurst. We had dined together somewhere, and he had been praising her beauty: so when we all met there I presented him, and very soon all his antipathies ceased, and he and Lyndhurst became great friends. This was the cause of Lady Lyndhurst's partiality for the Whigs, which enraged the Tory ladies and some of their lords so much, but which served her turn and enabled her to keep two hot irons in the fire. When the Duke went out Lord Grey was very anxious to keep Lyndhurst as his Chancellor, and would have done so if it had not been for Brougham, who, whirling Reform *in terrorem* over his head, announced to him that it must not be.'

If Lord Lyndhurst had consented to be Lord Grey's Chancellor he must have adopted Lord Grey's views and become a Reformer, which, by the way, he might have become without more sacrifice of principle than three or four members of Lord Grey's Cabinet who had been as vehement anti-Reformers as himself. It seems agreed on all hands that no offer was actually made to him, and the notion that he would have accepted it, has no better foundation than the language and conduct of his wife.\* Except when he acted with the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, there is no act of Lord Lyndhurst's public or political life that

\* 'Sept. 24th, 1831.—Dined at Richmond on Friday, with the Lyndhursts. The *maris* talks against the Bill; the woman for it. They are like the old divisions of families in the Civil Wars.' This was Lord Lyndhurst's first wife, who died in January, 1834. His second wife, whom he married in August, 1837, a woman of sense and spirit, always looked up to him with reverential affection, and, from her devotion to his memory, no one has been more severely wounded by this book. She, like her lamented husband, was one of Greville's most intimate friends, and conversed with him on the subject of his Journal a few hours before his death.

\* Mr. Frankland Lewis (we have heard) sounded Lord Grey and reported that *some* measure of Reform was a *sine quâ non*. The Duke had taken his ground on Reform when he broke with Huskisson.

can be fairly adduced in impeachment of his consistency.

On April 9th, 1835, the day after Peel's ministry had resigned, Greville sets down:—

'Lord Grey is to be with the King this morning. He was riding quietly in the Park yesterday afternoon, and neither knew nor cared (apparently) whether he had been sent for or not. His daughter told me (for I rode with them up Constitution Hill) that his family would not wish him to return to office, but would not interfere. She then talked, much to my surprise, of the possibility of a junction between him and Peel.'

The daughter has no recollection of the incident. Lord Grey advised the King to send for Lord Melbourne: all thought of his own return to office had been given up, and nothing of the sort could have been said.

Whatever Greville's judgment may have become eventually, no reliance could be placed upon it during most of the time included in this publication. He had no insight into character. He saw little or nothing in many of his most distinguished contemporaries until their eminent qualities were recognised by the world. Turn, for example, to his first impressions of Prince Leopold (the King of the Belgians), Lord Auckland, Lord Palmerston, Sir James Graham, the late Earl of Derby, Lord Melbourne, the Duke of Wellington, &c. Although he saw fit to change or modify these impressions before he died, and has left notes or memoranda to that effect, they are not the less a test of his original powers of observation; nor can we accept them as what the editor calls 'a contemporary record of opinion, honestly preserved.' They are the opinions of a cross-grained individual who differed widely from his contemporaries, and (except perhaps when the progress of a master-mind, a really superior intellect, is to be traced) we see no use in preserving the opinions of an individual when he was confessedly wrong.\*

On the formation of Lord Grey's Government, November 20, 1830, he sets down:—

'Graham Admiralty, Melbourne Home, Auckland Board of Trade—all bad. The second is too idle, the first is too inconsiderable, the third too ignorant.'

The editor remarks in a note:—

\* Speaking of Guizot in 1830, he described him as 'unused to and unfit for official business.' This Mr. Reeve terms 'a curious estimate, taken at the time of the man who for the next eighteen years had a larger share of official life and business than any other Frenchman.'

'This is a remarkable instance of the manner in which the prognostications of the most acute observers are falsified by events. The value of Mr. Greville's remarks on the men of his time consists not in their absolute truth, but in their sincerity at the moment at which they were made. They convey a correct impression of the notion prevailing at that time.'

They do *not* convey a correct impression of the notion prevailing at that time. We can show from the Journal that they do not. Three weeks afterwards (December 12), reviewing Graham's career, he says:—

'Time and the hour made him master of a large but encumbered estate and member for his county. Armed with the importance of representing a great constituency, he started again in the House of Commons; took up Joseph Hume's line, but ornamented it with graces and flourishes which had not usually decorated such dry topics. He succeeded, and in that line is now the best speaker in the House.'

Why is the term 'inconsiderable' applied to such a man? This is explained in the same entry:—

'Graham's elevation is the most monstrous of all. He was once my friend, a college intimacy revived in the world, and which lasted six months, when, thinking he could do better, he cut me, as he had done others before. I am not a fair judge of him, because the pique which his conduct to me naturally gave me would induce me to under-rate him, but I take vanity and self-sufficiency to be prominent features of his character, though of the extent of his capacity I will give no opinion. Let time show; I think he will fail.'

If confessedly not a fair judge, why not withhold a judgment? The odd thing about Greville is, that self-examination never acts on him as it does on most others. It exercises no restraining, improving influence on his conduct or his mind. He is like one of the frail *dévotés*, of whom we read in Catholic countries, who confess, receiving absolution, and start fresh.

Reverting to Lord Melbourne, he says: 'He has surprised all those about him by a sudden display of activity, vigour, rapid and diligent transaction of business, for which nobody was prepared.' No one who understood Lord Melbourne was surprised, and all who saw below the surface would have agreed with Sydney Smith when, after avowing a belief that 'our Viscount is somewhat of an impostor,' he remarks: 'I am sorry to hurt any man's feelings, and to brush away the magnificent fabric of levity and gaiety he has reared; but I accuse our Minister of honesty and diligence.'

Assuming that Greville's estimates, confessedly superficial and unsound, convey the

popular impression of the time, this would prove him an accurate foolometer at best. A collection of vulgar errors may have its uses, but the praise of a 'most accurate observer' can hardly be claimed for the collector who believes in each of them till it is corrected by events.\*

With the exception of Lord Grey, the statesman whom Greville most perseveringly vituperates is Peel:—

'December 15th, 1836.—It is very true (what they say Peel said of him, the Duke of W.) that no man ever had any influence with him, only women, and those always the silliest. But who are Peel's confidants, friends, and parasites? Bonham, a stock-jobbing ex-merchant, Charles Ross, and the refuse of society of the House of Commons.'

Peel was constantly on the look-out for rising men of talent, who became his attached followers and friends. The late Duke of Newcastle, the late Lord Herbert of Lea, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Cardwell, are prominent examples.

In reference to the ministerial interregnum after the resignation of the Reform Cabinet, Greville writes:

'May 17th, 1832.—The first impression was that the Duke of Wellington would succeed in forming a Government, with or without Peel. The first thing he did was to try and prevail upon Peel to be Prime Minister, but he was inexorable. He then turned to Baring, who, after much hesitation, agreed to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. The work went on, but with difficulty, for neither Peel, Goulburn, nor Croker would take office. They then tried the Speaker (Manners-Sutton), who was mightily tempted to become Secretary of State, but still doubting and fearing, and requiring time to make up his mind. At an interview with the Duke and Lyndhurst at Apsley House he declared his sentiments on the existing state of affairs in a speech of three hours, to the unutterable disgust of Lyndhurst, who returned home, flung himself into a chair, and said that "he could not endure to have anything to do with such a damned tiresome old bitch."

If Lord Lyndhurst did use such an expression, he had high authority for it. 'What's the matter with the auld bitch next?' said an acute metaphysical judge,

\* If Greville's estimate of the Reform Ministry had been correct, they must have speedily broken down from sheer incapacity. He says of the Duke of Richmond, that 'his understanding lies in a nutshell, and his information in a pin's head,' of Stanley, the late Earl of Derby, the political Rupert, that 'he does not appear to be a man of much moral or political firmness and courage, a timid politician, *ignavus adversum lupos*,' of Lord Althorpe, that, 'he would certainly go out in a few months, and that he would go on the turf.'

though somewhat coarse in his manners, aside to his brethren. 'This is a daft cause, Bladderscate . . . What say ye till't, ye bitch?\*' Sir Walter adds, in a note, that 'tradition ascribes this whimsical style of language to the ingenious and philosophical Lord Kaimes.'

The subject of the Tory failure to form a Government is resumed in an entry of October 26th, i. e. after an interval of six months, during which Greville had recently 'picked up' a good deal from Arbuthnot (described as 'very garrulous'), which he sets down as undoubted fact. Then comes the broad general conclusion, which is to annihilate Sir Robert:—

'I am not sure that I have stated these occurrences exactly as they were told me. There may be errors in the order of the interviews and *pourparlers*, and in the verbal details, but the substance is correct, and may be summed up to this effect: that Peel, full of ambition, but of caution, animated by deep dislike and jealousy of the Duke (which policy induced him to conceal, but which temper betrayed), thought to make Manners-Sutton play the part of Addington, while he was to be another Pitt; he fancied that he could gain in political character, by an opposite line of conduct, all that the Duke would lose; and he resolved that a Government should be formed the existence of which should depend upon himself. Manners-Sutton was to be his creature; he would have dictated every measure of Government; he would have been their protector in the House of Commons; and, as soon as the fitting moment arrived, *he would have dissolved this miserable Ministry* and placed himself at the head of affairs. All these deep-laid schemes, and constant regard of self, form a strong contrast to the simplicity and heartiness of the Duke's conduct, and make the two men appear in a very different light from that in which they did at first. Peel acted right from bad motives, the Duke wrong from good ones.'

How (if this were true) could Peel be said to have acted right in any sense? That he should have formed such a scheme, that he should have deemed Manners Sutton equal to the emergency, that he should have entertained a momentary hope or thought of keeping such a man Prime Minister long enough to play the part of Addington to his Pitt—all this is so widely improbable, so out of keeping with his admitted sagacity, that Greville should at least have looked closely to his facts; but from a subsequent entry (January 3rd, 1833) it is clear that the suggestion to propose the Premiership to Manners Sutton came from Vesey Fitzgerald, not from Peel; the pith of the sweeping charge against Peel being that it was he who

\* 'Red Gauntlet,' chap. i.

wanted to place Sutton in a position to serve as his warming-pan.

'It is remarkable,' concludes Greville, 'that this story is so little known.' Which story? for we have been told two or three. 'Story! God bless you, I have none to tell, Sir.' We knew long ago all that could be known or was worth knowing about these negotiations, namely, that some of the Tory leaders tried to form a Government, which the more sagacious among them felt to be an impossibility from the first: that there were sundry meetings and conferences ending in nothing; that Peel attended none of them, holding firmly and consistently aloof: that the event did honour to his foresight; and that, instead of losing caste or credit, he was thenceforth regarded as the man on whom the future of the great Conservative party must mainly, if not exclusively, depend. That the Duke of Wellington so regarded him, is placed beyond a doubt by the mission of the 'hurried Hudson' in 1834.

On March 22nd, 1835, Greville sets down:—

'Old Sir Robert, who must have been a man of exceeding shrewdness, predicted that his (the son's) full energies would never be developed till he was in the highest place, and had the sole direction of affairs; and his brother Lawrence, who told this to Henry de Ros, said that in early youth he evinced the same obstinate and unsocial disposition, which has since been so remarkable a feature of his character.'

With reference to this paragraph (which was quoted in the 'Edinburgh Review' as one of the gems of the book) Mr. Lawrence Peel writes thus, November 17th, 1874:

'It is impossible I could have said anything of the sort. My eldest brother being thirteen years older than myself, I could have had no opportunity of forming an opinion of his character during his boyhood; and the one attributed to me in this passage is contrary to what I remember having heard my father and other members of my family express, and to the impression made upon my mind by all I ever knew of my brother. Having always entertained the highest opinion of his public and private character, it distresses me greatly to find my name employed in support of an opinion which all who were intimately acquainted with him must know to be incorrect.'

As it is not usual to quote a living against a dead brother, we presume that Mr. Lawrence Peel's existence was forgotten, like that of Lord Conyngham and Lord Torrington.

The Reform Bill was to Greville what the red flag is to the bull. It irritated him to wildness. He saw in it the ruin of our most

cherished institutions, including his sinecure and his place. He indiscriminately assails both the supporters and opponents of the measure, although we should have thought that one of the two conflicting parties must have been to some extent in the right. He does not even spare the 'waverers,' although he acted with them.

'March 26th, 1832.—Ten days since I have written anything here, but *en revanche* I have written a pamphlet. An article appeared in the "Quarterly," attacking Harrowby and his friends. Wharnccliffe was so desirous it should be answered that I undertook the job, and it comes out to-day in a "Letter to Lockhart, in reply," &c. I don't believe anybody read the last I wrote, but as I have published this at Ridgway's, perhaps it may have a more extensive sale.'

This pamphlet was a poor performance, loose in style, and weak in argument. The article to which he replied was not written (as he with characteristic haste and inaccuracy assumed) by Mr. Lockhart, but by Mr. Croker, who contended that, if the measure were to be effectually opposed, the Lords should take the decided course of throwing out the Bill and defy the Government to create peers. It would be fatal, he argued, to admit the principle by voting for the second reading. Greville counselled a different course, maintaining that, if the Bill were suffered to go into Committee, its most objectionable provisions might be struck out or neutralised, and that the Government would not venture or be permitted to create peers to carry matters of detail. His counsels were followed, and a diametrically opposite result ensued. An amendment\* (Lord Lyndhurst's) carried in Committee led to the resignation of Lord Grey, who urged, with irresistible force, that, the principle of the Bill having been admitted by their Lordships, they were pursuing a factious course in trying to overthrow it by a side-wind. Greville's tactics utterly failed, and he consoled

\* The object of Lord Lyndhurst's amendment, which brought on the crisis, was the postponement of the disfranchising clauses. When Mr. Charles Wood (Lord Halifax) urged that they must be taken first, Greville says: 'He talked a great deal about the country expecting this, and that they would not be satisfied if it was not done, and all the usual jargon of the Reformers, which it was not worth while to dispute.' The event speedily proved that Lord Halifax had formed the correct estimate of the situation. Greville, knowing nothing of the greater public, fancied that a nation's destiny could be decided by a party manoeuvre or intrigue conducted by himself and De Ros. His summary of the beneficial results of the measure which he dreaded and decried is one of the most remarkable passages in the book. (See vol. iii. p. 29.)

himself by throwing the blame on the two noble Lords who acted on them.

'The unfortunate thing is that neither of our cocks is good for fighting, not from want of courage; but Harrowby is peevish, ungracious, and unpopular, and Wharnccliffe carries no great weight.'

Greville's fussifying efforts to stop the Reform Bill irresistibly recall the image of Mrs. Partington endeavouring to keep out the Atlantic with her mop. But however slightly he was mixed up in an affair, he fancied himself the motive power in it; and he was apt to think that he was doing a great deal when he was really doing nothing. If we are to believe him, the partial support the leading journal gave to the Conservative Government of 1834-35, was entirely owing to him and Lord de Ros. He states (November 24th, 1834) that Barnes, the editor, 'was much gratified by an offer Lyndhurst made to see him, and proposed a meeting: that 'a gastronomic ratification was to wind up the treaty between these high contracting parties: that Barnes dined with Lord Lyndhurst at a dinner expressly made for him: that it was a badly composed party for the purpose; and that the dinner made a great uproar, as he (Greville) thought it would.

Lord Lyndhurst and Barnes were college friends of long standing, and Barnes was an active member of Lord Lyndhurst's committee, when he stood for the University of Cambridge in 1826. They had been always on the most intimate terms; and it was remarked that, in the height of the Reform conflict, nothing personally offensive to Lord Lyndhurst ever appeared in the 'Times.' They certainly stood in no need of Lord de Ros or Greville to bring them together; the dinner was an ordinary dinner; and that it made 'a great uproar,' is about as true as that the conciliatory tone of the all-powerful journal towards the Conservative Government was (as Greville states) adopted at the suggestion of Lord de Ros.

'No man,' we are assured in the preface, 'was more disinterested in his judgments on public affairs, for he had long made up his mind that he had nothing to gain or to lose by them.' On the contrary, he had made up his mind that he had a great deal to gain or lose by them; that half, if not the whole, of his income was at stake. He worked with might and main for the party that was least hostile to sinecures; and he came forward in due season to claim at their hands the preservation of his own.

'June 30th.—Yesterday I went to the Duke of Wellington and gave him my case to read,

requesting him to exert his influence with his Tories, and get them to attend the Committee and defend me there. He read it, approved, and promised to speak to both Peel and Herries. I had previously desired George Dawson to speak to Peel. I might certainly, after the very essential services I rendered Peel and his Government, go with some confidence to Peel or any of them and ask for their aid in my difficulty; but it is not wise to remind men of an obligation; if they do not feel it without being reminded they will not be made to do so by any hint, and an accusation of ingratitude will be implied, which will only excite their resentment; if they are sensible of the obligation they will return it without any reminder.'

The Peelites, especially Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, and Lord Lincoln (the late Duke of Newcastle) bestirred themselves actively on his behalf, rather, we fancy, from personal feeling than from any sense of obligation. He intimates as much when he confesses to 'a kind of whispering sensation that they must be a little shocked at the cause they advocate.' When the Committee divided, he was saved by the narrow majority of ten to nine. Having already spoken of 'the determination of this morose and rigid millionaire to strip me of my property,' he exultingly exclaims:

'It is really amusing to see the joy with which the news of Baring's defeat has been hailed by *every member of his own family, and all others who have heard of it*. The goodwill of the world (a very inert but rather satisfactory feeling) has been exhibited towards me, and there is mixed up with it in all who are acquainted with the surly reformer who is my adversary a lively pleasure at his being baffled and mortified.'

Considering that Baring (afterwards Lord Northbrook, and not a millionaire) was simply carrying out the principles with the full concurrence of the Liberal party, it is surprising that a man of sense should be hurried into such extravagance, still more surprising that an editor, with such conclusive proofs of interested prejudice before his eyes, should assert that, 'in the opinions he (Greville) formed, and on occasions energetically maintained, he cared for nothing but their justice and their truth.' Five out of six of the opinions he formed were warped by his personal feelings: he was impartial in nothing but the distribution of indiscriminating abuse to all parties.

For a knowing man of the world, conversant with the practices of the turf, Greville was unaccountably credulous. Again and again does he accept statements, and draw conclusions from them, without weighing either the internal or external evidence of their truth. We will give another ex-

ample which should alone suffice to put readers on their guard. He is speaking of the debate on the Ministerial Explanations on February 18th, 1828:

'The great event of the night was Duncombe's speech, which was delivered with perfect self-possession and composure, but in so ridiculous a manner that everybody laughed at him, although they were amused with his impudence and at the style and objects of his attack. However, the next day it was discovered that he had performed a great exploit; he was loudly applauded and congratulated on all sides, and made into the hero of the day. *His fame was infinitely increased on a subsequent night*, when Herries again came before the House and when Tommy fired another shot at him. The newspapers were full of his praises. The Whigs called at his door and eagerly sought his acquaintance. Those who love fun and personality cheered him on with loud applause, and he now fancies himself the greatest man going, and is ready to get up and abuse anybody on the Treasury bench. To me, who knew all the secret strings that moved this puppet, nothing can be more amusing.'

This then, we presume, is one of the revelations of the 'less known causes and details of public events' which we were promised in the Preface. *Ex uno disce omnes*. It is introduced with a grave reflection of a nature to invite attention and command implicit trust.

'The history of Tom Duncombe and his speech is instructive as well as amusing, for it is a curious proof of the facility with which the world may be deceived, and of the prodigious effect which may be produced by the smallest means, if they are aided by some fortuitous circumstances and happily applied. Tommy came to Henry de Ros and told him that his constituents at Hertford were very anxious he should make a speech, but that he did not know what to say, and begged Henry to supply him with the necessary materials. He advised him to strike out something new, and having received his assurance that he should be able to recollect anything that he learned by heart, and that he was not afraid of his courage failing, Henry composed for him the speech which Duncombe delivered. But knowing the slender capacity of his man, he was not satisfied with placing the speech in his hands, but adopted every precaution which his ingenuity suggested to avert the danger of his breaking down.

'He made him learn the speech by heart, and then made him think it over again and put it into language of his own, justly fearing that, if he should forget any of the more polished periods of the original, it would appear sadly botched by his own interpolations. He then instructed him largely as to how and when he was to bring it in, supplying him with various commonplace phrases to be used as connecting links, and by the help of which he might be enabled to fasten upon some of the

preceding speeches. I saw Henry de Ros the day before the debate, when he told me what he was doing, and asked me to suggest anything that occurred upon the subject, and at the same time repeated to me the speech with which he had armed his hero. I hinted my apprehensions that he would fail in the delivery, but though he was not without some alarm, he expressed (as it afterwards appeared a well-grounded) confidence in Duncombe's extraordinary nerve and intrepidity.'

The editor states in a note, that 'the incident related in the text appears to have been his (Duncombe's) début in political life.' Fresh from a contested election,—no bad school,—Duncombe had spoken in the same tone and manner on the second night of the Session (January 31), and appears to have already acquired that style of speaking which always ensured him a hearing whatever the disposition of the House.\* Lord de Ros, with all his cleverness, was unknown as a speaker. We are not aware that he ever opened his mouth in public. Yet, assuming him to have been a practised rhetorician, the grand difficulty remains. To introduce a prepared speech or prepared passages effectively by the adroit use of commonplaces, is an advanced step in oratory, and to succeed twice in rapid succession would indicate a master of the art. To make the pupil first learn by heart the speech he was *not* to deliver, was one of the oddest expedients ever hit upon to prevent him from being embarrassed by the so-called polished periods of the original. And when, the day before the debate, Lord de Ros repeated to Greville 'the speech with which he had armed his hero,' which speech did he repeat?

The effect of the speech is grossly exaggerated; it is not mentioned by the 'Times,' and its tendency is misunderstood. The telling shots were not fired at Herries. They were fired at higher game; at sundry influences behind the Throne, the existence of which Duncombe declared to be matter of notoriety:—

'They are known' (he continued) 'to have

\* 'He (Duncombe) was courteous and pleasant in manner, and members liked to sit by him in the House for the sake of his remarks on men and things. His voice was originally very fine—rich and full—though he mouthed his words like a dandy of the Regency, a character that cropped up in all he said or did. His careless effective style was evidently the result of great care and pains; and he managed to hit exactly the amount of impudent *sang-froid* which his powers justified and the House could bear. He was just the man for saying at the right moment what everybody wished to be said and nobody had the courage to say; and he was clearly a favourite, being generally called for if anyone else rose at the same time.'—*The Times*, Jan. 7, 1868.

been too busy in the underplot of the recent revolution. "I believe their object to be as impure as the means by which their power has been acquired, and I denounce them and their agents as unknown to the British Constitution and derogatory to the honour of the Crown." He trusted that the Duke of Wellington and the Right Hon. Secretary for the Home Department would not allow the finances of this great country to be controlled any longer by a Jew (Rothschild), or the distribution of the patronage of the Crown to be operated upon by the prescriptions of a physician (Knighton). (*Loud laughter.*)

Greville's recklessness of statement, or *gobemoucherie*, is still more remarkable in his account of the (so called) second speech.

'Duncombe's speech on the second night was got up *precisely in the same manner*, and although it appeared to arise out of the debate and of those which preceded it, the matter had been all crammed into him by his invisible mentor. The amusement to him and to me (especially at the honours that have been thickly poured upon him and the noise which he has made in the world) is indescribably pungent.'

The subject had been dropped till what Greville calls the second night (Feb. 21st), when there was no debate, and no question before the House. Herries having risen to answer a question about the Malt Tax, said that 'while he was on his legs, he might as well take the opportunity of removing one or two erroneous impressions that had gone abroad as to part of a statement he had made on a preceding evening.' This brought up Duncombe, who briefly pointed out the disagreement between the explanation just given by Herries and the preceding one. The two or three sentences spoken by the 'hero of the night' would be incorrectly described as a speech: the ministerial explanations were considered at an end; and no one could have guessed that Herries would reopen them on that or any other night to stultify himself. Now for the philosophical deduction and the moral:

'Thus Duncombe and his speech have made what is called a great sensation, and he has the reputation (no matter whether justly or not) of having thrown the enemy's camp into greater confusion by the boldness of his language than anybody has ever done, because nobody has ever before dared to mention those whom he dragged forward. To the ignorant majority of the world he appears a man of great promise, of boldness, quickness, and decision, and the uproar that is made about him cannot fail to impress others as well as himself with a high notion of his consequence.

'Knighton is gone abroad, I have very little doubt, in consequence of what passed, and as nobody inquires very minutely into the real causes of things where they get apparent ones

with ease, it is said and believed at once that Duncombe is the man who has driven him out, and that he has given the first blow to that secret influence which has only been obscurely hinted at before and never openly attacked. *These are great and important matters*, far exceeding any consequences which the authors of the speech anticipated from its delivery at the time. And what are the agents who have produced such an effect? A man of ruined fortune and doubtful character, whose life has been spent on the race-course, at the gaming-table, and in the green-room; of limited capacity, exceedingly ignorant, and without any stock but his impudence to trade on, only speaking to serve an electioneering purpose, and crammed by another man with every thought and every word that he uttered.'

The ignorant majority of the world were right. Duncombe was a man of capacity, boldness, quickness, and decision. If his private life was to be held up to reprobation, we have yet to learn that his habits and pursuits differed materially from those of Greville and Lord de Ros. Nor is there anything extraordinary in the production of important effects through the instrumentality of men of ruined fortune. What were Mirabeau and Wilkes? But the Journal teems with proofs that no such effects were produced on this occasion; that Knighton was not driven out; and that the secret influence continued unimpaired.\*

An unsafe guide through the mazes of political intrigue and supplying no trustworthy materials for history, Greville cannot be accepted as an authority for those episodes in our social annals to which he recalls attention; at all events, the judgments he

\* See vol. ii., pp. 144 and 154, quoted *ante*, p. 10. Knighton had started on one of his numerous foreign missions the day before Duncombe's speech. He returned shortly afterwards, and the attack is mentioned in his *Memoirs* as 'having proved the means of establishing him still more firmly in the estimation of his sovereign and his friends.' The letters to him from George IV. and the rest of the Royal Family printed in the *Memoirs* materially vary the impression which Greville's entries convey. For example, during Knighton's illness:

'Dear Friend,

'For God's sake, for all our sakes, pray, pray take care of yourself, and do not sink, upon any account, of stirring until to-morrow morning. It is true, I am jaded and quite worn, and writing from my bed, where I have lain down for a little; but to-morrow will be quite time enough. Little or no advance, I regret to say, has as yet been made amidst, almost perhaps, unravelable perplexities.

'Yours affectionately, G. R.'

'St. James's Palace, Friday, April, 1827.'

There is no alteration of tone at any time, and the letters of William IV. to Knighton do credit to both.—*Memoirs of Sir William Knighton. By Lady Knighton.*

passes on the actors in them should be carefully collated with the facts.

'May 17th, 1835.—These elections and the affair between Alvanley and O'Connell have been the chief objects of attention; all the newspapers are full of details, which I need not put down here. Alvanley seems to have behaved with great spirit and resolution. There was a meeting at De Ros's house of De Ros, Damer, Lord Worcester, and Duncombe to consider what was to be done on the receipt of Morgan O'Connell's letter, and whether Alvanley should fight him or not. Worcester and Duncombe were against fighting, the other two for it. Alvanley at once said that the boldest course was the best, and he would go out.'

There was no such meeting. There was neither occasion nor time for it. The old laws of honour were then in full force, and Morgan O'Connell's letter left no alternative. Besides denouncing Lord Alvanley's conduct as 'braggadocio and ungentleman-like,' he spoke of him as 'a man whom I sincerely believe to have been appropriately designated by my father,' *i. e.* as a bloated buffoon.

According to Colonel Hodges' printed statement, this letter was delivered to Lord Alvanley at half-past three in the afternoon of May 4th. According to Colonel Damer's, he had just returned from a review at Woolwich at that hour when the letter was placed in his hands by Lord Alvanley. He went at once to the Junior United Service Club to make the requisite arrangements with Colonel Hodges, who proposed the next morning, to which Damer replied that there would be light enough that same evening; and the meeting took place soon after six in a field off the Barnet Road, near the Regent's Park. The ground was measured, the combatants were placed, and the pistols delivered:

'I was proceeding' (writes Damer) 'to instruct the gentlemen concerned, as to the signals that were to be their guide, and I had said, Gentlemen, I shall use the following words, "*Make ready! Fire!*"; when Mr. O'Connell, thinking that I had given the signal, through mistake, discharged his pistol. I then had a short discussion with Colonel Hodges as to the light in which that shot was to be considered, when Lord Alvanley desired me to waive the right I conceived he had to return the fire.'

An exchange of shots then took place without effect. O'Connell did not fire in the air, as he should have done, and Damer then said that the affair should stop; but Hodges insisted on an apology or another exchange of shots, to which Damer consented, to avoid (he said) all possibility of misapprehension. Having once agreed to regard the first shot

as a nullity, he was obviously precluded from reverting to it; and the whole question turns on whether he should have withdrawn his man after the first shot.

'Damer' (writes Greville) 'seems to have been a very bad second, and probably lost his head: he ought not to have consented to the third shot upon any account. Alvanley says he execrated him in his heart when he found he had consented to it. Hodges acted like a ruffian, and had anything happened, he would have been hanged.'

The late Sir Robert Peel defined a good second to be one who would bring you off with flying colours or make you fight. Would Lord Alvanley have been brought off with flying colours had he been withdrawn? On the contrary, he would have been exposed to every sort of taunt and misrepresentation. This was a party duel, a class duel, a duel of defiance, and both he and his second judged rightly that, if it was to be fought at all, the boldest and most uncompromising mode of conducting it was the best.

In the autumn of 1843, Lord Alvanley, Colonel Damer, and an English friend, were breakfasting in the public room of the Hôtel de Flandre, at Brussels, when Lord Alvanley quizzed a Belgian officer so unmercifully, that the 'brave Belge' left the table in a huff. 'That fellow,' said the friend, 'will call you out.' 'And if he does,' was the reply, 'I'll have you for my second; for Damer—and be d—d to him—let Morgan O'Connell have three shots to two.' This possibly is the sort of execration which was uttered to Greville. In the course of the ensuing conversation Lord Alvanley expressed his high satisfaction at the manner in which the affair had been carried through.

'The value of every story depends on its being true. A story is a picture of an individual, or of human nature in general; if it be false, it is a picture of nothing.' This was a favourite axiom of Johnson's, which seems to have had no weight with Greville or Mr. Reeve: Greville seldom, if ever, taking the trouble to verify a story or anecdote, whilst the editorial notes afford little aid in the correction or elucidation of the text.

'Lord Holland told stories of Lord Thurlow, whom he mimicks, they say, exactly. When Lord Mansfield died, Thurlow said, "I hesitated a long time between Kenyon and Buller. Kenyon was very intemperate, but Buller was so damned corrupt, and I thought upon the whole that intemperance was a less fault in a judge than corruption, not but what there was a damned deal of corruption in Kenyon's intemperance.'

The vacancy (of the Chief-Justiceship) was created by the resignation of Lord

Mansfield, who lived nearly five years afterwards, and the words which Lord Holland must have repeated, if he adopted the authentic version, were these :

'I hesitated long between the corruption of Buller and the intemperance of Kenyon. Not but what there was a damned deal of intemperance in Buller's corruption and a damned deal of corruption in Kenyon's intemperance.'

In reference to the dispute between Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, and the Judges of the Supreme Court, Mr. Reeve states :

'Lord Ellenborough took Malcolm's part with great eagerness, and said of the Chief Justice, Sir J. D. Grant, that "he would be like a wild elephant between two tame ones." This expression was long remembered as a joke against Lord Ellenborough.'

The joke must be unintelligible to those who do not know that Lord Ellenborough had just been sending out two new Judges when he wrote, 'Sir John Grant will be like a wild elephant *led away* between two tame ones.'

In a note on Sir Robert Adair, Mr. Reeve says: 'It was he whom Canning *once* called Bobadare-a-dool-fowla.' It was he who was ridiculed in a celebrated *jeu d'esprit* of the *Antijacobin*, entitled, 'Translation of a Letter (in Oriental characters) from Bawba-dara-Adul-Phoola (Bob Adair, a dull fool) to Neek-awl-Aretchid-Kooez (Nicholl, a wretched Goose).'

Note on Paul, the first Lord Methuen:—

'Paul Methuen, Esq., M.P. for Wiltshire. It was to him that O'Connell made the memorable, but somewhat profane retort, "Paul, Paul, why persecutest thou me?"'

The House was in Committee, and in a half-sleepy state, when Kearsley, Tory member for Wigan, a coarse humourist, flustered with drink, began a rollicking speech, setting all rules of decorum at defiance. Methuen, who had also the appearance of having dined, rose repeatedly to call him to order, till Kearsley, who was short-sighted, put his glass to his eye, shook his head with mock solemnity, stretched out his arm to its full length, and spoke the words in a hollow sonorous tone. One of the most extraordinary scenes ever witnessed ensued: during several minutes the House was so convulsed with laughter that all serious business was at a standstill; Sir Robert Inglis, shocked by the profanity, being the only member who looked grave. What added to the effect was the contrast. Some one said Kearsley, short and rotund, looked like a retired tallow-chandler, which he turned out to be. Methuen was a fine gentleman of the Regency,

with a shade of pomposity. Such a retort from O'Connell, who, moreover, sat on the same side of the House as Methuen, would have excited a very different feeling from laughter.

Greville (January 12th, 1831) happening to set down that an envoy had been sent here from the Poles, Mr. Reeve appends this note:—

'This Envoy was Count Alexander Walewski, a natural son of the Emperor Napoleon, who afterwards played a considerable part in the affairs of France and of Europe, especially under the Second Empire. During his residence in London in 1831 he married Lady Caroline Montagu, a daughter of the Earl of Sandwich, but she did not live long. *I remember calling upon him in St. James' Place, and seeing cards of invitation for Lady Grey's assemblies stuck in his glass.* The fact is he was wonderfully handsome and agreeable, and soon became popular in London society.'

Would it not have been more to the purpose to state simply that the envoy was Count Walewski, afterwards French Ambassador at the British Court.

Greville having mentioned the 'Cateatonenses,' Mr. Reeve has this note:—

'The "*Musæ Cateatonenses*," a burlesque narrative of a *supposed* expedition of Mr. George Legge to Cateaton Street in search of a Swiss Chapel. Nothing can be more droll. The only copy I have seen is still at Saltram. This *jeu d'esprit* (which fills a volume) was composed by Canning and his friends, one Easter recess they spent at Ashbourne.'

If this *jeu d'esprit* fills a volume, why is that volume called '*Musæ Cateatonenses*?' Because, in addition to the narrative, it contains from twenty to thirty sets of verses on the expedition, which was undertaken by Lord Boringdon (the first Earl of Morley) and the Hon. and Rev. A. G. Legge, in search of a Swiss preacher; Canning having mystified them by saying that they would find one in Cateaton Street. The expedition was real, although the narrative was supposititious; and the whole point turns on its being joint.

In explanation of Serjeant Spankie's report to the elector of Finsbury, Mr. Reeve says:

'Wakley's house was burnt, and he brought an action against the insurance office, which declined to pay his policy. I forget what was the result of the trial, but that of the evidence was a conviction of his instrumentality.'

The action was tried on the 21st June, 1821, before Lord Tenterden and a special jury, and the result was a verdict for the plaintiff for the full amount claimed, which was paid by the office with costs. On the

14th July, 1844, Mr. Wakley made so effective a reply to the imputation in the House of Commons, that the late Sir Robert Peel pronounced a decided opinion of its groundlessness. The charge having been revived in a medical journal, Mr. Wakley brought an action for libel, which (June, 1854) ended in a verdict, by consent, for the plaintiff and an apology.

'Note.—Hon. Frederick Byng, formerly of the Foreign Office, universally known at this time (1829) as "The Poodle," probably because he once kept a fine animal of that breed.'

Universally known to this hour under that name, notoriously because, when tilburys were the fashion, he used to drive one with a poodle seated by his side. A different but erroneous solution has gained currency from a comic French epitaph, in which he is mentioned as '*surnommé Poodle à cause de sa chevelure et sa fidélité.*'

Speculating (June, 1829) on the causes which had kept Lord Palmerston back for twenty years, Greville says:—

'The office he held was one of dull detail, and he never travelled out of it. He probably stood in awe of Canning and others, and was never in the Cabinet; but having lately held higher situations, and having acquired more confidence, he has launched forth, and with astonishing success.'

Lord Palmerston had been in three Cabinets—Canning's, Lord Goderich's, and the Duke's; and retained the same office, the Secretaryship of War, the only office he ever held prior to 1830, under each.

Mr. Reeve gives lists of five Cabinets, or Administrations, as he indiscriminately calls them; and four of his lists are wrong. His list of Canning's omits Lord Palmerston and includes Tierney; of the Duke's (as originally constituted) omits Lord Palmerston; of Lord Grey's (as originally constituted) includes Lord John (Earl) Russell and the late Lord Derby, and omits Lords Holland and Carlisle; of Lord Melbourne's (1834) includes Edward Ellice. We should like to know where Mr. Reeve gets his lists. We are content with the Annual Register.

The strangest of Mr. Reeve's notes is the one relating to Madame du Cayla, which we cannot allow to grow into an authority, since we believe it to be uncharitable and unjust. Greville has told all that required to be told of this lady; her birth; her introduction to Louis XVIII., and the nature of their connection, saying expressly that 'there was no sexual question in the matter, as what the King wanted was merely some one to whom he could tell everything, consult with on occasions, and with whom he could bandy

literary trifles.\*' But this does not satisfy Mr. Reeve, whose note begins:

'Madame du Cayla had been the *soi-disant* mistress of Louis XVIII., or rather the favourite of his declining years. *Il fallait une Esther*, to use her own expression, *à cet Assuérus.*'

If she compared herself to Esther, the purest of the pure, how could she be the *soi-disant* (self-styled) mistress of the King? Mr. Reeve must mean 'so-called.' Then after recapitulating the biographical details stated by Greville:—

'The King was touched by her grace and beauty, and she became indispensable to his happiness. His happiness was said to consist in inhaling a pinch of snuff from her shoulders, which were remarkably broad and fair.'

We know of no better authority for this bit of prurient gossip than a scandalous caricature. Then come three verses of Béranger, supposed to be addressed to the lady under the name of Octavie. One will suffice:

'Peins-nous ces feux, qu'en secret tu redoutes,  
Quand sur ton sein il cueve son nectar,  
Ces feux dont s'indignaient les voûtes,  
Où plane encore l'aigle du grand César.'

The second line is printed in italics by Mr. Reeve. We have not a notion what it means; but the *feux* of the gouty old epicure could hardly have alarmed the lady or scandalised the arches. The note ends with what is meant for a philosophical reflection:

'It is curious that in 1829, the last mistress of a King of France should have visited London under the reign of the last mistress of a King of England.'

It is not usual, nor in accordance with the *convenances*, to apply this term to ladies who retain their position in society. Madame du Cayla came to England with the Duchesse d'Escars, and was received in all the best houses. It was not (as we have seen) Lady C. alone, but the whole C. family (husband, son, and daughter) that were domesticated in her royal friend's palaces.

To point a story against George IV., Greville calls Lord Bathurst 'stoneblind,' knowing very well that he was only short-sighted. Twice over (uncorrected by Mr. Reeve) he calls Louis Philippe the descendant of Louis XIV.

'May 29th, 1829.—The day before yesterday there was a review for the Duke of Orleans; and the Marquis of Anglesey, who was there at the head of his regiment, contrived to get a tumble, but was not hurt. Last night at the ball the King said to Lord Anglesey, "Why, Paget, what's this I hear? they say you

rolled off your horse at the review yesterday." The Duke as he left the ground was immensely cheered, and the people thronged about his horse and would shake hands with him.'

It was the Duke of Wellington who got the tumble. He was riding at the head of his regiment, the Grenadier Guards, wearing the bearskin cap, which embarrassed him and led to the accident. At the next levée, the King, who was not sorry to have a hit at the Duke, addressed Lord Anglesey loud enough for everyone to hear: 'Anglesey, you are not the man to fall off at the head of your regiment.' The incident obtained great notoriety, and was long remembered. When, in 1847, Lord Ponsonby presented his credentials to Ferdinand I. of Austria, the Emperor said to him; '*Vous savez que je suis tombé de cheval, mais la même chose est arrivée à votre fameux Duc de Wellington.*'

The career of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, culminating in the Peerage and the Garter, is one of the most distinguished in the annals of diplomacy; and the refusal of the Russian Court to receive him as resident Ambassador in 1833 was really a compliment to his well-known firmness and sagacity. A similar compliment had been paid to Lord Macartney after a special mission to Russia, during which he was not found so pliable as could have been wished. The Emperor Nicholas distinctly stated that he had no personal objection to Lord Stratford, and the difficulty notoriously originated with Count Nesselrode and Madame de Lieven. This lady was, after all, the principal sufferer from the intrigue, being obliged to leave England whilst the Russian embassy was withdrawn. A story against Lord Stratford, told by her on the authority of a third person and dressed up by Greville, will hardly command implicit assent, and the great Elchee has no recollection of the dramatic colloquy with M. Dedel of which the scene is laid in the ante-room of the Foreign Office. It was a rule with Lord Palmerston, from which he never deviated, to admit visitors in the order of arrival, without regard to rank, and it is not unlikely that this was explained by Lord Stratford to M. Dedel.

We have the authority of another eminent diplomatist for denying what Greville has set down regarding him:

'September 23rd, 1834.—He (Lord Melbourne) told me, what I did not know before, that the King of Prussia had desired to have Lord Clanwilliam recalled from Berlin.'

Lord Clanwilliam was, and is, under the impression that he was in high favour at

the Court of Berlin during the entire period of his embassy; and we learn from other sources that he was particularly acceptable to the King.

'August 27th, 1830.—At Court the day before yesterday. General Baudrand came and delivered his letter, also a private letter "from the Duke of Orleans to the Duke of Clarence," as the French King called them, *anciens amis*.'

Both the letters (which are extant in the French King's handwriting) are addressed as from King to King.

'October 25th, 1830.—I told him (Arbuthnot) to give a notion how meanly Aberdeen was thought of, that Alvanley had told Talleyrand not to notice him, but to go at once to the Duke (of Wellington) when he had any important business to transact, and that he (Arbuthnot) might tell the Duke this, if he pleased, but no one else.'

This is a specimen of Greville's half-knowledge. Lord Alvanley had the folly to tell Talleyrand not to notice Lord Aberdeen; but Talleyrand at once repeated what Lord Alvanley had said to the Duke and Lord Aberdeen, accompanying the communication with some caustic remarks on the bad feeling of Lord Alvanley in trying to lower his Sovereign's Minister for Foreign Affairs in the eyes of a foreign Ambassador, and his curious forgetfulness that Talleyrand was intimately acquainted with Lord Aberdeen. If Lord Aberdeen was thought so meanly of, how did he manage to maintain his ground so long in the Foreign Office? How did he become Prime Minister in 1852?

We now come to a class of story which ought never to appear in print at all: a class in which inaccuracy, combined with publicity, is an offence against truth, justice, good feeling, and propriety. After mentioning a forgery case in which Brougham had got a man off who, in Greville's opinion, would have been hanged had Lord Lyndhurst been Chancellor, he sets down, December 12th, 1830:

'This was a curious case, as I have since heard. The man owes his life to the curiosity of a woman of fashion, and then to another feeling. Lady Burghersh and Lady Glengall wanted to hear St. John Long's trial (the quack who had *man-slaughtered* Miss Cashir), and they went to the Old Bailey for that purpose. Castlereagh and somebody else, who, of course, were not up in time, were to have attended them. They wanted an escort, and the only man in London sure to be out of bed so early was the Master of the Rolls, so they went and carried him off. When they got to the court there was no St. John Long, but they thought they might as well stay and hear

whatever was going on. It chanced that a man was tried for an atrocious case of forgery and breach of trust. He was found guilty, and sentence passed; but he was twenty-three and good-looking. Lady Burghersh could not bear he should be hanged, and she went to all the late Ministers and the Judges to beg him off. Leach told her it was no use, that nothing could save that man; and accordingly the old Government were obdurate, when out they went. Off she went; again and attacked all the new ones, who, in better humour, or of softer natures, suffered themselves to be persuaded, and the wretch was saved. *She went herself to Newgate to see him, but I never heard if she had a private interview, and if he was afforded an opportunity of expressing his gratitude with all the fervour that the service she had done him demanded.*

Lady Burghersh is the Dowager Countess of Westmoreland, by birth a Wellesley and niece of the Great Duke, a lady whose intellectual distinction and personal qualities should inspire respect independently of her connections and her age. Yet this is the person who is deemed the fitting object of a coarse insinuation and a ribald sneer. Her own account of the incident (in a letter to a relative) is so complete a model of clear, terse narrative, that we shall give it without the alteration of a word:

'The account in the Greville Memoirs has a foundation in truth, but much distorted. Lady Glengall and I did go to the Old Bailey, intending to hear the trial of the Quack Doctor. Neither Lord Castlereagh nor any one else accompanied us, as far as I remember. Certainly not the Master of the Rolls. We found the trial of the Quack Doctor was put off, and being there, and never having heard a trial, I wished to stay and hear something of what was going on. It was a case of forgery, and the accused, far from being "twenty-three and good-looking," appeared to me a miserable, stupid-looking lad, who seemed half-witted. The penalty at that time was death. I was told that the lad's mother was in court and had fainted.

'I was very intimate at that time with Lord Lyndhurst, and, when I left the court, I drove to his house, and asked if anything could be done to save the life of the wretched boy. He told me he would undertake it if he found it to be possible. I asked him if I might give the *hope* to the poor mother, and he said "Yes," and I did so.'

Lord Lyndhurst was no longer Chancellor; and, at his suggestion, the case was brought to the notice of Lord Melbourne, then Home Secretary, who reduced the sentence of death to transportation for life. A point that weighed strongly with him was

that no one had lost or been injured by the forgery. The slightest inquiry would have made clear that this was not the case mentioned by Lord Brougham.

It would be difficult to surpass the last example of misrepresentation; but there are entries which run it hard for ill-nature and discourtesy:

'August 11th, 1831.—I went to the play last night at a very shabby little house called the City Theatre—a long way beyond the Post Office—to see Ellen Tree act in a translation of "*Une Faute*," one of the best pieces of acting I ever saw. This girl will turn out very good if she remains on the stage. She has never been brought forward at Covent Garden, and I heard last night the reason why. Charles Kemble took a great fancy for her (she is excessively pretty), and made her splendid offers of putting her into the best parts, and advancing her in all ways, if she would be propitious to his flame, but which she indignantly refused; so he revenged himself (to his own detriment) by keeping her back, and promoting inferior actresses instead. If ever she acquires fame, which is very probable, for she has as much nature, and feeling, and passion, as ever I saw, this will be a curious anecdote. [She married Charles Kean, lost her good looks, and became a tiresome, second-rate actress.]

Mrs. Charles Kean lives surrounded by friends, who will be surprised to learn that she ever ceased to be a favourite with the public, or lost more of her good looks than (*cheu fugaces!*) will vanish with youth. Old play-goers will be equally surprised to hear that she was never brought forward at Covent Garden, where she was one of the greatest attractions of the theatre during the seasons of 1829–31\*, under Charles Kemble's management. The base of the story falling, the superstructure falls with it, but we give her refutation in her own distinct emphatic language in a letter dated Dec. 16th:

'It is only very recently that I was told of the passage relating to Mr. Kemble and myself, and I feel as indignant as either of his daughters can be. There is not the shadow of a foundation for Mr. Greville's calumnious insinuation. The grossness was in Mr. Greville's mind, not in Mr. Kemble's conduct, who ever treated me with the utmost kindness and the utmost respect.'

The Covent Garden season had closed

\* In 1829, she transferred her services to Covent Garden, and made her first appearance as Lady Towneley in "*The Provoked Husband*." For her benefit she played "*Romeo*" to Miss Fanny Kemble's "*Juliet*," and her success was so great that the manager (Kemble) entrusted to her the heroine in Miss Kemble's play of "*Francis the First*."—(*Men of the Time: containing Biographical Notes of Eminent Characters of both Sexes*, 1872.)

when Greville saw her at the City Theatre, then under the management of her brother-in-law, Mr. Chapman. The oldest frequenters of the Green Room of the Garrick have no recollection of this scandal in the most evanescent shape, but the faintest surmise would be enough for Greville to build upon. If he had been present at the conversations in the 'School for Scandal,' he would have noted down as facts that Miss Letitia Piper had been brought to bed of twins, and that Miss Nicely had pressing reasons for marrying her footman.

There is one of our expectations from this Journal which has not been disappointed. Its popularity is largely owing to the style. The vigour and idiomatic flow of the language give a delusive plausibility to the statements, and a false look of philosophy to the reflexions. It seldom or never occurs to the common run of readers that a man who writes so well, so energetically, with such an air of decision and superiority, can be wrong in fact or inference, can think he is thinking when he is indulging in paradox or commonplace. He thus speculates on happiness:—

'I wonder the inductive process has not been more systematically applied to the solution of this great philosophical problem, *what is happiness*, and *in what it consists*, for the practical purpose of directing the human mind into the right road for reaching this goal of all human wishes. Why are not innumerable instances collected, examined, analysed, and the results expanded, explained, and reasoned upon for the benefit and instruction of mankind?'

He proceeds to announce as a discovery that 'healthy body, healthy appetite, healthy feelings, though accompanied by mediocrity of talent, will outstrip in the race for happiness the splendid irregularities of genius, and the most dazzling successes of ambition.' Who ever doubted that they would? But how is this enviable mediocrity to be reached? How are the higher natures to be brought down or the lower natures to be elevated to it? How are we to make sure of the sound mind in the sound body? His Golden Mean or Happiness Made Easy may pair off with the philosopher's stone or the elixir of youth. His contrivance for attaining 'this goal of all human wishes' is about as feasible as that for catching sparrows by putting salt upon their tails.

He is not more happy when he generalises on gaming and the turf:

'How anyone can play who is not in want of money, I cannot comprehend; surely *his* mind must be strangely framed who requires the stimulus of gambling to heighten his pleasures.'

There is no frame of mind so common, as he had only to look round him to be aware. The majority of the rich and noble friends with whom he played whist and betted were not in want of money, and obviously required the stimulus.

His meditations on moral or intellectual subjects want depth: his mind, like heated amber, attracted and fixed the feathers and flies that float or flutter on the surface of society: it never penetrated to the undercurrents of thought and feeling which were in silent operation when he wrote. It would be amusing, therefore, were it not irritating, to hear his book hailed from the pulpit as a proof that the generation of which it treats were deficient in high aims and purposes; as if these were wanting to the men who carried the great measures of civil and religious liberty, who voted twenty millions for the abolition of slavery, who reformed the poor law, simplified the administration of justice, humanised the criminal code, and laid the foundation of all that has been done since to diffuse education and improve the condition of the labouring class.\*

The rapid changes of mood which occur so frequently in his journal may be traced to his impressibility. He was the slave of impulse. With him the present, the immediate, excluded both the future and the past. He seldom pauses to compare, to inquire, to investigate; but dashes down the impression or conclusion without thinking or caring whether it agrees with what goes before or is to come after it. His fondness for generalisation is another fruitful source of error and inconsistency. He draws a broad conclusion from an insulated speech or action, and within an incredibly short time draws an opposite one from equally insufficient premises. Thus the Duke of Wellington is a very great man and a very little man by turns. It never occurs to Greville that conduct may vary, or intellectual power fluctuate, without any essential change in character or capacity. *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*. If he had found Homer napping, he would have written him down a dull, sleepy, heavy-headed fellow, and have forgotten all about his genius till reminded of it by happening to take up the Iliad or fall in with Mr. Gladstone.

It follows, that Greville shows to most advantage in narrative and description. What can be more vividly sketched than the mem-

\* We allude to the Sermon of the Bishop of Manchester, mentioned in the 'Times' of Dec. 15th. The right reverend prelate most erroneously assumes that Greville's description of the society in which he lived is accurate. Canon Liddon has fallen into a similar error.

orable scene in the House of Commons (May 1832), when the hopes of the waverers and anti-Reformers were scattered to the winds: when Baring hurried to Apsley House and told the Duke that he would face a thousand devils rather than such a House? Or, again, than the banquet in St. George's Hall during the Ascot week of 1831; or the first meeting of the Council on the accession of the Queen? His Italian Tour is very good, and shows of what he was capable when removed from the arena of party politics and the feverish agitation of the turf. Some of his characters also (looking merely to effect) are admirably drawn; the distinctive traits judiciously selected, and the lights and shades artistically worked in. Take, for example, his Luttrell, his Lady Harrowby, or (best of all) his Byron. What too often mars the workmanship is the fastidiousness, the cynicism, the irresistible tendency to find spots or mingle bitters with the sweets:

'Medio de fonte leporum  
Surgit amari aliquid quod in ipsis fontibus augeat.'

Where was the necessity for spoiling the touching tribute to Lady Worcester by the remark, that 'her defects may be ascribed to her education, and to the actual state of the society in which she lived;' feeling, as he should have felt, that the surviving members of that society, including those nearest and dearest to her, would regard the observation as a slur. Or why accept without inquiry the statement that she died in the arms of Dr. Hume, when any member of the family would have told him that she died in the arms of her husband, with her mother and two sisters in the room.

'Let blameless Bethell if he will, excel  
Ten metropolitans in preaching well.'

'Whom did Pope mean,' asked Boswell after quoting this couplet. 'I don't know, Sir,' replied Johnson, 'but, depend upon it, he meant to vex somebody.' Greville has been suspected of the same charitable intention when, the day after his arrival in town, after taking Panshanger on his way from Newmarket, he writes:

'My journal is getting intolerably stupid, and entirely barren of events. I would take to miscellaneous and private matters if any fell in my way, but what can I make out of such animals as I herd with and such occupations as I am engaged in?'

His first meeting with Macaulay at Holland House is graphically told, and his altered estimate of the brilliant essayist at a subsequent period is one of the few instances in which his change of opinion may be accepted as an indication of the fact. Macaulay

was a very different man in 1833, when Sydney Smith called him a 'book in breeches,' from what he had become in 1850, when Greville sets him down as 'a marvellous, an unrivalled (in his way), and a delightful talker.' Brougham is overdrawn; although it was no easy matter to exaggerate either the marvellous range and flexibility of his intellectual powers or his eccentricities.

In speaking of style, we make, of course, the Horatian allowance for blots. Greville's vernacular epithets are in exceedingly bad taste, and he has favourite words which he commonly misapplies. The imputation of madness is peculiarly annoying, because it affects the family as well as the individual. But it is a frequent imputation with Greville. Erskine was mad, so was Brougham; so were both the Kings he served under; Wilkie was 'rather mad;' indeed, every one guilty of the slightest oddity or eccentricity is mad; and, tried by this criterion, most of us are mad: *semel insanivimus omnes*.

'Vulgar' and 'vulgarity,' again, are of constant occurrence, when 'common,' 'common-looking,' or 'coarse,' would be more appropriate. Poor William IV. is vulgar as well as mad. Washington Irving is 'rather vulgar' (he was not at all). Thiers is 'a little man, about as tall as Sheil, and as mean and vulgar-looking.' As to Macaulay, 'it was not until he stood up that I was aware of all the vulgarity and ungainliness of his appearance.' In each of these instances the term is misapplied and the observation superficial—

'In Conrad's form seems little to admire,  
Though his dark eyebrow shades a glance of fire;  
Yet, on the whole, who paused to look again,  
Saw more than marks the crowd of vulgar men.'

At a dinner duly recorded, 'Lord Holland said that Fox made it a rule never to talk in Johnson's presence, because he knew all his conversations were recorded for publication, and he did not choose to figure in them.' Did it never occur to Greville, or his editor, that other people might feel like Fox? that this practice of journalising, conducted on such principles, may end by becoming the plague, the bane, the curse of society? Fixing and perpetuating current scandals to be mistaken at no distant period for facts, is like condensing noxious vapours instead of allowing them to evaporate into thin air, or bottling and laying by decoctions of laurel leaves without labelling 'Poison' on the flasks. It is not only the great that must be content to live like bees in a glass hive:

'All their faults observed,  
Set in a notebook, learn'd and conn'd by rote.'

It is not only kings and princes that must refrain from being easy, careless, and communicative in the presence of any member of their suite. No one of any rank or station will be safe. No one, man or woman, can be sure at any distance of time, that some careless expression may not crop up against them, to wound a relative or alienate a friend: that some long-forgotten calumny, some scandal refuted and lived down, may not be suddenly revived when the lapse of time, or the nature of the charge, has rendered disproof impossible. Mr. Reeve states, or means to state, that he has sought to publish nothing which could give pain or annoyance to persons still alive.\* In other words, he conceived himself invested with a discretionary power of suppression, and has exercised it with the best intentions. Then how, without admitting to be right what we feel to be wrong, are we to avoid questioning his knowledge of the world, his acquaintance with society, his experience of the ordinary springs of action, of the commonest feelings that influence mankind?

Is it not pain or annoyance to a Sovereign to find such terms as beast, dog, ass, blackguard, buffoon, coward, applied to her uncles and immediate predecessors on the throne? Are the whole Royal Family of England supposed to be wanting in sensibility and self-respect? Can it be otherwise than galling to one nobleman to have an indiscreet conversation brought up against him, or to another to be told that he tamely submitted to an insult for the sake of place? Is it not pain or annoyance to a gentleman to be accused of depreciating an honoured brother, or to a lady to be made to bear witness against a revered father? Is it consistent with any known code of honour or courtesy to insinuate that a woman of rank took a fancy for a convict and sought a private interview with him in his cell? or to print in plain language that a charming actress, after undergoing a sort of persecution for her good looks, lost them and became something like a bore? Will Mr. Reeve make no allowance for natural feelings of any kind? for filial love, brotherly affection, honest pride, or excusable self-love? Does he suppose a new peer likes to be told that he is one of a horribly low set, or a great landed noble, that he would be utterly insignificant without his broad acres? The book fairly bristles with points of annoy-

ance. It is running over with deleterious or dangerous matter; and to hurry edition after edition through the press, without regard to consequences, is to act like the lighterman who steers a loosely-packed cargo of gunpowder and benzoline through a populous district, with a fire in his cabin and a lighted pipe between his teeth.

There is another consideration which might well have impressed the necessity of greater caution upon Mr. Reeve. The reputation confided to him, of which at all events he assumed the guardianship, was at stake. To what has it been brought? *Ubi lapsus? Quid feci?* By asserting that he has simply obeyed instructions, he cuts the ground from under us when we try to find excuses for Greville, but he does not strengthen his own position. He was surely free to disobey instructions which affected third parties or compromised his friend. If the living Greville had sent him a libellous, treacherous, or improper letter for publication, would he have published it?

There are people who think it a mitigation that the principal sufferers or complainants belong to the higher class, that monarchy and aristocracy are the main objects of attack. But even monarchy and aristocracy, princes and nobles, are entitled to fair play. Let them be subjected to the fiery ordeal of public discussion (which they have stood and will stand again) by all means. They claim no immunity. 'Bare the mean heart that lurks beneath a star;' but don't defame or libel them: don't distort their conduct or motives: don't set down all the bad you hear about them and suppress all the good; and if they occasionally cry out or turn upon their assailants, don't rail at them like the fishmonger who cursed the eels for not lying still to be skinned.

'A mixture of lies,' says Bacon, 'doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt that if there were taken from men's minds vain opinions, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like *vinum dæmonum*, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things.' If this book were subjected to a similar operation—if vain opinions, false valuations, and imaginations as one would—if all the ingredients to which its popularity is mainly owing were taken from it, the result would be much the same: it would be left a poor shrunken thing, a thing of shreds and patches, like Jack's coat (in the 'Tale of a Tub') when the gold lace and embroidery were stripped off. No amount of correction or revision would remove the all-pervading taint of cynicism, or confer the inestimable quality of truth.

\* 'The only omissions I have thought it right to make are a few passages and expressions relating to persons and occurrences in private life, in which I have sought to publish nothing which could give pain or annoyance to persons still alive.'—(Preface.)

We are not aware that we have overstepped by a hair's breadth the strictest limits of literary courtesy in our strong condemnation of this book. We have tacitly assumed that Greville wrote the most objectionable passages without a view to publication, and that Mr. Reeve published them without intending to injure or annoy anybody. What is done cannot be undone. But a grave error has been committed, which must not and (we think) will not be repeated. We venture to prophesy that the remaining portions of the Journal will not see the light in our time—certainly not in the same crude, mischievous, unsatisfactory form. Nor will the world be much the losers should any meditated publication of the same sort be deferred for the next hundred years. If contemporary history cannot be written without the aid of such memoirs, we had rather do without contemporary history—we can wait; for it is our firm conviction that any information or entertainment which may be derived from them is far more than counterbalanced by the annoyance they create, the distrust they inspire, the angry feelings they foster, and the false impressions of character and conduct they diffuse.

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- ART. II.—1. *Compendium Theologiæ Moralis*. Auctore P. Joanne Petro Gury, S.J. Romæ, ex Typographiâ Polyglottâ S. C. de Propagandâ Fide. 2 vols. 1872.
2. *Casus Conscientiæ*. Auctore P. J. P. Gury, S.J., Theologiæ Moralis Professore. Editio in Germaniâ Prima. Ratisbonæ, 1865.
3. *Compendium Theologiæ Moralis ad usum Theologiæ Candidatorum*. A J. P. Moullet. 2 vols. Prati, 1846.
4. *La Chiesa e lo Stato del P. Matteo Liberatore, D. C. D. G.* Seconda Edizione, corretta ed accresciuta. Napoli, 1872.

WONDERFULLY supple as may seem to be the Mechanism of the Society of Jesus (a sketch of which we gave in our last Number), it constitutes the mere skeleton of a system that derives animation from essences of doctrine too subtle to be compressed within the bounds of palpable provisions. Of such essences there exists but one visible symbol, the mystic letters A.M.D.G. (*ad majorem Dei gloriam*) conspicuously emblazoned as a sacred sign on the frontispiece of every work, structure, or creation, with which the Order acknowledges itself to be identified. Through the motto abbre-

viated into these four initial letters the Society of Jesus ostentatiously advertises itself as in possession of a superior knowledge in divine things, that can furnish means of specific efficacy for ensuring the upward progress of humanity towards a state of purified existence capable of reflecting the bright imagery of God's enhanced glorification. No other religious corporation has ever put forth kindred pretensions. It will be our endeavour to inquire what particular lights of thought and doctrine mark off this Jesuit illumination from that dimmer enlightenment which can suffice (as we gather from the Society's motto) only for an inferior glorification of God. For the knowledge we are in quest of we shall turn to the writings of Jesuit Fathers fully qualified to be considered authoritative spokesmen of their Order. It is however well to establish first the degree of guarantee implied by the Society's official *imprimatur* affixed to a book by a Jesuit writer; for, in his rejoinder to Pascual, Father Daniel pleaded that it could not fasten on the Order any responsibility for the opinions set forth in such publication. This plea is wholly untenable. In the 'Constitutions' it is written that 'no differences of opinion are admissible, whether in conversation or public discourse or written books, which last it is not allowable to publish without approval and consent of the General, who, however, may confine their examination to three men endowed with sound doctrine and eminent judgment.\* Again, the faculties of these Examiners are absolutely limited to inquiry into writings transmitted by the General, and to the draughting of an opinion, on which 'the General can take such decision as may to him seem suitable.' The Father Revisors have merely consultative powers; they never can sanction publication; they are not even allowed to receive a book for review from any one but the General; in every instance the sanction for publication expressed by the word *imprimatur* must emanate directly from the General himself at his absolute discretion.†

It would be a labour of supererogation to show what has been proved over and over again, that certain Jesuit Fathers in former days did broach gravely questionable opi-

\* Const. iii. cap. i. Inst. S. J., vol. i. p. 372.

† See 'Regulæ quæ a Patribus Revisoribus in recognoscendis nostrorum Libris observandæ sunt,' 1650. Reg. v., 'Absolutis cujusque libri consultationibus tam ejus libri approbationem, tam censuras, Patri Nostro subscriptas exhibebunt ut de his statuat quod convenire videbitur.' Reg. x., 'Nullum librum scriptumve a quoquam recognoscendum accipient præterquam a P. Generali aut ejus nomine a P. Secretario.'

nions. No interest could attach to a repetition of work done so admirably for all times by Pascal. But interest may attach to the demonstration that the spirit of casuistry, riddled by his pungent invective, still flourishes with unimpaired vigour, and that the same maxims, which it might have been deemed that the shafts of Pascal's piercing wit must have banished for ever, are being inculcated at the present day in every Roman Catholic school, college, and seminary where Jesuit doctrine prevails, and this comprises the vast majority. The works on which we shall rely for evidence cannot be open to challenge. No modern treatise can show a more formidable array of guarantees than Father Gury's 'Compendium of Moral Theology.' It has been appointed, in Roman Catholic seminaries in all lands, as the standard Manual of Moral Theology. It has been printed in every country, and translated into every tongue. The Roman edition of 1866 is called the seventeenth, but we do not feel sure whether this reckoning comprises other than Italian issues. The one we quote from was issued in 1872 from the presses of the 'Propaganda' at Rome—the highest possible voucher for the entire approval of every line and every word in the book by the supreme representatives of the Roman Catholic Church. The volume on 'Cases of Conscience,' by the same author, is a commentary in practical elucidation of the larger work. The 'Compendium,' by Moullet, first appeared in 1834, at Freiburg, in Switzerland; and was particularly recommended by the Bishop of Lausanne 'to the whole clergy of the diocese,' on the special ground that the author's conclusions were eminently distinguished for their happy mean between 'rigorism and laxity.' The edition before us, printed at Prato in 1846, again enjoys the episcopal endorsement of its contents, while Gury brings the cumulative weight of his recognition to the value of Moullet, by referring to him as a decisive authority for the soundness of a particular opinion.

Advocate and antagonist will alike admit that the system of lax opinion popularly charged against Jesuit divines rests on three cardinal propositions—of 'Probabilism, of Mental Reservation, and Justification of Means by the End. We shall begin by examining whether those who now address us as approved organs of the doctrine of the Order have at all abandoned, as to these three heads, the sentiments which caused so great scandal when propounded by former Jesuit celebrities. 'Je vois bien que vous ne savez pas ce que c'est que la doctrine des opinions probables; c'est le fondement et l'

A. B. C. de toute notre morale,' says Pascal's imaginary Jesuit in the 'Provinciales;' a statement amply corroborated by Father Gury. The first section in his ponderous volumes is devoted to an analysis of human actions and of their constituent motives. In the chapter on Lust we come across this axiom: "Temptation when greatly protracted need not be *positively* withstood continuously, inasmuch as that would be over irksome and render one liable to innumerable scruples."\* We then have definitions of conscience in various conditions, and of the moral facts from which it would be justified in deriving elements for its guidance and satisfaction. Prominently amongst such moral facts is ranked the *opinio probabilis*, which is explained to be 'any judgment resting on some really grave motive, even though combined with dread of the opposite.'† This means that, notwithstanding an irrepressible inward impression that truth is really in opposition to a given *opinio probabilis*, yet any opinion, in behalf whereof can be adduced what is technically termed a 'grave motive,' may be safely accepted as full warrant for taking action in its sense. It is of such essential importance to grasp thoroughly the import, as expounded by the Father himself, of this doctrine which is the corner-stone in his system, that we must request the reader's attention to some illustration on the matter. We have had probable opinion declared to be an adequate justification for conscience to act upon it; but we have not yet learned what are the tests for an opinion to be judged probable. Father Gury is explicit on this head. If a person be of 'learning and uprightness,' then for any opinion he may entertain to become 'assuredly probable' for his own guidance, it suffices that he 'should be conscious of having thought it out diligently' and persuaded himself to his own satisfaction of its correctness;‡ for the general public one single author 'of exceptional superiority' is capable of rendering probable any opinion he may express, 'even though his teaching be contrary to what is commonly held;§ while in the case of a person 'unversed in letters' it is enough that he can point to a particular opinion as having fallen from any one whom 'he himself deems to be possessed of learning and insight,' for his confident acceptance of such opinion as a rule of action.|| As in the immediately subsequent line the efficacy of

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 15, Resol. 6.

† Id., vol. i. p. 36, Cap. 4. De Consc. Prob.

‡ Id., vol. i. p. 38, Conclusio 4.

§ Id., Concl. 7.

|| Id., vol. i. p. 39, Concl. 8.

probable opinion is declared 'to ensure its rendering the dictate of conscience practically confident,' that is, to remove it beyond the reach of all disturbing scruples,\* it is evident how far-reaching must be a doctrine which makes it justifiable to act on the authority of opinions, notwithstanding irrepressible inward misgivings as to their correctness, on the mere ground that they are found in type in some book, which for some reason is affirmed to be the production of a man of learning, or that they have been uttered by a person affirming that he has clearly argued himself into their truth. But this is not all we are taught in reference to probable opinions. Father Gury affirms, in a special proposition, that the fact of *extrinsic* probability, which consists in the merely clerical circumstance of a particular opinion being within the literal sense of terms employed by a particular writer of reputed authority, of itself gives to that construction all the value of probability;† and this even though, by another ruling of the Father, the justificatory range of probable opinions reaches to points of divine as well as of positive legislation.‡ Accordingly we are instructed that it is no part of the duty of a spiritual adviser to disturb peace of mind derived from opinions the probability whereof is to him gravely doubtful. 'Is it lawful or incumbent on a Confessor,' asks the Father, 'to absolve a penitent bent on following an opinion, probable indeed, but contrary to the judgment he himself holds?' And his reply is in the affirmative, on the ground 'that the penitent has the right to follow any opinion truly and wholly probable, while the Confessor has no right to impose his own opinion even though it be more probable. For a Confessor is no judge of the opinions his penitent should follow, but is only a judge of his disposition.'§ Do

we not here become instinctively conscious of being in presence of those *adoucissements*, which were so scornfully lashed by Pascal?

The foregoing propositions are so many applications of the principle of dispensation, and the latitude involved therein acquires a range absolutely unlimited, when brought into correlation with the supreme depositary of sacerdotal essence. The query 'whether the Pope can dispense from God's precepts' is thus solved: 'He can dispense therefrom for a just cause in cases where divine law comes into action through human will, as in vows and oaths. In other cases the point is one of controversy, whether he is empowered *actually to dispense for some very grave causes or only to declare God's law suspended for the time.*' 'But,' adds Gury, not a little significantly, 'in *practice the difference is of small consequence.*'\* Without, however, bringing into play the supreme agency of Pontifical plenitude, many concrete cases are given by Father Gury, in which a notable departure from the received acceptation of the law is justified, and some of these cover precisely the points in the history of the Order that have caused much controversy. Thus we are told that it is certainly not unlawful to adopt the symbols and vestments of pagans if only these are considered by the wearers in the character of prevalent national customs, and therefore not necessarily *per se* referable to a particular worship.† But even 'if they should be the vestments and symbols of religion,' Father Gury sees a way to justify their adoption by Christians; they might be lawfully worn if only 'the vestments were not exclusively distinctive between sect and sect, for then their primary use would be to cover the body, and only their secondary use to distinguish the sect'—a ruling that very appositely meets in part the case of the Chinese rites. The Jesuit missionaries were, however, accused besides of having materially modified articles of Christian doctrine to suit the Chinese intellect, so as even to have excised such points as the Incarnation and Crucifixion. If they did so, they did only what Father Gury distinctly affirms to be quite legitimate. The query is gravely mooted, whether '*explicit* belief in the Mysteries of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation be indispensable in a Christian,'‡ to which Fa-

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 39. Filliucius says this: 'Dico licitum esse sequi opinionem probabiliorē, relictā minus probabili, etiamsi sit magis tuta . . . licitum esse sequi opinionem minus probabilem, etiamsi minus tuta sit.'—Quæst. Morales, Lugduni, 1633, tom. ii. p. 12. And Moya, 'Quamvis opinio sit falsa, potest quilibet tutā conscientiā illam practicē sequi propter auctoritatem docentis.'—Opusculum, p. 27.

† Id., vol. i. p. 53. Amongst the authorities cited in support of this proposition is a decision of the Congregation of the Holy Penitentiary that the material fact of an opinion being in St. Liguori's writings is ample warrant for its adoption without any need to weigh his reasons.

‡ Id., vol. i. p. 52, Quar. 78. 'An licitum sit, uti probabilitate, non tantum in materia juris positivi sed etiam juris divini et naturalis.'

§ Id., vol. i. p. 52. This ruling is repeated, vol. ii. p. 360: 'An possit absolvi pœnitens qui vult sequi opinionem sententiæ Confessoris oppositam? Resp. Affirm. si sit vere probabilis.'

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 77. It should be noticed that in the section on Laws and their binding force, every Papal utterance or Brief, even though not inserted in the Corpus Juris, is declared to be possessed of the full force of law (see p. 89), a statement which would cover the *oracula viva vocia*.

† Id., vol. i. p. 124.

‡ Id., vol. i. p. 125. 'An requiratur fides

ther Gury replies, that opinions are divided on this head; but, says, he, 'the one which is the more probable is in the negative, for the reason, that a merely *implicit* belief sufficed before Christ, and therefore should also suffice after his coming.'

He then considers whether 'absolution can be obtained by one who ignores the Mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation'; and, again, after some circumlocution, his conclusion is, 'that according to the more probable opinion, he can be *validly* absolved if only he be living in invincible ignorance.\* Here we have met with a term of first-rate importance in the system of our Jesuit divines, but also of singular elasticity, the hearing of which it is essential to grasp. Let an individual be surrounded by preachers straight from heaven, speaking with tongues of divine persuasion, and yet, according to the definitions given of what constitutes invincible ignorance, he might, with impunity, withhold acquiescence, alleging moral inability to comprehend what was spoken, while in fact he was obdurately bent on not expressing assent, from the design to establish a plea for the indulgence of a selfish purpose. Invincible ignorance should be a natural malformation of the intellect (except in cases where physical means of knowledge are absent), which prevents a fact being recognised and a truth being felt, just as insanity in the eyes of the law exempts an individual from its consequences, as incapacitated for discriminating between right and wrong. There is, however, this capital distinction between the methods by which the relative pleas are established, that, whereas legal tribunals apply objective tests to confirm the existence of insanity, it is enough that invincible ignorance should be persistently alleged by a party for it to be admitted, with all its consequent exemptions. The scope of a rule can be found only within the terms in which it is laid down; and our contention is, that in the definitions and exemplifications given by Father Gury in regard to invincible ignorance, no term can be found which would render it necessary, before the validity of this plea is admitted, that there should be ought adduced in its support besides the obdurately persistent insistence of the party interested in not acquiescing in a particular proposition, or in not admitting a particular

fact. No language can be more precise than Gury's as to the degree of relief from obligations ensured by invincible ignorance. 'Invincible ignorance,' says he, 'wholly removes all voluntary element, for nothing can possibly be voluntary where there is no cognition . . . according to the axiom, Nothing can be willed unless it be previously contemplated. Therefore, *no deed proceeding from invincible ignorance can ever be made the ground for accusation against the doer.*'\*

The case of the Jesuit missionaries in China, judged by these grave sentences, would therefore stand thus:—For Christians to adopt Pagan customs, when to omit doing so might be attended with some inconvenience, is quite legitimate; only they must say to themselves inwardly that they mean merely to conform to a local practice, irrespective of its intimate relation to heathen observances. Again, it is not at all essential for a Christian to believe explicitly in the Trinity or the Incarnation; should, therefore, missionaries boast of numerous converts, none of whom have been indoctrinated in these dogmatic points, there would be no ground for charging the missionaries with laxness, as they would only have omitted to teach what was not essential, or for denying to these neophytes the character of thorough Christians, their ignorance on these points of established secondary importance being plainly invincible; consequently in all they did in China the Jesuit Fathers must be held wholly beyond reproach.†

Let us now see what we can learn in reference to Mental Reservations, the second capital count in the popular indictment against Jesuit principles. 'Une chose des plus embarrassantes qui s'y trouve,' exclaims our Jesuit of the 'Provinciales,' 'est d'éviter le mensonge et surtout quand on voudrait faire accroire une chose fausse. C'est à quoi sert admirablement notre doctrine des *équivoques*. Mais savez vous bien comment il faut faire quand on ne trouve point de mots équivoques?' 'Non, mon père.' 'Je m'en doutais bien,' dit-il; 'cela est nouveau; c'est la doctrine des *Réservations Mentales*.'

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 18.

† Gury reverts to this matter in the 'Casus Conscientiæ' (p. 60). 'Can a missionary,' he asks, 'for purposes of concealment assume the dress of ministers of a false religion so that he may seem one of them;' which is answered in the affirmative, the same qualifying grounds of distinction as above being adduced; 'for dresses primarily serve for covering the body, and are not merely declaratory signs of some sect.' This ruling meets the case of the Jesuit who in Sweden occupied a chair of Protestant divinity.

explicita mysterii SS. Trinitatis et Incarnationis de necessitate mediæ?

\* Gury at least puts his proposition as admitting of some controversy. Moya's language is even more positive: 'Fides explicita de Mysteriis Incarnationis et Trinitatis non est medium necessarium ad salutem.'—'Opusculum,' p. 36.

Father Gury carefully points out that Mental Reservations are of two kinds, the *strictly* and the *latently* mental. The first are absolutely unlawful, as involving the use of terms from which the hearer never could infer the concealed sense of the speaker. But 'for grave reasons' it is 'lawful, at times to make use of *latent* reservations, as also of equivocal terms,' it being quite essential, however, that the terms be such 'as may make it possible for the listener to understand a matter as it really is, and not as it may sound.'\* In other words, it is a condition *sine quâ non* for this device to pass muster, that it should be carefully constructed out of terms into which a double meaning can possibly be imported. Consistently with this ruling, we learn that no oath need be binding, of which it can be alleged that a sense of pressure conducted at the time to its having been sworn. Coercion may very fairly be taken as an extenuating circumstance for departure from an engagement; but it is startling to find it enunciated as a principle, in the standard Handbook for the instruction of Roman Catholic youths in Moral Obligations, that an oath may be repudiated with perfect impunity, if only the person who has sworn pleads to having been at the time influenced in his mind by some apprehension of possibly injurious consequences, unless he did so swear.

It is well to follow out Gury's doctrine as to the force of solemnly contracted promises. In the section about Contracts we find this query: 'If a donation has been promised on oath, but has not yet been delivered, is it still binding?' which is answered negatively,† on the ground that, as the deed is incomplete, it is void in substance, and consequently no oath in reference thereto can be held to have binding force. Father Gury—and he is in accord with the divines of his Order—has, however, more to say in limitation of the obligations following on oaths. He lays it down, that according to more probable opinion no oath is binding 'if made with the intention indeed of swearing, but not of binding,'‡ though he admits that to go deliberately through the semblance of an oath without any intention to keep it does involve 'a venial sin amounting to a lie, with a taking in vain of God's name.' To remove all doubt as to what is implied, this explanation is given: 'The binding

force of an oath has to be interpreted according to the tacit conditions either included or implied (*subintellectas*) therein; which are: 1st, if I could have done so without grave injury; 2nd, if matters had not notably changed; 3rd, if the rights and will of the superior were not contrary; 4th, if the other had kept his faith; 5th, if the other does not waive his right.' Whatever may be said for several of these relieving conditions, the first virtually puts it within every one's power to repudiate his oath whenever he sees fit to allege that its observance would be accompanied by what he himself thinks to be serious discomfort; for here again, no qualification limits the faculty of the interested party to impart, of his own mere will, a justification to the action that may suggest itself as pleasant for adoption.

The prohibitions against spiritual advisers interfering to make so-called penitents entertain a rigid sense of duty are elaborately explicit. Though he might have grounds to entertain 'doubts as to the sincerity of the penitent,'\* the Confessor is yet simply to accept his statements.—Even in the case of 'having certain knowledge that a sin has been kept back or denied,' the Confessor is not to extract its admission unless in a roundabout manner, but he shall grant absolution because the penitent must be believed, whether speaking for or against himself; and 'if he really did commit the sin in question, it may be presumed he has forgotten it, or confessed it to another, or has some great cause for keeping it secret, or that the informers were deceived.† What room for equivocation is afforded by this ruling the following exemplification will show. 'Anna having been guilty of adultery, and being interrogated by her husband, who has formed a suspicion, answers, the first time, that she has not violated wedlock; the second time, having in the interval obtained absolution, she replies, *I am guiltless of such crime*. The third time, she absolutely denies the adultery, and says, *I have not committed it*, meaning within herself such particular adultery as I am bound to reveal, or, I have not committed an act of adultery that has to be revealed to you.' Is Anna to be blamed?‡ Gury's reply, too long to give here, justifies each answer of the adulterous woman, supporting his ruling by a grave array of Jesuit authorities, amongst which figure Suarez and St. Liguori.

In illustration of the equivocation that

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 280. Quomodo præcise distinguatur restrictio latè mentalis a restrictione strictè mentali?

† Ibid., vol. i. p. 483.

‡ Ibid., vol. i. p. 200. 'Non valet probabilis juramentum factum cum animo quidem jurandi sed non se obligandi, nec vice versa.'

\* Gury, vol. ii. p. 355. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 355.

‡ See Gury, 'Casus Conscientiæ.' Restrictio Mentalis, p. 129.

has been practised by the Order in its corporate capacity, the facts connected with the purported condemnation by its General of the doctrines on Tyrannicide, and the Supremacy of the Pope over Princes, maintained by Suarez in his treatise, '*Defensio Fidei Catholicæ*,' are of interest. The first edition appeared at Coimbra in 1613; and in September, 1614, Paul V. conveyed to Suarez, in a Brief, his Pontifical approbation of its contents. Despite this august sanction, the treatise excited controversy, and in 1618 it was even condemned by the Parliament of Paris to be burnt by the public hangman. Thereupon the Jesuits came forward with a Brief alleged to have been issued by their General Acquaviva, as early as August, 1614—that is, a month before the Pope's congratulatory Epistle—prohibiting all public discussion by members of the Order on the two points that had given rise to the objectionable propositions. This Brief has been reprinted in the Institutes\* and reads there as a general instruction to all Provincials not to tolerate within their jurisdictions any disquisition as to the Pope's Supremacy or Tyrannicide, without special authority from Rome. But Juvenius, in his History, printed with official approval a century later in Rome informs us incidentally that this Brief never was a general instruction, but was addressed to France alone, having been written solely to allay the unpleasant controversy there awakened by Suarez's propositions.† This statement at once deprives the document of the character sought to be given it by Jesuit apologists. There is, however, something more to be observed. By this document most certainly all publications on the said topics are professedly prohibited for the future, without special permission from Rome. Suarez's volume has been re-issued,—in 1619 at Cologne, in 1655 at Mayence—without a trace of such special permission, and without disapproval from the General. Had the special sanction then been given clandestinely? If it had not, why did the Order never reprove the new issues? It is certain that at no time has the Order levelled a word of public censure against Suarez. On the contrary, he is proclaimed as a light

of the first magnitude in the firmament of doctrine by Father Gury, in his most recent editions:—'*Inter Theologos post D. Thomam eminens, a Paulo V. et Bened. XIV. doctor eximius nuncupatus, et apud omnes ingenio, doctrinâ, et sapientiâ admodum commendatus.*' We shall have occasion to advert to certain propositions of quite modern date as to the Pope's Supremacy over Princes; and then it may possibly be deemed that the principles embodied in the objectionable doctrines, on account of which Suarez's treatise was publicly burnt, are to be found at the present day in the approved writings of the great organs of Jesuit learning and doctrine.

In our former article we dwelt on some matters which apparently countenance the allegation, that clandestine affiliation is a thing not absolutely repudiated by the Society. It is not without relevancy to this point, and specially to Mental Reservation, that clandestine conversions to, and protracted clandestine professions of, the Roman Catholic faith, are declared quite permissible practices under certain circumstances. At page 60 of the '*Casus Conscientiæ*,' we read the following interesting case:—'*Paternus, a Protestant clergyman and in extreme peril of death, having come to believe the Catholic religion to be alone true, has requested a priest to be called in, but that he should come dressed as a layman, to avert all suspicion of the convert's being about to abjure heresy. To this priest Paternus opens his mind, attaching however two conditions; that in the event of his succumbing to the illness, he be allowed to die concealing the Catholic faith and the baptism he had received; and that, in the event of recovery, he be allowed to postpone his public profession until such time as this could be done free from any injury to his estate. To both conditions the priest assents readily.*' The question is, Was the priest justified in doing so? and Gury's argumentation is eminently typical of the spirit pervading all Jesuit doctrine—which finds expression in the apparently emphatic affirmation of a rigid principle, coupled with the immediate introduction of terms which practically make the observance of the affirmed principle a matter of option at the dictate of expediency. With stern rigorism our Father begins by declaring it hardly conceivable how the first condition could be conceded, 'for Paternus was bound before death to profess the true faith and recant the errors he had taught, otherwise as one not properly disposed he could not be admitted to the grace of baptism. Besides every true believer is bound to profess his

\* Inst. S. J., vol. ii. p. 8. '*Præceptum Provincialis circa editionem Librorum.*'

† 'Abunde jam provium fuerat a Præp. Gen. Societatis ne tractarentur a nostris scriptoribus hujus generis argumenta . . . Exstabat editum ante annos quatuor, super eâ re decretum, quod in Hispaniam tamen et in Lusitaniam non perlatum erat, quia nulla ibi his ejusmodi movebatur, atque decretum Acquaviæ a Patribus Gallis fuerat procuratum, sic ad eos, propriè putabatur.'—Juv., p. 88, lib. xii. Romæ, 1710.

faith, no matter what injury may confront him, whenever the glory of God and the salvation of his neighbours demand this, and in the given circumstances, the glory of God and the salvation of his neighbours did alike demand a public profession from Paternus as tending towards the extirpation of the errors he had been teaching.' At this point our moralist breaks abruptly away from this prelude of rigorism, couching the remainder of his utterances in a very different tone. 'Should however,' are his words, 'despite every possible effort, Paternus prove incapable of being persuaded [to waive his conditions], as a last resource, he might be induced to attest before more witnesses than one that he professed and wished to die in the Catholic religion, or he might at all events affirm that he had entrusted some secret of great moment to the priest, to be declared after his death. In this manner he might satisfy his obligations. *A fortiori* this transaction would be feasible, should Paternus be not a clergyman, but a simple heretic. But,' adds the cautious Gury, 'it would be prudent in the priest not at once to manifest the entire obligation, but first to declare only the lighter portion, so that this having been accepted the penitent might be led on to the greater.' There remains, however, the condition as to postponement of a public declaration, in the event of recovery, until such time when the convert may consider himself secured against all risk to his worldly interests; and to this condition Gury distinctly asserts there can be no objection, provided a fairly serious motive can be adduced, 'for it is lawful to dissemble the true faith for a while in consideration of *severe inconvenience* that might accrue from public profession.' The only limitation on this indulgence, which Gury considers proper, is that a clergyman, after clandestine profession of the Catholic faith, should evade the direct performance of any sacerdotal offices connected with the service of his secretly disowned Church. With this single exception, we are unable to gather from Gury (and he cites in concurrence two great luminaries of Jesuit doctrine, Elbel and Tamburini), that there can be any material obstacle, if some motive of expediency recommended the proceeding, against a convert being admitted to embrace the Roman Catholic faith in strict secrecy, and being afterwards allowed for an unlimited period to go about the world, carefully concealing from its sight the fact of his profession. It is true that the grant of indulgence seems limited to cases where specially serious consequences would be entailed on immediate public profession. But to any

one familiar with Gury's terms this qualifying limitation reduces itself to nothing, as it is dependent on no other standard than the stubborn insistence of the neophyte himself to exact the concession, and the appreciation of the priest as to which is worth more to the Church—the proffered accession of a particular neophyte on his own terms, or the stern enforcement of a rigid principle.

We now come to the third great count in the indictment against the teaching of the Jesuits, that they have affirmed the maxim of means being justified in virtue of the end to which they are applied. No charge has more powerfully tended to raise popular prejudice against the Jesuit Fathers. The champions of the Order have indignantly denied that this maxim has been broached. They challenge the quotations in support of this allegation, as marked with misprision or prompted by a spirit of misconstruction. It is essential in a review of Jesuit doctrine, however summary, to arrive at an understanding in reference to this point. We believe it to be demonstrable that the maxim has been broached clearly and definitely, by an unbroken chain of Jesuit divines of first-rank standing, from Busenbaum down to Gury and Liberatore.

In substantiation of this statement we submit a series of quotations from writers whose authority cannot be disowned by the Order. The first is from Busenbaum (who may be called the Patriarch of the Maxim), whose 'Medulla' has gone through more than fifty editions, and, by its reprint not many years ago in Rome at the press of the 'Propaganda,'\* can claim the continued and solemn approval of the supreme authority of the Church. 'Cum finis est licitus, etiam media sunt licita,' are his words, and again, 'Cui licitus est finis, etiam licent media' (pp. 320 and 504, ed. Francoforti, 1653). Amongst Jesuit luminaries of first magnitude ranks Layman, of whom Gury says, 'Inter maximos theologiæ moralis doctores sine dubio referendus.' In his 'Theologia Moralis' (Munich, 1625) we meet with the same proposition in almost the identical formula, 'Cui concessus est finis, concessa etiam sunt media ad finem ordinata.' In 1762 the Jesuit Wagemann, Professor of

\* The plea that no responsibility is implied by permitting such reprint is confuted by the course adopted in another case. Emmanuel Sá, having given expression in his 'Aphorismi Confessoriorum' to some opinions which in Rome were deemed objectionable, these had to be expunged in subsequent editions. Why has this not been done, at all events, in the recent editions of Busenbaum, issued as they are from the Propaganda press, if any portion of his doctrine had been taken exception to in Rome?

Morals at the University of Innsbruck, published a Synopsis of Moral Theology, duly authenticated by official approbation, in which occurs this passage: 'Is the intention of a good end rendered vicious by the choice of bad means? Not if the end itself be intended irrespective of the means,' a proposition which he thus exemplifies: 'Caius is minded to bestow alms, without at the time taking thought as to the means; subsequently, from avarice he elects to give it out of the proceeds of theft, which to that end he consequently commits;' and so Caius would be entitled to the merits of charity though he has aggravated the offence of violence by the motive of avarice. Wagemann is not a doctor who deals in obscure words, for he says: 'Finis determinat probitatem actûs,' a definition of singularly neat precision.

Our next extract is taken from the widely disseminated treatise on 'Moral Theology' by Father Voit. He puts the following case:—'Arcadius kills Caius in some city where the law inflicts capital punishment on a murderer. Arcadius is delivered up and condemned to death, but he escapes, forcibly breaking out of prison, though foreseeing that he may render his gaolers liable to grievous injury. The question is whether Arcadius, by escaping after sentence had been pronounced, has done wrong. My answer is in the negative. . . . Has Arcadius then done wrong by rupturing his chains and forcibly breaking out of prison? . . . He has done no wrong, *cui enim licet finis, ei et media permissu sunt*.\*' The estimation in which Voit is held would be sufficiently evidenced by the fact of the edition we quote from being the twelfth; but we have heard of three other editions of modern date—one printed at Rome in 1838, another at Ancona in 1841, and the last at Würzburg in 1860. Indeed, the soundness of his language has received a crowning illustration in the circumstance that his formula and his exemplification have been adopted almost textually by the two most signally honoured modern luminaries of Jesuit teaching—Fathers Liberatore and Gury. In an essay, originally inserted in what has been proclaimed by Pius IX. the special organ of true doctrine, the 'Civiltà Cattolica,' Father Liberatore, after an elaborate argument in support of the indefeasible title of the Church to press into her service the agency of physical means, thinks to strengthen his position by the maxim 'that from the obligation to attain

an end arises the right to procure the means needful and useful for obtaining the same.'\* Finally, amongst Gury's hypothetical problems is one as to the justification for an individual guilty of a gross theft first to deny his guilt, and then, after condemnation, to escape from prison by violent means, such as perforating walls and breaking open doors. By common consent it is declared, that before condemnation a guilty party is certainly entitled to escape, while, though there is a controversy as to whether this is lawful after sentence, Gury adduces the opinion of 'several' who hold it to be always lawful to break away from very stringent imprisonment, '*carcerem durissimum*,' on the ground 'that it would be an act of heroism to undergo very severe punishment when it was possible to escape easily.'

But be this as it may, of one thing Gury speaks with confidence;—'In all cases where it is not unlawful for a guilty individual to escape, he does no wrong in breaking open doors and perforating a wall, *quia ubi licitus est finis, etiam licita sunt media per se indifferentia*.'† No doubt there appears here to be introduced a qualification through the introduction of the last term; but if the reader will have a little patience, it will be seen that the limitation involved in this term shrinks into infinitesimal proportions. Unless we grievously misunderstand Father Gury, his test for the *indifference* of an act resides exclusively in the question, whether or not it must necessarily be wicked under all conceivable circumstances. For instance, an act of adultery could never be indifferent, though an act of stabbing can be so considered, inasmuch as the operation of plunging a knife into a living human body need not be, under all conditions, hurtful, but might possibly be beneficial, as in a case of surgery. This will become clearer when we come to what Father Gury says as to evil intentions not rendering wicked an indifferent act. Here we confine ourselves to the opinion—and we assure those who challenge our view that we have arrived at it not lightly—that, according to Father Gury's definitions, the words '*per se indifferentia*' cannot be held to limit in any effective degree the licence involved in the other terms of the proposition. We submit, therefore, that the quotations given establish that the maxim of the end justifying means has been broached by a successive chain of eminent and approved Jesuit divines, and that the approbation of the said maxim has been continued to our day, as evidenced by

\* 'Theologiæ Moralis a P. E. Voit. ed. duodecima, accurate emendata curâ et studio Domini M. Gauthier.' Parisiis, 1843, vol. i. p. 99.

\* 'La Chiesa e lo Stato.' 2nda Edizione, p. 185.

† Gury, 'Casus Conscientiæ,' p. 332.

the repeated recent issue, with authoritative sanction, of the works by former writers containing the doctrine in question, and the reiteration of the same by Fathers Liberatore and Gury.

Having satisfied ourselves as to the views held by those best entitled to represent the actual teaching of the Society in regard to these three main principles—Probabilism, Mental Reservation, and Justification of Means by the End—we proceed to some consideration of their attested application, as far as this can be gathered from positive rulings by the same high authorities. This inquiry falls aptly into two divisions, corresponding to the two groups into which cases arrange themselves naturally: one comprising the dealings between Man and Man which arise out of the relations of individual life, the other comprising points that touch the relations between Man as a Citizen and the Community as a State. We commence with the first category.

Amongst not a few Christians it has become an accredited notion that Charity is a virtue of capital merit; but if we accept Father Gury's ruling, we can hardly avoid looking upon it as a trivial, if not a downright silly practice. In the section devoted to a definition of what is demanded by 'Love of one's neighbour'\* we find the following canon:—'First Rule.—Every one is bound *simply and absolutely* to love himself more than his neighbour, for the reason that every one stands nearer to himself than does any one else. Hence, love of oneself is by Christ laid down as the standard for love of a neighbour—*Love thy neighbour as thyself*. This, besides, is clear from the natural and insuperable disposition to love oneself more than one's neighbour; whence the common maxim—*Charity, well understood, begins at home*. In Montaigne or La Rochefoucauld such a sentence would have sounded not out of character, but in an approved 'Handbook of Morals,' it falls on us with a rather startling ring. Yet the terms are perfectly normal according to Jesuit theology. If we refer to Moullet we meet with these words: 'In the order of *effective* charity, it is our duty to love ourselves more than a neighbour.†

To clear away all ambiguity, Father Gury explains that acts of charity are incumbent only on those who 'are tolerably well off,

and either the absolute lords or administrators of their properties;\*' and that in cases of 'ordinary necessity,' the obligations of charity cannot involve more than certain assistance 'out of superfluities, to the extent of some privation of pleasures.'† Even in cases of 'extreme necessity . . . no one is bound to lay out any large sum of money for relieving a poor man from peril of death.‡ Only in cases of the gravest necessity does a call exist for some contribution 'out of the strict necessities for the donors' station,' which are enumerated as comprising not merely 'what is needful for the education of the family, but also the maintenance of servants, the reception of guests, the cost of fitting presents, and of customary entertainments.'§ It seems to us that in virtue of this definition of 'necessaries,' any one disinclined to charity might escape its calls on the plea of impecuniosity, while this had been artfully incurred by deliberately wasteful expenditure on lavish feastings, with the express view of securing a plea, which must be held valid by a Jesuit confessor, for shirking an irksome obligation. For Father Gury lays it down distinctly, that no evil intention can render wicked any deed which in itself must not by nature be necessarily evil||—a proposition illustrated by various remarkable exemplifications. A judge is declared free from blame who may have condemned a murderer to death, though he was actuated in pronouncing the sentence by personal hatred, because the sentence was within his legal attributes. The same rule is held to apply to a landowner, who, with the deliberate intention of injuring his neighbour, diverts a stream into a particular channel, if only he can allege that in its old

\* 'Quinam debeant, aut possint eleemosynam facere? Illi soli generatim qui sat commode vivunt, et sunt veri domini vel bonorum suorum administratores.' Gury, vol. i. p. 145.

† On the same page (vol. i. p. 144) we have some curious calculations as to the proportion, not of gross income but of what remains over outgoings—of loose pocket-money—that need be bestowed in alms to fulfil all ordinary obligations of charity. According to the opinion best entitled to acceptance, one-fiftieth is said to be ample, and even this proportion need not be so expended where the superfluous sum is very large. Some doctors, indeed, he adds, as, for instance, Concina, characterised as 'sententiarum rigidarum fautor' (vol. ii. p. 631), are disposed to claim for the poor a twentieth, and even possibly a tenth.

‡ 'In necessitate gravi vel extremâ . . . nemo tamen tenetur magnam pecuniâ summam erogare ad pauperem a periculo mortis liberandum.' Gury, vol. i. p. 144.

§ See various definitions, Gury, vol. i. p. 144. || 'Ad injuriam non sufficit mala intentio.' Gury, vol. i. p. 405. See also p. 366.

\* 'De Amore Proximi,' Gury, vol. i. p. 1819.  
† Moullet, 'Comp. Theol. Mor.,' De Charitate erga Proximum, vol. i. p. 244. This is a maxim of old standing. Maldonatus ('Summula,' Coloniae, 1605) already says, 'Quod attinet ad affectum, nemo tenetur præcepto tanto affectu alios diligere, quanto se.'

course it had caused some annoyance to himself, for he would be merely availing himself of a faculty within his strict right.

Father Gury does not shrink from extending justifications under this head even to acts designed with the view of compassing death. 'An individual sets poison or a snare in a locality where his enemy, though very rarely, passes, with the express intention that he might perish if he should chance to come by. A physician applies the degree of attention he is bound strictly by his calling to exercise, but out of hatred is resolved to apply none beyond, in order that the patient's death might ensue.' Gury asks whether these men should be held guilty of having wrongfully caused death, if this actually came about from circumstances prepared with so much deliberation. His answer is distinct, that according to the *more accredited* opinion they should be held exempt from guilt, 'because, on the one hand, the external act is not unjust, inasmuch as, in human dealings, the mere possibility of another man's injury has not to be taken into account, and on the other hand an internal act is not rendered unjust in virtue of intention, for intention has influence neither for the efficacy of a cause, nor for peril of injury. Consequently, the result must be said to have happened by mere accident, and of this an evil intention does not change the nature.'\* We venture to affirm that no one who has thoroughly drunk in the essence of Father Gury's teaching—and it cannot be too often repeated that his teaching is now systematically administered in most Roman Catholic seminaries—need ever be disturbed in his conscience as to any moral liabilities being consequent on intentions, however wicked, if these have only been artfully connected with agencies of which, by some ingenuity, it could be plausibly pleaded that in some conceivable contingencies they might prove possibly harmless.

It must be admitted that Gury is elaborately precise when dealing with points of conscience that arise out of transactions which, to unsophisticated minds, seem acts of fraud or theft. It may perhaps cause surprise to hear it gravely questioned, in a Handbook of Moral Duties, whether 'you are bound to make any reparation for the harm that has befallen another in consequence of your unjust deed, as for instance, if the theft were imputed to him of that which you yourself had stolen.' Father Gury will not even admit the possible probability of this notion, and he gives three grounds, re-

spectively *probable*, more *probable*, and *certain*, against such obligation, 'even though you should have expressly striven to get your own action imputed to him;' the basis of his argumentation being laid in a casuistic distinction between what is accidental and what is inherent, and in the assumed inefficacy of evil intention to render evil any action of which the possible indifference can be pleaded.\* Astounding as this may sound, the following exemplification of what roguery may perpetrate, with every security against disturbance of conscience, will probably seem yet stranger. 'Quirinus, with the intention to steal a piece of cloth, breaks into a shop at night and lights a candle, taking due precaution to guard against the danger of fire; but, by some sudden chance, for instance the leap of a cat, the candle is pitched into the straw; quickly the whole shop is in flames, and the thief taking flight only just gets off safe. What about Quirinus? Why *he is liable for nothing*, inasmuch as he never contemplated the danger. He is certainly not liable for the cloth it was his intention to steal, even though he had laid his hand on it, for its destruction also is involuntary; neither is the seizing of the cloth the cause of the injury, nor did the carrying of the candle create the immediate peril of conflagration, sufficient care having been employed.† The necessary conclusion from this exemplification is, that should some one have broken into a dwelling, with deliberate intentions of burglary, and should he have become the direct agent of an occurrence which but for his unlawful presence at that very time never could have happened, involving intensely aggravated injury to the already wronged owner of the invaded dwelling, nevertheless this burglarious individual would be entitled to dismiss from his conscience all idea of his being under obligations of reparation (provided he himself has also lost the goods on which he had laid burglarious hands)—as regards the consumed dwelling, because his instrumentality had been unpremeditated,—as regards the purloined articles, because they had subsequently slipped out of his hold.

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 404, Resp. 2 and 3 ad Quæst. 18. 'An tenearis reparare damnum alicui obveniens occasione injustæ tuæ actionis, v. gr. si furatus fueris et furtum ipsi imputetur. . . . Imo probabiliter etiam negandum est, licet de industriâ egeris, ut actio tua ipsi imputetur, quia semper hæc actio est tantum causa damni *per accidens* et non *per se*; non enim in illud ex naturâ suâ efficaciter influxit. Prava enim intentio non efficit ut injustum sit illud opus, quod ex se respectu tertii injustum non est.'

† See Second Case. Gury, vol. i. p. 406,

\* See for all this Gury, vol. i. pp. 366-7.

The whole theory which is propounded by our Jesuit divine, in regard to the laws that should regulate distinctions between Mine and Thine, departs so widely from what are generally held to be fundamental principles, that we must say a few more words on a matter so intimately affecting the capital relations of society. Although we were told that not even the direst distress could establish a call to make any such disbursement in charitable relief as would encroach on our comforts, we learn that not merely a sense of pinching necessity but the bare apprehension of its imminence would entitle an individual to help himself out of his neighbour's property. Here again we encounter that capital feature which, like a red thread, runs through the whole system of Jesuit doctrine, providing the unflinching sanction for laxness in the application of principles—namely, the unlimited discretion accorded to the individual in assertion of justificatory pleas. Just as for the probability of opinions and the invincibility of ignorance, so also the determining test for the plea authorising an invasion of other people's property rests wholly on the *ipse dixit* of the party interested in exemption from established law; for who can verify the existence of an inward apprehension as to necessity being *imminent*? All that is wanted in the eyes of Gury is, that a person should vehemently affirm his having been prompted by some inscrutable dread of threatened distress. Of necessity itself, however, a definition is given. It is of three degrees: 'ordinary, in which pauper mendicants as a rule find themselves;' 'grave, in which life is kept up with great labour;' and 'extreme, in which life itself is in risk.' An individual in this last plight is pronounced to be entitled 'to make use of as much of another person's property as may suffice for relieving himself from the said necessity, on the ground that *division of goods, however it may have been made, never can derogate from the natural right appertaining to every one to provide for himself, when suffering from extreme necessity. In such circumstances all things therefore become common, so that any one receiving another person's property for his own succour receives a truly common thing which he converts into his own, just as if this were happening before the division of goods. Consequently, he commits no theft.*'\* The allegation often heard in Germany that the strength of the Communistic movement lies there amidst a population prone to priestly influences, will hardly lose in

weight when we find propositions enunciated by such high ecclesiastical authority, that embody maxims of the rankest Communism.

Even this does not exhaust the pleas advanced by Gury in justification of proceedings which unskilled Christians would consider acts of reprehensible violence. 'All that has been said about *extreme necessity*,' says Gury, 'is also applicable to *quasi extreme* or very grave necessity, such being deemed to have occurred when there is *probable* peril of incurring death, or of losing an important limb, or of lasting imprisonment, or of *undergoing the penalty of the hulks* (*penam triremium*), or very serious or enduring illness.\* Let it be noted that in the schedule of justificatory circumstances, no qualifying term makes the application in reference to the hulks dependent on the justice or injustice of the sentence. In foreign countries condemnation to the hulks—technically termed the *Bagnes*—has been freely awarded to those considered dangerous revolutionists. We need only call to mind the Neapolitan Liberals of 1848—Poerio and his comrades, who for so many years had to drag 'the galley slaves' chains. Again, recently, we have seen deported first to the *Bagnes* on the French coast, and then to penal settlements, large convoys of so-called Communard prisoners as men too dangerous for society to tolerate. We should like to have it from the lips of a skilled Jesuit Father, how he would have borne himself in the following case. We assume our Father to have been Almoner in the prison of Poerio or of Rochefort, and that it had come to his knowledge that either was planning evasion, and cunningly contriving to procure through robbery the means for seducing the gaolers, so as to effect his escape from that convict condition which is affirmed by Father Gury to constitute the kind of necessity which justifies recourse to such practices. Would the Father Almoner have spoken words of encouragement to the plotting prisoners as engaged on a meritorious enterprise, or would he have informed the governor of the intended evasion, and if so, on what ground would he have justified that proceeding in the face of maxims confirmed by the highest authorities of the Church, through the sanction accorded to Gury's book? Father Gury himself candidly admits that what is lawful to the principal is lawful to an accomplice, so that a friend breaking into a bank, to procure money for facilitating the escape of a confederate out of the *Bagne*, would be

\* For all this see Gury, vol. i. pp. 374-5.

\* Gury, Resol. iv. p. 375.

simply 'showing that he loved his neighbour as himself.\* Lest the reader should fancy that these rather startling propositions flow from a train of thought peculiar to Gury, we subjoin a passage on the same subject from that other eminent Jesuit teacher, Father Moullet: 'Whoever, in extreme necessity, takes another person's property for the needful sustenance of his own life or that of his belongings, does not commit theft. For in that condition, *all things become common*, especially as to enjoyment.†

Those familiar with the 'Provincial Letters' will remember the story of Jean d'Albe, serving-man in the Jesuit College, who, having robbed his masters, pleaded that he had only acted on the doctrine he had heard them broach, as, under the conviction that he had been made to work in excess of what he was paid for, he had simply helped himself to what he was persuaded to be his due. This story, which reads like a squib of Pascal's invention, would be strictly in harmony with Gury's doctrine. 'Can servants,' is his query, 'who are of opinion that their wages are inferior to the work done by them, make use of *clandestine compensation*?—*occulta compensatio*, which is defined as consisting 'in the recovery of what is due by invasion of another person's property.'‡ The Father replies that speaking generally, such a proceeding cannot be approved; but, he adds quickly, 'I say, *speaking generally*, for there are not a few exceptions,' which he enumerates; amongst these being the case of servants who have contracted for inadequate wages, under physical constraint or moral fear or the strain of necessity, or who are conscious of being overweighted with labour; all such being declared entitled to help themselves to what they deem their rightful due, for, says the Divine law, 'the labourer is worthy of his hire.'

With perfect consistency, the lawfulness of this operation is extended to all cases in which any wrong charge has been made. Should a judge, by error of judgment, sentence a man to payment of moneys never received or already paid, the suffering party would be justified, says Gury, in recouping himself by an exercise of *clandestine compensation*, though we are puzzled to understand against whom in particular the letter of licence is to hold good, if no moneys had been received.§ Is there to be a right of

general raid on society? It is, however, right to note how our Jesuit is at pains to impress that appropriations of other people's property are not tolerated to an indefinite extent. Father Gury admits the difficulty in fixing a figure, which could be a hard-and-fast point to mark off in all cases grave from trivial thefts, but he gives the best sliding-scale he has been able to calculate, according to the rank in fortune of the parties mulcted, for distinguishing between the two degrees of offence, and the figures range from one to twelve francs.\* In connection with this tabular estimate, there arises, however, a very nice question: how far can a person consummating thefts, that amount in the aggregate to what is 'grave,' still permanently enjoy the privileges of merely 'venial' offence, by guardedly apportioning the heavy total into successive pilferings, each kept within the limit of triviality? If practised on the same party, Father Gury is clear that these acts must roll up into 'gravity'; and he is disposed to think this might also happen though several persons were victimised, unless an adequate interval be allowed to elapse between each act of pilfering. What period must elapse for a protection against this inconvenient aggregation of peccadilloes, has been matter of not little controversy, but Gury considers *two months* amply sufficient, 'even though the matter might verge on something grave.†

The Father's thoughtfulness in devising exculpatory pleas for thieves extends even to unnatural complications. He discusses the case of a son who has robbed his father of eight francs at one time, and then of ten francs on successive occasions, pronouncing him not guilty of a grave offence, because as regards the first theft, 'according to general opinion, a grave matter for the son of a well-to-do family should amount to at least ten francs;' and as regards the second, 'because if about ten francs are needed, though the money be taken at one time, the value of fifteen francs will be necessary in thefts that are in dribblets.' Gury also puts the case of a woman, with a son by her first marriage, for whose benefit she robs the second husband (on whom this son can have no claim), and this proceeding Gury is prepared to justify, if only the wife be moderate in her abstractions, and will profess an inward disposition at some future time to make them good. It follows‡ that 'he

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 375.

† Moullet. Comp. para. 1, p. 274.

‡ 'Recuperatio debiti per rei alienæ invasionem.' Gury, vol. i. p. 376.

§ See Gury, vol. i. p. 378. Quæst. 4. This opinion is given as *general*.

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 369. 'De Naturâ Furti.'

† Ibid., vol. i. p. 371.

‡ See Gury, 'Casus Conscientiæ,' 'De Furtis Filiorum et De Furtis Uxorum' (the particular case is headed '*Uxor Provida*'), pp. 172-3.

who has caused grave injury through various deliberately perpetrated venial offences,' is held free from all obligation to make good that injury 'in the total,' if he has been only shrewd enough to scatter the injury over various victims; or, in the case of its perpetration on one, if he has been careful to leave the proper interval between the stages of the operation,\* while an incendiary who has burned down a stranger's house, in the mistaken belief that it belonged to one he hated, is free from obligation of compensation 'because such action was unintentional towards the sufferer.†' Can it then create surprise to hear it emphatically affirmed, that everyone is justified in helping himself to what he considers his rights, rather than have recourse to legal procedure, whenever this might be attended with difficulties, or the prospect of scandal, or even merely heavy cost?‡ Such maxims must gravely modify the best established rules of life. An insolvent, who secretes any portion of his assets, is, by civil law, guilty of fraud. Father Gury holds it distinctly lawful for an insolvent to guard himself from 'great poverty'—manifestly something short of 'extreme necessity'—by clandestine abstraction of such an amount of property as he may deem needful for his maintenance, the fact of such 'great poverty' being, as usual, determined by the insolvent himself.§ The same process of abstraction is held justifiable in the case of one satisfied in his own mind of a legacy having been mentally intended for him, but which has not been bequeathed in a due legal conveyance.

Informal death-bed gifts—*donatio manualis ab ægroto facta*—are also declared strictly valid, as are likewise 'testamentary deeds in favour of pious bequests, though defective in legal form,' while absolute power is allowed to the Pope to alter at discretion the special application of such last wishes.¶ Indeed it would appear that every priest is empowered to divert at discretion

the application of a pious legacy. Gury puts the case of an individual who bequeathed a sum for endowing with a wedding portion some orphan girl to be designated by the parish priest. The latter sees fit to select a girl who is not an orphan, no ground except his pleasure being assigned for this manifest departure from an explicit condition, and yet the priest is summarily declared liable to no blame. Elsewhere Gury, in concurrence with St. Liguori, pronounces 'a donation affirmed by oath, but not executed, to have no binding force.\*' It will be observed here that the repudiation is general, so that it would appear to be inculcated that, whereas a sacred obligation of fulfilment does attach to any verbal instruction, however informal, perhaps whispered unintelligibly into the single ear of an interested party by a dying person only half conscious, whenever a so-called pious foundation is the object to be benefited, yet no obligation is held to attach to the fulfilment of informal donations for other objects, even though the intention to make them had been affirmed by a solemn oath.† Many unfounded stories have been afloat as to priestly pressure exercised on dying persons to extract bequests in favour of the Church. Nothing can be better calculated to confirm popular prejudice on this head than to find such propositions sustained as sacrosanct maxims by the most accredited organs of Church doctrine. In France a system of clandestine trusts and fictitious bequeathals has notoriously contrived to counteract the action of the law for preventing the growth of corporate properties. This practice is explicitly sanctioned by Gury, without the least attempt at reserve, in the following proposition: 'Are clandestine trusts for pious causes valid in *foro conscientie*, when made in the guise of *simulated donation* or of *fictitious testament*, or of legacy to some individual?‡' Can there be a more open approval of a contrivance deliberately devised for driving a hole through a statute?

Beyond doubt the teachings of Gury's school furnish ready justification for transactions which, by the light of ordinary insight, would be instinctively pronounced immoral. As an instance, let the following conclusion serve: 'If you threaten an individual caught in the act of theft, that you will hand him over to the injured owner or the jailor or the judge, unless he promises

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 402.

† Gury, Idem.

‡ Gury, vol. i. p. 378. 'An graviter, et contra justitiam peccet qui se compensat, quin prius ad iudicem recurrere possit? Nullo modo peccat, si valde difficilis sit recursus ad iudicem, ob scandalum periculum, sumptus extraordinarios, etc.; quia tunc recursus est moraliter impossibilis.'

§ Gury, vol. i. p. 471. 'De Obligatione Contractus.'

¶ See for all this, Gury, vol. i. pp. 486, 494, and 496. The reason alleged in the first line as decisive of the validity of informal pious bequests is that, being a matter touching the Church, it is wholly beyond the pale of the civil power; 'Pie causæ ad Ecclesiam pertinent, ejusque subiacent jurisdictioni, porro Ecclesia libera et immunis est a potestate civili in omnibus quæ jurisdictioni suæ directe subsumunt,' p. 485.

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 483.

† 'An valeant in foro conscientie testamenta ad causas profanas formis legalibus destituta? ... 2<sup>a</sup> Sententia docet ex lege positivâ prorsus irritari.'—Gury, vol. i. p. 485.

‡ Gury, vol. i. p. 498.

you a particular sum, *the promise holds good, and you are not bound to return the received sum*, unless, perchance, in the opinion of a man of judgment (*vir prudentis*) it should seem excessive. This holds true, even though you never meant to hand over but merely to frighten the individual, because you would be waiving spontaneously the power to do something which can be taxed in money value.\* Here we have an approval, in one breath, of hush-money and of its extortion under false pretences. Bribery is near akin to extortion, and Father Gury quite naïvely admits himself at a loss to know why so natural a proceeding should be stigmatised. 'Can a price be lawfully accepted for a matter of duty, not indeed on the score of justice, but of some other virtue; for instance, if you were to take money for observing your fast in Lent? and the conclusion is, that the money can be rightfully taken, 'it being considered as a strictly gratuitous gift, bestowed out of sheer generosity.† Accordingly, it is quite lawful to accept money for the performance of a prescribed duty, only the person receiving such reward must plead that the prospect thereof was not his direct motive for acting up to his duty. It would be unfair, however, to conceal that the lawfulness of such acceptances is nicely limited to cases in which the service rewarded is of a kind 'that can be priced in money.' For instance, any one would be bound to make restitution 'who exacted money for showing the road to a passer-by, *if this could be done without trouble or loss of time*, as he would be bound to this act of love, and such action could not be taxed.' It is well to note the qualification smuggled in by the words put by us in italics, for it ensures the plea for payments otherwise disallowed.

We are told also, it is by no means decided that a judge is bound never to accept money gifts from a party to a suit before him. If the gift were proffered with the view of influencing a prospective judgment, contrary to justice, the judge should, indeed, sternly refuse acceptance; 'but, the sentence having been already pronounced, it is matter of controversy' whether he may not retain what might then seem a mere offering of gratitude from one benefited by the delivered sentence, *even when this had been contrary to justice.‡* Decisions of this character subvert fundamental notions as to right and wrong. Let us take the case of a person knowing all about a theft, and accepting hush-money from the guilty party. Accord-

ing to received ideas, the compact would be criminal. Father Gury, however, decides that, provided the person bribed be not *ex officio* bound to give information, the bargain would be quite lawful, 'as without injustice he might keep silence about the thief, in deference to his entreaties . . . therefore, *e pari*, without injustice, silence might be observed in deference to gifts given or promised.\* The problems raised by such maxims strike at the whole order of our ideas. Some are of a nature that will not bear discussion here, and we can but glance at one important subject in a note.†

Two grounds are distinctly recognised as valid pleas of excuse from restitution, 'Physical disability . . . and *Moral inability*, or serious difficulty in making restitution; that is, if restitution be inseparable from grave inconvenience to the debtor, for instance, that through making restitution he should be notably reduced in his fairly acquired station or fall into serious need . . . for then there is a real impossibility to make restitution, *inasmuch as in morals that is termed impossible*, which is very hard, and which cannot be done properly and becomingly. Thus if a nobleman cannot make restitution, *without depriving himself of servants, horses, arms, or a leading citizen without embracing a mechanical art to which he is unused, or an artisan without selling the tools he lives by or encountering severe loss, then restitution may be postponed and obligations discharged by degrees.*‡ It is unnecessary to dwell on the undisguised laxness of a definition, which makes moral inability synonymous with a

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 418.

† A 'contractus turpis' being an immoral bargain (as for murder or prostitution), Gury is distinct that viewed prospectively it never can be justified. It is by its essence null, and any benefit received in consideration of future execution must be returned. But how about a benefit received after execution? Will it be impossible to retain it? Here comes in the side plea already dwelt upon. Besides the capital subject matter, other matters may be collaterally involved in the execution of the bargain, as labour, risk, &c., which being in themselves legitimate, are assessable in money, so that after execution a gratuity can be accepted if taken as in remuneration of these secondary elements. A woman may not take money for her honour, but for risk or personal inconvenience, or loss of position, 'An semper restituenda sit res ex turpi contractu accepta? Ante positionem operis turpis, affirm-Post operis positionem acriter contro. . . . Quia licet actio turpis, quas illicita, nullo pretio digna sit, pretium tamen quatenus laboriosa, ig. nominiosa, periculosa agentis, vel utilis alteri, meretur.'—Gury, vol. i. pp. 455-6.

‡ Ibid., vol. i. p. 431. De Causis a Restitutione Excusantibus.

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 468. † Ibid., vol. i. p. 454.

‡ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 8. De Obligationibus Judicialibus.

sensation of inconvenience, and excuses a man of rank and wealth from the discharge of admitted obligations every time he can allege that such discharge might cramp his means for providing an ample supply of 'servants and horses.'

The administration of justice demands integrity, not merely in judges, but also in witnesses. Let us see how our Jesuit Divines fashion their teaching on this head. The first point laid down is, that no obligation to make reparation can attach to any one who has given false witness from invincible ignorance, inadvertence, or delusion, a proposition which, though not wholly free from objections, we will not canvass. But Father Gury proceeds to consider the case of one who, with the view of supplying deeds that have been lost, and of promoting the success of indisputable right (the indisputableness of such right being left to the subjective test of individual appreciation), either reproduces, that is, forges, or tampers with a writing, a chirograph, or a deed of acknowledgment; and he concludes that, though a person acting thus 'would, indeed, sin venially on the score of a lie, the document produced not being the authentic one, on the strength of which judgment should rest; and though he might possibly incur a grave sin against charity toward himself by exposing his person to imminent peril of very severe penalties in the likely event of detection; nevertheless, he would be wholly free from all sin against mutual justice, and would consequently stand absolved from all obligations to make restitution.\*

An illustration, suggested by a memorable case not likely to fade from the memory of the living generation, will bring out better than much argument the consequences which might follow, if this ruling were to hold good. Amongst the numerous witnesses who spoke confidently to the identification of the Claimant as Roger Tichborne, it is undeniable that many spoke in unimpeachable good faith. It is well known that in the tangled web of the evidence in this suit a sealed document, which had been deposited by the genuine Tichborne with a particular person, constituted a capital incident. Let us now assume that in the belief of Roger's death the paper had been destroyed, but that the depositary was amongst those who had persuaded themselves as to the Claimant being the true man. In this state of mind he blames himself as having imperilled, by premature destruction of the document, a claim the justice of which has

become to him a matter of firm belief. That he is a witness testifying under invincible ignorance is beyond dispute, for his faith in the Claimant is the result of thorough delusion. What would be more natural than that, with so earnest a conviction as to the justice of the cause advocated, he should be overcome with remorse at the injury he believes himself to have wrought, and a burning desire to do whatever may be in his power to make it good? And now let us further assume that this depositary had sat at the feet of Father Gury, that he had penetrated himself with his teaching, and that at this conjuncture of severe mental trouble there flashed back on him the recollection of this particular ruling. He then exclaims to himself, Here is a man striving to assert 'undoubted right,' in the chain of whose evidence one link is alone wanting, and that link is wanting solely in consequence of my own unwarrantable hastiness; I know the goodness of the case; I am deeply sensible of my obligation to promote 'undoubted right'; and most happily my memory recalls the exact tenour of the rashly destroyed document; for I have it under the hand of that superlative master in morals, Father Gury, that in such circumstances, to reproduce a document, and palm off a supposititious copy on the judge, is no sin of gravity, but at most an act of fibbing or of exposing myself lightly to the inconvenient penalties of the law; therefore I will reproduce the document, and thereby do the one thing needful to ensure the triumph of struggling and 'undoubted right.' On what ground, we ask, could any Jesuit divine hold that such an act under these circumstances would not be exempt from all serious blame? Critics of authority have brought charges of apocryphal compositions and tamperings with texts against scholars either themselves Jesuit Fathers or under the influence of Jesuit training, and the evidence, already not slight in support of such charges, cannot but gain in force when we find the most accredited spokesman of the Order propounding maxims that deliberately countenance recourse to fabrication and forgery.\*

\* Gury, vol. ii. p. 21. De Obligationibus Testium.

\* Lest it should be thought we are too hard on Father Gury, we submit another of his rulings. A will written in the testator's own hand, so that no outside witness to its contents can be forthcoming, has been made in exclusive favour of Adrian, who is aware of the fact. Immediately after the testator's death there occurred this mishap. As the joyous heir was feasting his eyes on the document ensuring his possession of fortune over the heads of the natural heirs, an untoward gust of wind swept it into the fire, and the precious deed was burnt. 'Adrian was on the point of going into sheer despair, when a

It is not possible in a review of Jesuit doctrine to avoid touching on the delicate chapter of its maxims in reference to relations between the sexes. The specimens of distorted speculation already given will afford an idea of how unfit for reproduction in this periodical must be the problems which the imagination of these doctors conjures up in regard to this slippery topic. A few examples, carefully picked, we must however give. In the matter of plighted troth we learn from Gury, 'that he who has sworn it to a girl rich and healthy . . . is not bound by his oath should she happen to have become poor or fallen into bad health.\* Again we are informed that a probable opinion, countenanced by St. Liguori, would allow an engagement to be broken off if a 'fat inheritance'† should accrue, seriously modifying the status as to fortune of either party, and the case is thus illustrated:— 'Edmund had betrothed himself to Helen, a girl of the same station and fortune as his own. As he was on the very point of celebrating his wedding, he acquired a fat inheritance from a deceased uncle. Wherefore he repudiates Helen, that he may marry another with a fortune to match. *It seems that Edmund should not be disturbed for this.*† Jilting is no unfrequent practice, but it is striking to find it justified in a Handbook of Morals, whenever 'faith could be kept only by the surrender of a big advantage which would be tantamount to great loss.'

Will it surprise the reader, that a string of rulings can be adduced in support of the

wonderful idea struck his mind. Lo and behold, he imitates perfectly the writing and signature of the testator, and thus puts things back exactly as they were.' The question is whether Adrian did wrong, and how far he might be bound in justice to make any reparation to the natural heirs who would have come into possession but for his having palmed off his own handiwork as the testator's deed. Gury holds Adrian guilty of nothing more serious than a lie, and even this is not so positive, but that it has been gravely disputed. The same uncertainty, in the opinion of divines, attaches as to whether Adrian may have done what amounts 'to a mortal offence against legal justice' by fraudulently reproducing a document. But whatever may be the difference of opinion on these heads as to any supposed moral duty of making some restitution to the natural heirs who by his successful trick are left without anything, Gury is clear and distinct that it cannot exist, for by the original will Adrian had acquired 'a certain strict right.'—See Gury, 'Casus Conscientiæ,' Testamentum casu destructum et arte reditum, p. 260.

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 204.

† Ibid., vol. ii. p. 412. Si sponso adveniet pinguis hereditas.

† 'Casus Conscientiæ,' p. 595.

opinion, that seduction under express promise of marriage need not involve a moral obligation to observe this promise? Father Gury puts the problem plainly: 'Is the ravisher bound to wed the girl he has ravished under promise of marriage?' and after stating an opinion affirmative of such obligation, except in 'that practically most frequent case where it might be feared marriage would lead to bad consequences,' he develops another opinion 'having the intrinsic signs of adequate probability' in denial of any such absolute obligation.\* Father Moullet is no less explicit on this head. 'Whoever has seduced a maiden or a widow, under promise of marriage, ought to wed her, *speaking per se*, whether the promise was made in earnest or was feigned.' But, he adds, '. . . I say, *speaking per se*, for the seducer is not bound to marry . . . when the girl might easily have perceived that there must be deception, as for instance, from great disparity of condition; *in such case she has to impute the deception to her own self.*†

Next to seduction under assurances, followed by desertion, the exposure of offspring would probably be pronounced by the majority of unsophisticated persons as the most heinous offence that could well be committed; yet from the language of our divine we must conclude that he at all events does not consider the proceeding as one very difficult of palliation, or which should be stigmatized as an offence of the first magnitude. Without expending one word of reflection on the character of the transaction itself, Father Gury enquires whether it might not be incumbent on wealthy persons, who drop at Foundling Institutions their children, be they simply illegitimate or born of an adulterous connection, to make some payment, rather than abandon them to public charity. The point is declared to be full of perplexity. One opinion very commonly accepted is in the affirmative; but the contrary is maintained in an opinion countenanced by St. Liguori, and given in detail by Gury, on the ground that as these institutions are intended for the indiscriminate reception of the illegitimate progeny of all classes, in protection against infanticide, payment would be contrary to the principle of public charity on which they are founded. Nevertheless, our Father believes that, on the whole, rich parents might be encouraged to make some donations; but, in his tender care lest they should be over mulcted, he calculates that a payment of 150 to 200

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 438.

† Moullet, 'Comp. Mor. Theol,' par. i. p. 342.

frances is ample for the fulfilment of all moral obligations on the part of profligates, however opulent, who might think it convenient to get out of sight their illegitimate offspring by clandestinely depositing them in a Foundling Home.\*

The last point we would notice, in this division of our inquiry, is the fact that belief is inculcated by our divines in the gross-est superstitions that can affect the mind of man—in Witchcraft and the Black Art. 'Magic is of two kinds,' says Moullet, † 'natural and *superstitious* (*superstitiosa*, the technical term for the black art), which is the art of doing wonders by help of the devil . . . involving express or tacit invocations.' Gury's words are, 'Magic is the art of doing wonders which . . . can be done only through the devil invoked explicitly or implicitly.' And, again: 'Witchcraft is the art of working harm through intervention of the devil; it is of two kinds, *amatory* and poisoning; amatory witchcraft, otherwise a philter, is a devilish art, whereby lustful passion or aversion is inspired towards a person.' ‡ According to grave Jesuit authorities, it is within the faculty of the devil, working through these arts, to assume the phantom appearance of humanity in lovely shape; so that an irresistible passion for the Evil Fiend himself, lurking mockingly behind the phantasmagoric mask of a beautiful being, is held up before the imagination of those who are disciples of this teaching as amongst the horrible consequences that may befall them from these devilish drugs. As for the second kind of witchcraft, this is what Gury says in definition of it,—'Poisoning witchcraft is precisely the art of doing injury to your neighbour in various modes through help of the devil, or by disease, the causing idiocy, &c. Commonly witchcraft is called *sortilege*, because by it an evil lot is thrown on those against whom vindictiveness is exercised, through the operation of the devil.' Such is the teaching which, at the present period of the nineteenth century, with the express approval of those who from Rome govern the Latin Church, is being studiously infiltrated into the minds of that preponderating majority of the Roman

Catholic youth who are being trained under the influence of Jesuit tuition.

We must now touch shortly two or three points of primary importance in connection with the questions which we have marked off as constituting a second category, and which group themselves around the central problem—where the line between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions is to be fixed. Here we must call in assistance additional to that of our previous guides. What we require is some organ as well attested in regard to genuineness of inspiration, as Gury, and directly discussing the practical problems involved in the demarcation between Church and State rights. We shall be safe against the charge of having picked out an inadequately authenticated guide, if we turn for instruction as to what is taught by sound Jesuit doctrine on these topics to the pages of the '*Civiltà Cattolica*,' stamped as it is with the highest voucher for its orthodoxy by a Pontifical Brief *ad hoc*. That Brief is a document of exceptional, we believe of unique character. In it Pius IX., speaking in his Pontifical capacity, adopts the typical phrase which the Society puts forward as its specific motto. Again, the document is not merely a testimonial, but an Apostolical Charter conferring privileges on a body of writers exclusively confined to the Society of Jesus, for the grant whereof there exists no precedent. 'In order that there may be at all times appointed men,' it is said in this remarkable Brief, . . . capable of fighting the good fight, and continually defending by their writings the Catholic cause and sound doctrine . . . we here desire that the Religious of the illustrious Society of Jesus should constitute a College of Writers, composed of members of the Society, who by seasonable and apt writings . . . should prove *champions of the Catholic faith, its doctrine, and its right*, with all their powers.' The said Religious, most zealously seconding our desires with every possible care and study, already in 1850 undertook to write and publish a periodical entitled "*La Civiltà Cattolica*." Following in the footsteps of their predecessors, and sparing neither care nor labour, these men had nothing more at heart than, through this diligently and wisely edited periodical, in writings learned and profound, to shield and defend manfully the truth of our august faith, the supreme dignity, authority, power, and right of this Apostolical See, and to teach and propagate the doctrine that is true . . . Wherefore it is our most earnest desire that so sublime a work should for ever prove stable and flourish, *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*, the salvation of souls, and the daily greater promo-

\* For this see Gury, vol. i. p. 441. He did not originate these views. Layman has the following: 'Fas est filios illegitime natos interdum exponere, si ita necesse sit ad gravem infamiam vitandam, adhibitâ tamen cautione, ne frigore moriantur et ut prius baptizentur, apposita scedulâ, nec cum periculo infamie tenetur parens filium sic expositum sustentare.' 'Theol. Mor. Comp.' Mogunt. 1637.

† Moullet, pars prima, p. 198.

‡ Gury, vol. i. pp. 172-3. De Magia et Maleficio.

tion of the right method of studies. Accordingly by these letters in virtue of Apostolical authority *we erect in perpetuity this College of Writers of the Society of Jesus of the periodical popularly termed the 'Civiltà Cattolica,' to exist in a house set apart for themselves, and constitute it according to the laws and privileges possessed and enjoyed by other Colleges of the said Society, under the express condition, that this College shall in all things depend absolutely on the General.\**

Three facts are noticeable in this document:—1. Throughout it, the cause of the Church as a teaching body is identified by its acknowledged Head with that of the 'Civiltà Cattolica.' 2. The Supreme Pontiff, exercising his ecclesiastical prerogative in the most solemn form, calls into existence as a champion of 'true doctrine' a special corporation, which by Apostolical Charter must be restricted to members of the Society of Jesus. 3. That corporation is constituted not for a term but in perpetuity; and is therefore proclaimed to be an organic institution of the Church. In presence of so superlative a warrant, we should be justified in quoting indiscriminately from the 'Civiltà Cattolica.' We confine ourselves, however, to the writings of one contributor, Father Liberatore, for two reasons: because he is avowedly held in the highest estimation at Rome, and because we have a reprint of the author's contributions, which combines the triple advantage of matured revision—of issue subsequent to the Vatican Council,—and of renewed high ecclesiastical approval affixed to this reissue.

At first sight, no maxims could seem more conformable to the personal interests of those clothed with temporal sovereignty, as regards the obligation of subjects to yield absolute obedience under all circumstances, than those propounded by our Divines. 'At no time can it be lawful to rebel,' says Gury, and he stigmatises, in the words of St. Liguori, as most pernicious, Gerson's opinion 'that a monarch might lawfully be judged by the whole nation, in the event of his ruling in violation of justice.'† On scanning closely, however, the propositions in Gury bearing on the relations between princes and subjects, we cannot dismiss the impression, that the terms in which they are stated do not exclude the possibility of extracting a plausible justification, not merely for occasional insurrection but even, under

specific conditions, for making attempts on the lives of those in possession of sovereign power, under no better warrant than the intimated assent of whoever may be considered as the legitimate claimant. Once more we impress on the reader that, in deducing inferences from propositions in Jesuit writers, we advisedly proceed upon the principle, that the terms, to be appreciated at their value, must be tested by every sense they can be made to bear without a glaringly forced strain. For, according to Jesuit doctrine, any opinion, that can be brought into apparent conformity with terms employed by any single writer of authority, may be safely accepted and acted upon by an individual, even in opposition to the mind of his spiritual adviser. Therefore, when engaged in fathoming the scope of a proposition, we are bound always to note carefully every construction of which the terms employed might be physically capable—a point ever present also to the minds of a school of doctors, than whom there have been no more consummate masters in the art of weighing expressions.

Accordingly, in scrutinizing these particular propositions, there appears to us to run through all the terms employed a latitude, difficult to consider accidental, which affords ground for such a mental distinction between those in merely physical possession and those with legitimate ownership of a throne, and of all that is assumed to appertain thereto in the nature of rights, as might furnish to any one in search thereof the justification for assuming, at a merely verbal intimation from him who is considered legitimate, a mission to slay him who is considered an intruder. 'Is it lawful to slay a tyrant?' asks Gury; and no answer apparently could be more distinct, 'certainly it is lawful to kill neither a tyrannical governor (*tyrannum regiminis*) . . . nor a legitimate prince tyrannically governing and oppressing a people. No more is it lawful to kill a tyrannical usurper, when once in possession . . . nor a tyrant not yet in complete possession, otherwise than with the sanction of the legitimate prince.\*' The point to note is the proviso for drawing a distinction between what is due to the actual ruler and to him who is considered the legitimate prince, though no definition is given as to a test for establishing legitimacy. The mere assent of the latter—independent of any judicial sentence—is declared sufficient to justify an attempt on the intruder's life, the apparent qualification as to his not having attained complete posses-

\* The Brief, dated February 12. 1866, will be found in the 'Civiltà Cattolica' of April 17, of that year.

† Gury, vol. i. p. 248.

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 252.

sion being reduced to something merely nominal, inasmuch as there is nothing in the terms of the proposition which makes it indispensable to bring in evidence of incomplete possession, more than that half-a-dozen of individuals were still mentally withholding allegiance.

The positive distinction drawn between the degrees of right vested in sovereigns *de facto* and sovereigns *de jure* becomes enhanced and emphasized when the relative attributes of the Sovereign Pontiff and of all princes, however thoroughly *de jure*, are discussed. We venture to maintain that the language of the leading Jesuit Divines, on this particular matter, is such as not merely to leave an opening for, but to constrain the construction, that they claim for the Supreme Pontiff all the same superior prerogatives over princes, though perfectly *de jure*, which they consider these to possess over rulers *de facto*. Therefore we are compelled to conclude that, in so far as the terminology and reasoning of these Jesuit Doctors can be taken as the authentic expression of doctrine accepted by the Church, an order from Rome to slay a ruler would, under particular circumstances, be one that a faithful member of the Church could execute with a clear conscience. It would be simply monstrous to insinuate the probability of any order of this nature emanating from Pius IX. Whatever may be the untoward acts to which passion may impel those who direct, or will direct, the Church of Rome, of this we may be confident, that the present conscience of the age is too keen to let a Pope, like his sainted predecessor Pius V., send an assassin on a mission for slaying a contumacious prince. But, notwithstanding a confident assurance of this kind, the employment, by leading modern Jesuit Doctors, of language which by fair construction does express an assertion in principle of acts of this nature, is a circumstance as noteworthy as it is characteristic of the present spirit of their doctrine. Passing on, however, from what we are readily disposed to consider a dead letter and mere anachronism, we come to matter of far more practical importance,—the distinct claim set up, in behalf of the Church, to such direct supremacy in matters appertaining to civil existence as would constitute, if carried into execution, a most material encroachment on what in every modern polity has become the recognised domain of the State.

'The State,' declares Father Liberatore, 'must understand itself to be a subordinate sovereignty, exercising ministerial functions under a superior sovereignty, and governing the people conformably to the will of that

lord to whom it is subject.'\* Who that lord may be we are left in no doubt. It is that Sovereign Pontiff, 'the visible monarch' of 'God's realm on earth,' to whom 'every baptized person is more strictly subject than to any temporal ruler whatever,† Still a division is recognised in the immeasurable labour that would be heaped on the shoulders of the Pontiff if he were himself to administer directly this universal empire; and the definition of such division gives us a statement in clear terms of what functional attributes it is conceded shall fall within the jurisdiction of the State. Its independence of action, we are told, is to be absolutely restricted to 'matters directly relating to the mere physical well-being of material life (finance, the army, trade, domestic peace, and relations with other nations), but in no wise can it be that in matters directly concerning *charity, justice, morals*, the State should be otherwise than bound to conform to the rules dictated by the Church, while even in the matters before mentioned as being within its competency, the State would be under the negative obligation to do nothing hurtful to the morals of its subjects or the obedience due to God. For where the *contrary has happened, the Church has clearly the right to remedy and cancel whatever may have been appointed wrongly and immorally in the temporal order of things.*‡ 'Therefore the civil ruler of a Christian people must be in subordination to the Christian priesthood, and especially to the Roman Pontiff.'§ And, again, 'The temporal sword, symbol of civil authority, has to be subordinate to the spiritual sword, symbol of priestly authority;|| all which we are told a few lines further on, 'is a *peremptory sentence to be called in question by no one who would be a true Catholic.*'

Having been made acquainted with these indelible principles, on which no compromise can be tolerated, that are to fix the line between the provinces of ecclesiastical and temporal powers, we are treated to the following theorems in completer definition of the respective natures of these two entities. We have it stated as of positive certainty 'that, through institution of the Church, society has been subjected by *divine law to the rule of a new supreme power, sacerdotal authority, which is utterly independent of State authority,*' and that, 'by the advent of Christianity, State authority has been confined within narrower bounds,'¶ a thesis which will be self-evident only to minds not

\* P. 11. † P. 89. ‡ P. 14. § P. 22. || P. 23.

¶ P. 82.

startled at hearing it also affirmed that our Saviour on no occasion manifested indifference to a temporal estate, and 'that, in very truth, his kingdom is here below, and will abide unto the fulfilment of time.'\* Novel dogmatic versions of Christian facts, which, after having been uttered with the oracular curtness of an infallible illumination, are then presented by Father Liberatore as indefeasible title deeds for the perennial maintenance of the Pope's temporal sovereignty as absolutely essential to the observance of what constitutes the spirit of Christ's doctrine! If any doubt be yet entertained whether it can really enter into the conception of this accredited organ of the 'true doctrine' to claim for the Church the right, whenever this may suit its pleasure, to interfere with, arrest, suspend, and annul the faculties of State authority, even in a matter so wholly outside all conceivable affinity to spiritual agencies as the mode and manner for employment of the armed force, we submit the following passage—not dovetailed by selection, but standing consecutively in the text as it does here—and to which can never be denied the merit of clear language:—'The Church is empowered to amend and to cancel the civil laws, or the sentences proceeding from a secular court, whenever these may be in collision with spiritual weal, and she has the faculty to check the abuse of the executive and of the armed forces, or even to prescribe their employment whenever the requirements for the protection of the Christian Faith may demand this. The jurisdiction of the Church is higher than the civil. Now it is within the competency of a superior jurisdiction to control the action of the inferior, but in no manner can the inferior do this to the superior. In this matter of jurisdiction, what has to be done is to observe the rule prescribed by Pope Boniface VIII. in his dogmatic Bull *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam*.'†

It is well known how much has been spoken and written, both before and since the decree of the Vatican Council declaratory of Papal Infallibility as a dogma, to define what really does lie within the range of this Infallible attribute. This is not the place to consider the various tests which different authorities have alleged to be alone conclusive for marking off fallible from infallible utterances, as they may drop from Papal lips. Thus much alone has been laid down with certainty: that whenever a Pope does speak *ex cathedra* he is infallible, and that whatever is thus spoken is dogmatic,

and consequently partakes of the sacredness of an article of faith. What then deserves to be carefully noted is how it is here unequivocally affirmed by the organ of 'true doctrine,' that the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, admittedly the extremest expression, that ever fell from any Pope's lips, of Papal pretensions to direct and wholesale supremacy in temporal matters, is comprised amongst the Pontifical utterances of which the dogmatic sacrosanctness is open to no doubt. For it should be stated that this attribution of high character does not rest on what, if standing by itself, might be deemed an inadvertent expression. It is spoken to more than once, and the allegation is substantiated by a very precise enunciation of the grounds which, according to the writer, are conclusive as to the dogmatic character of this Bull. 'Some liberal periodicals and writers will be shocked at hearing this Bull termed dogmatic.' But that it is so is manifest, whether one regards the matter of its contents or the authority whence it emanates. In it the Pontiff addresses himself to the whole Church, and speaks in the capacity of a teacher giving instruction about most important doctrinal points, such as are of a certainty the relations between the Church and the State. Besides, the Bull ends with an explicit definition: 'Subesse Romano Pontifici, omni humanæ creaturæ, declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis.'\*

Whether the declaratory allegations here made with such remarkable assurance will be implicitly acquiesced in by all who may claim to be every whit as sound Roman Catholics as Liberatore, we cannot stop to inquire. Our particular purpose is to seek from perfectly trustworthy sources authentic evidence as to the teaching propounded by the most authoritative modern school of Catholic divinity; and evidence of this kind on a pre-eminently important point—the amount and extent of Pontifical utterances from previous ages, which will be retrospectively covered through the Dogma of Infallibility with a sanction raising them to the position of Articles of Faith—we here obtain from a writer who comes before us with a well-nigh bewildering accumulation of vouchers for his plenary inspiration in what he says on this head. For here is the formidable chain of guarantees that Father Liberatore can point to for the perfect soundness of his exposition: first, he is a Jesuit divine held in acknowledged estimation as a mouth-piece of doctrine by the heads of the Order; then he is one of that

\* P. 37.

† P. 46.

\* P. 23.

picked number drafted from the body of the Order, and erected by Pius IX. into a special brotherhood, entrusted with the delicate task of making the world to know what is true doctrine; thirdly, he comes before us with a revision of his original composition, combining the benefit of matured afterthought and the corrections derivable from the protracted reflections of his superiors; fourthly (and in reference to the passage immediately before us this fact is of capital weight) the revision has been issued subsequently to the dogmatization of Infallibility and the serious controversy awakened thereby; and fifthly, to remove every shadow of doubt as to the complete concurrence of those who are at present entitled to speak in the name of the Church in the views expressed in this publication, there has been affixed thereto the (as far as the law of the land is concerned) perfectly superfluous stamp of episcopal approbation. In presence of this converging array of endorsements the fact must be deemed proven that, in the minds of the Society of Jesus and of Pius IX., the Bull *Unam Sanctam* is held to be an article of dogmatic utterance binding on the conscience of all who would be Catholics.\*

The function of the State, measured by these definitions, would therefore amount merely to that of an organised police, instituted for the enforcement of the Church's behests and the vigilant repression of dissent. This interpretation is in strict accordance

with the saying, that the duty of the State is centred in 'protection of the Church,'\* and that (these words being adopted from the reputed Ultramontane Legist Phillips) 'the primary condition of an efficacious alliance between the laws of the State and the laws of the Church lies in the application of coercive means, in every instance where spiritual penalty may be inadequate.'† This obligation to coerce—in other words, to persecute—all who may differ, though ever so slightly, from any opinion propounded by the authorities of the Church for the time being, is insisted upon by Father Liberatore with reiterated emphasis, as a duty deriving its sacredness directly from Christ's injunction. 'The capital and substantial ground, wherefore liberty of conscience must be reprobated, is neither peace nor national unity, but in truth the obligation to profess the true faith, and thereby ensure the attainment of man's superior good. Peace and national unity may be invoked as a secondary ground (being likewise a benefit), but only on the supposition that the true faith is preserved. For in the contrary case the saying of Christ holds good, I came not to send peace but a sword; national discord being beyond comparison a lesser evil than persistence in some error regarding a point of faith,'—words distinctly enjoining the enforcement of religion at the sword's point. And again: 'Amongst the rights appertaining to a perfect society is that of coercing enemies, internal and external.'‡ Where between the State and the Church there is reciprocal alliance, there the right [to coerce enemies] is exercised by the latter through the agency of the former. . . . But where this alliance happens to have been broken, manifestly this right of the Church cannot perish, inasmuch as it takes its rise in the essence of social order with which the Church has been invested not by the State but by God.† According to the best form of government, i.e., the form best answering to divine conception and the happiness of mankind,' is where the State acts as the executioner of the Church's fulminations; though, in presence of the glaring fact that schism has asserted itself in a large portion of the Christian world, and the physical impossibility of enforcing everywhere at once that action of sharp repression conformable to Jesuit notions 'of the form best answering to divine conception,' Father Liberatore admits that 'out of regard to religious divisions which have already taken root' in some parts, 'prudence may counsel civil toleration of all forms of worship.'§ Consequently the ac-

\* In 1826, one who then was looked upon as an ecclesiastical authority of high degree, Bishop Doyle, in his public appeal to Lord Liverpool on behalf of the claims for Catholics to Emancipation, wrote thus of this same Bull: 'If the Bull *Unam Sanctam* . . . be objected to us, is it not reasonable to attend to us, whilst we say, that no Bull of any Pope can decide our judgment if it be not received and assented to by the pastors of the Church, an assent which this Bull *Unam Sanctam* never has had? . . . The Bull was of a most odious kind, and should, therefore, according to a maxim admitted by all jurists, *odiosa sunt restringenda*, be restricted as much as possible to its sense.' 'Essay on Catholic Claims,' p. 37. On January 25, in that same year, all the Irish bishops signed also, it is true, a declaration: 'That it is not an article of the Catholic Faith, neither are Catholics required to believe that the Pope is infallible;' amongst the names subscribed being that of Dr. M'Hale, the living Archbishop of Tuam. Neither Bishop Doyle's emphatic statement nor this solemn Declaration was ever disapproved of by the Holy See. What then can be the permanent value attaching to any exposition minimising the bearing and possible effect on civil jurisdiction of the dogma of Infallibility, from however exalted a Prelate it may emanate, and however much it may appear to be acquiesced in at the present moment by the Holy See?

\* P. 78. † P. 78. ‡ P. 77. § P. 74.

quiescence, which in some countries the Church has apparently yielded to the toleration of other religious persuasions, is no more than a feint, put on under the pressure of emergency, and a stratagem adopted for so long only as it may seem the most appropriate method for warding off additional difficulties.

Here we find ourselves brought face to face with two points of the gravest interest—the view entertained by the Church as to what rights and faculties remain inherent in a State that may have apostatized from its communion, and as to the binding force on itself of any formal instrument it may have concluded with a Civil Power, be it Catholic or not. That the Church is credited with the right to impress into her service all the physical forces under the immediate direction of the State, we have been already told, as also that this right extends to the exercise of vigorous coercion through State agency against Dissenters. That this right, as emanating from a Divine origin, is affirmed not to lapse because a State, as represented by those in possession of governing power, may fall away from the Church, and thus deprive it of the means to set these forces in motion, this likewise we know. What we still have to be enlightened upon, by him who has so far been our ready guide and instructor, is what degree, if any, of legitimacy the Church in its conscience may recognize as still vested in a State which has apostatized, and with which the Church might have contracted public relations of comity. We admit that Father Liberatore glides over the general question with more rapidity than is his usual practice. His opinion on this important head is comprised in a few sentences, introduced in the course of a long dissertation on the duties of the State towards the Church, but, though few, the sentences are pregnant. After having insisted on the absolute obligation incumbent on the State to expend its forces ‘in protection and defence of the Church,’ he goes on to say that, whenever the State has apostatized, and ‘ceased to fulfil this special duty, the same devolves of its own nature on the individual Faithful,’ and that ‘in this manner there arises in society a necessary disorder, namely, the existence of a legitimate power, which is independent of the public depositary of force.’\* That it will be within the faculty of casuists to interpret these words differently from their plain sense, is what we are prepared for. The conclusion we have arrived at is that, bearing in mind the whole context of the argument, these words, without any invoca-

tion of that merely *probable* interpretation which a Jesuit writer should not consider improper, do plainly express this doctrine—that in countries where the State in its corporate capacity does not make profession of the Catholic Faith, the Church, even though it might have adopted towards the powers that be an attitude of friendly understanding, will still consider the only depositaries of the faculties, which in its opinion appertain to the State, to be the congregation of those who have continued faithful to its communion; just as, according to the same authority, while the throne is occupied by one man, another can be held entitled to issue commands that are binding for the gravest action.

That no unnatural strain has here been put upon the sentiments of our author, is clearly established by his most explicit language as to the possible binding force upon the Church itself of any engagement, however solemn in form, that it may have entered into with any State, even though orthodox. With an elaborateness of diction that closes all question as to his meaning, Father Liberatore affirms that, from the very nature of things, no Concordat can ever bind the Church, that it is a mere concession for the time of rights that are indelible, and which are only waived in deference to expediency, until the strain of exigency may have relaxed. This view was broached some years ago by the Vicomte de Bonald, who declared that ‘a Concordat cannot be likened to a contract; for there is a radical impossibility that a contract can intervene between two entities (the spiritual and the temporal Power), whereof the one is sovereign, the other subject, the one presides, the other is subordinate.’\* For the publication containing this passage Pius IX. addressed to the author a Brief of approbation. Some Catholics, however, demurred to M. de Bonald’s opinion, and a controversy ensued. Amongst those who concurred with him most vigorously were Father (afterwards Cardinal) Tarquini and Liberatore, whose strenuous arguments the reader, if so inclined, may peruse for himself in the volume we have been quoting from. We have space only for these few emphatic sentences:—‘It is beyond doubt that Concordats, in whatever concerns matters spiritual and such as have any connection therewith, cannot have the character of bilateral contracts. . . . Concordats in this respect have the character of mere indulgences and privileges. . . . Whatever privilege may at any

\* P. 77.

\* ‘Deux questions sur le Concordat,’ Genève 1871.

time have been granted, which might in any manner limit or curtail the exercise of Pontifical authority, is a mere indulgence, *revocable at any moment, when it may be the opinion of the Pope that the continued enjoyment thereof might be prejudicial rather than beneficial to the welfare of the Church.* In short, the Pope's authority is unalterable, for it has been fixed by Christ, and by Christ has been maintained in him exclusively, just as the light of the sun in the atmosphere.' Such, according to the doctrine of the choicest divines of the Society, and the declared concurrence of the present occupant of St. Peter's Chair, is the exact value of instruments that have been concluded by the Church with every formality of solemn engagement.

All this may well seem mere dreaming and a building of castles in the moon. If the Jesuits have nothing more effective for checkmating modern society, than rhapsodies about Boniface VIII. and the perfection of a State reproducing thirteenth-century existence, governments might safely afford to disregard them as harmless monomaniacs. These lucubrations do not, however, make up the practical weapons at the disposal of those who strive to ensure the realisation of their aspirations. The means whereby the Jesuits may hope to injure the machinery of modern governments exist in that not easily definable store of subtle functions and sacerdotal ministrations, which, by the essence of the Roman Catholic system, appertain to the order of the priesthood. A State will rest on weak foundations, unless it can confidently repose on a fiscal system carried out with integrity and regularity, and on a defensive system penetrated with a spirit of discipline and staunchness. Let a breach be made on either point, and manifestly the position of the State is exposed to danger. It can be shown that the artillery of Jesuit practice has been brought into positions, whence it may fire against both points at any time that seems propitious.

In Gury's '*Casus Conscientiæ*' (p. 40) occurs this passage, taken from St. Liguori. 'Speaking generally of taxes, Lugo is of opinion that people should be exhorted to pay them; but that after the act they should not be compelled to make restitution of a duty they may have withheld fraudulently, if they have any probable ground for persuading themselves that in so great a number of taxes they may have paid something not justly, or that they had contributed adequately to the public wants,'—notions which will readily recommend themselves to not a few tax-payers. On

turning to the '*Compendium*,' we read that 'as to restitution, there is absolutely no obligation' on those who habitually import 'prohibited wares,' while the question, whether some act of contrition might not be incumbent for the violation of a statute by such a practice, is answered with what, but for the grave character of the book, would sound like a joke. 'Those who import prohibited goods in small quantities, and for their own benefit, especially if poor, are certainly not liable to blame. The others [the rich and the systematic smugglers], however, are in danger of sinning against their duty towards themselves, by running a risk of very severe penalties.'\* And this view is strictly in accordance with Moullet's. 'What is to be held of those who import contraband goods and arts? . . . It is the common opinion even of more *Rigorist Doctors* that they commit no sin and are bound to make no restitution.'† To bring out clearly the degree of fraudulent operations which these divines are prepared to countenance, we subjoin two exemplifications from Gury, which are admirably lucid. 'Sapricius is in the habit of conveying and moving by waggon, sumpter animals, or other modes, grain, wine, articles of food and wares, on all of which dues are imposed. But he seeks by every means to evade payment of the same, as often as this can be done without peril of fine, by moving them at night, by taking cut-of-the-way tracks, by avoiding the revenue officers, or by deceiving them through manifold tricks. He is of opinion that he is not acting wrongly, partly because the taxes are very heavy and numerous, as well as often expended on what is not at all for the common advantage, partly because the law, in virtue whereof they are imposed, is a merely penal enactment. At Easter time, however, when about to perform his obligations of confession, being impelled by scruples, he asks whether he might not have done wrong? Has then Sapricius erred, and is he bound to make any restitution?' Gury replies that, though some theologians have been of an affirmative opinion, others distinctly say the contrary. Of the former he gives neither the names nor one word of their argument; but he quotes in the opposite sense the opinion of Sanchez, as summarised by St. Liguori, and then he solves the problem in these terms: 'Sapricius is not at all to be disturbed.'‡

\* Gury, vol. i. p. 446. '*Cæteri vero facile peccare possunt contra charitatem in se ipsos, penis gravissimis se exponendo.*'

† Moullet, pars prima, p. 345.

‡ Gury, '*Casus Conscientiæ*,' p. 39. It will

The second case is couched in terms that have a not inappropriate flavour of rogues' humour. 'Forbinus sells Giburtus some land for 30,000 francs. The two would, however, willingly reduce the very heavy duty imposed by government on the sale of real property. The question with them is how they may best set about this? The trick is a noted one—yea, even most common. They agree to declare and insert only 20,000 francs as the price in the public deed of sale. Accordingly they go to a notary and make declaration of the inferior sum only. The notary, with a smile he cannot suppress—for he was aware of the true value—says to Giburtus, "Oho! Zounds! This will be a capital stroke of business for you;" and then, without a word more, he draws up the deed.' The questions that arise are, whether (1) 'they do any wrong who, after a sale of land, falsely state a lower price in the deed in order not to pay the duty; (2) whether the notary who was cognizant of the fraud is under any obligation to effect restitution; and (3) what would be his position if it was himself who had suggested the trick to the parties.\* After a little preliminary flourish concerning the duty of making true statements, we read—"the opinion, which seems the more probable, exempts the parties from all obligation to declare the true price, as *the law apparently intends merely to authenticate the deed and the transfer of the property* . . . so that no obligation of conscience is apparent for making a declaration of the price paid, or even of the lowest value at which a property can be appraised.' As for the notary, he is declared free from all blame, even though he may have been the suggestor of this manifest fraud, on the ground 'that though a public servant, he is not set over the taxes.' Such are the maxims and examples to which, by superior Jesuit authority, spiritual advisers are referred for guidance, in the event of their having to deal with cases of conscience where questions are raised about the observance of most undeniable obligations towards the State, and the employment of deliberate fraud to evade the same.

be admitted that the case of Sappricius, as stated by Gury, is that of a professed smuggler, and we draw special attention to the terms of the exemplification, because definitions to be found in the 'Comp. Theol. Mor.' pp. 443-4, might be pointed to as confuting the idea that Jesuit practice ever would countenance any habitual fraud. These definitions, unfortunately too long for insertion, will be found marked all through with qualifying expressions, that practically afford as many loopholes for excepting cases from the principle apparently enjoined.

\* Gury, 'Casus Conscientiæ,' p. 232.

Let us now see the rules and principles inculcated for direction in cases affecting what is generally considered the primary duty of a soldier—faithfulness to his military engagement. It really does seem, when we peruse the section treating this subject of cardinal importance to the safety of the State, as if the thought uppermost in the mind of Father Gury could only have been how to devise pleas sufficiently elastic to make it easy for a soldier to desert with a safe conscience. In the first place, it is declared that every soldier who consents to serve in an unjust war will be *directly chargeable* with responsibility for every act of injury perpetrated by himself individually during its course, and *proportionally* for the total injury wrought by the army; \* thus introducing a principle absolutely subversive of all military discipline, that at every call to arms each soldier is to make himself judge whether to obey it will be in accordance with his conscience. That there exists a general obligation on deserters to return to their colours, Father Gury admits; but he couples the admission with grounds of exemption, amongst which one alone is quite sufficient to afford an unfailing plea for whoever may be minded to abscond. Any soldier, we are told, is justified in deserting, if he will allege 'great risk to his salvation—for instance, in the event of adequate provision not being made for access to the Confessional; † so that, let only a Catholic soldier make profession of his having been obstructed in the desire to draw near a priest, and he may desert his duties with absolute impunity, according to the doctrine of Father Gury.

Nor is this the only proceeding sanctioned, which is calculated to weaken allegiance to the State. We find, beneath the customary preliminary display of general rigorist views, a ruling which practically relieves from censure so gross an act of fraud as the grant, in return for money, of a false medical certificate, with the view of getting off from conscription a man both liable and fit to serve. 'Trepidantius, dreading intensely to serve, but having been drawn by lot, bribes Armandus, a medical man, and, though perfectly well, obtains from him a certificate of ill health, and so gets exemption from service. A case occurring a thousand times every year! Is Armandus bound to give back the money he has taken?' To this Gury makes this reply: 'Armandus could certainly not retain the money, if it had been received from Trepidantius before he had declared

\* Gury, 'Comp. Theol. Mor.' vol. i. p. 447.

† Ibid.

him in ill health, for that is a contract *de materia turpi*, and therefore void. But the fraudulent declaration having already been made, the matter is one liable to controversy, as will be presently explained in the cases relating to the substance of contracts;\* and so, on the same ground on which we have seen the sanction of connivance extended to the acceptance of a money gift from a suitor by a Judge, when once the unjust sentence has been pronounced, it is ruled that, on the score of conscience, nothing stands in the way to make it uncomfortable for a medical man, with direct personal money advantage, to lend himself to the active promotion of a conspiracy for paralysing the defensive power of his country and for striking about the most treacherous blow that can well be struck at an institution essential for the safety of the State.

A very slight effort of memory will recall more than one political situation, within the last twenty years, where maxims of this seditious tenour, spoken with the tone of authority by those clothed with the sacred character of sacerdotal essence, and addressed to an imperfectly cemented, an agitated, in part even an ill-affected, and, in many respects, a superstitious population, might well have been fraught with grave danger to the State. The embarrassments that might ensue to Governments engaged in the laborious strain of organization, amidst the still encumbering *débris* of ancient institutions and the but half-completed fabric of new constructions, from expressions of this insidiously subtle character (directly sanctioned as they are by the gravest living authorities of the Church), if dropped from the influential lips of a priesthood actively hostile (as certainly the priesthood was, with but solitary exceptions, in Italy, and as it is as certainly in part in Germany), are too evident to demand development. It is unnecessary to expand this vein of ominous reflection by conjuring up a vision of political complications looming in the more or less proximate future, on which this authorised application of principles, certainly not free from a treacherous character, if brought into the field, might tell with seriously disturbing effect. In England we may, indeed, discard the notion, however exaggeratedly Ultramontane the sentiments of those who here preside over the Roman Catholic Church may become, that disloyalty to the Constitution would infect the body of the priesthood to any extent. The thought might, however, present itself to minds not necessarily labouring under the hallucinations of

an alarmist mania, that there are portions of this Empire at once mainly Roman Catholic and not quite thoroughly penetrated with the spirit of political contentment; and it may not be altogether indifferent to reflect how it would be if, in the unfortunately not impossible recurrence of a state of popular sedition, the rising generation of the priesthood were to be disposed to put in practice those peculiar maxims, with which their minds have now perforce to make themselves familiar through the course of study in Jesuit theology, which is enforced by the present authorities of the Holy See.\*

Such is an outline, slight indeed, but still comprising the most essential features of the doctrine presently taught, with the express approval of the Head of the Church, by the accredited organs of the Society, as directly conducive to that best possible governance of mankind, which will make the world radiant with the Greater Glory of God. Of the organisation of the Order we gave a sketch in our last number, and we have seen no reason since to consider it incorrect in any material point. Taken together, these two articles furnish, we believe, a not unfaithful account of the resources of this mysterious Corporation, and of the principles which are agreeable to its spirit. That it has been exercising an ever-increasing power in the Latin Church, is a fact too plainly written in the ecclesiastical history of the last three centuries to be for an instant called in question. What is not so conspicuous is the special element through which the school of Jesuit thought has been subtly working

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\* That Gury's maxims are no dead letter for the Holy See, the following affords convincing proof. In 1860, and again in 1865, the Holy Penitentiary in Rome issued secret instructions for the direction of priests in cases of conscience connected with recent political events in Italy, manuscript copies of which we obtained at the time in Rome. In these documents, the authenticity of which we vouch for, occurs the following passage (the queries being in Italian, and the instructions in Latin): 'What is to be done with those involuntarily enrolled and obliged to serve in the national force of the intrusive government? *Posse tolerari milites civicos coactos, qui militiam absque gravi damno seu incommodo deserere nequeunt, dummodo tamen animo parati sunt eam deserere quamprimum poterunt.* Datum Romæ in S. Penitent. die 10 Dec. 1860.' 'Absolvendi sub conditionibus expressis, . . . milites qui arma tulerunt et dimicarunt contra Pontificiam ditionem *dummodo tamen animo parati sunt quamprimum poterunt sine periculo ritæ injustam militiam deserere.* Romæ die 9 Martis, 1865.' It is to be particularly noted that this last instruction is framed so as to include the whole army of the Italian kingdom, irrespective of whether the soldier was a native of the old Papal provinces, and therefore a rebel against the Pope-King.

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\* Gury, 'Casus Conscientiæ,' p. 234.

on the spirit of the Roman Catholic Church. This resides in the doctrine of Probabilism, in which lies distilled the sublimated essence of all Jesuit doctrine. The champions of the Order will say, that to pick out passages of the character we have quoted, as typical of what its doctors teach, is to falsify the nature of their writings. We admit that the Jesuit Divines never omit recommendations in favour of a strict observance of the Moral Code. Our contention is, that all these expressions of rigorous sentiment are reduced to mere figures of speech through the all-covering action of the principle of Probabilism, which runs continuously through the volume of Jesuit doctrine like a foot-note which thoroughly modifies the force of the text, exactly as the conditions laid down in the Constitutions with an elaborate display of stringency are practically cancelled through the faculties quietly lodged with the General. Through the slides of a side-proposition artfully masked, the Jesuit Doctors have provided a mechanism for converting at will the whole series of moral principles into a set of dissolving views.

Undeniably lax as is the tone of the Jesuit code, it would yet be a misconception to attribute to its framers the deliberate purpose of corrupting morals. The motive that has ever actuated the Society has been to secure influence, and laxness in its doctrine has been consequent solely on a sense that, to acquire this influence over untamed natures, connivance might prove an efficient instrument. 'Cui enim finis licet, ei et media permissa sunt,' is the maxim, of which the practical application is worked out in the Jesuit code. The dangers must be self-evident of a so-called moral system, that rests on the principle of enticing coy spirits by sweetmeats within a charmed area. On the majority of mankind, labouring under innate frailty, a doctrine replete with justificatory pleas for self-indulgence can hardly fail to act in relaxation of moral restraints. Pascal's story of the serving man who robbed his Jesuit employers is not the only instance in point. In 1808 a Bavarian parish priest, called Riembauer, murdered his mistress with revolting cold-bloodedness, because he feared she would make their intimacy public to the ruin of his position. Being brought to trial, Riembauer, who displayed much morbid ingenuity, symptomatic of warped intellect, defended himself, on the plea that the deed was in strict accordance with the maxims he had been taught in the Seminary—that it was quite lawful to put out of the way any one from whom there was reason to dread a ruinous denunciation—and this he sustained by extracts from Stattler's 'Ethica

Christiana,' at that time a standard manual.\* No doubt this is an extreme case. Still this miscreant could appeal with perfect plausibility to maxims in divines of authority, which, without any strained construction, did seem to justify his deed.

Grave as is the demoralization that may be wrought by this system on the individual fibre, the State is still more interested in the action which its spread has exercised on the Constitution of the Latin Church. Before the confirmed ascendancy of the Order, there had been recurrent exhibitions of imperious Papal pretensions; but these had not become so infused into the system of the Church as to be dogmatically proclaimed particles of its life-blood. The action of the Society of Jesus on the Constitution of the Church has been that of a chemical agent which precipitates a substance previously present in solution. The substance precipitated by Jesuit agency has been the essence of pure Absolutism, the sublimated corrosiveness of which has been steadily gnawing away with deadly edge every element of organic independence. For what is wholly incompatible with the nature of the Jesuit system is an element of independence. Much as has been said about the intellectual eminence of the Order, as shown in educational institutions, its scholastic efforts have uniformly been directed to substitute for the occasionally exaggerated manifestations attendant on a vigorous nature that monotony which accompanies stagnant life—the dead-level of general mediocrity. Independence of character, of mind, of research, are objects fatal to the Society, which must be expelled, and in lieu of these it has evolved a system of pseudo-culture, studded with the counterfeits of science—playthings adapted to natures that are being carefully nursed to grow up with stunted strength. A glance at the Ecclesiastical annals of the last centuries is enough to re-

\* This psychologically very remarkable case will be found in detail with Riembauer's pleas in Feuerbach's 'Aktenmässige Darstellung merkwürdiger Verbrechen.' Giessen, 1829, vol. ii. p. 86. How inoculation with Jesuit doctrines results in strange reproductions! Of this the following is a striking instance. Weishaupt, the founder of the secret society of the Illuminati, which at the end of the last century exercised powerful influence in Germany, received his education in the great Jesuit College at Ingolstadt. In a letter written by him as Grand-master occurs this passage: 'Marius retains still something out of the Court Library. Let him communicate this to us, and make to himself no *casus conscientie* of this, for only what brings harm is sin, and when advantage exceeds the harm, then it becomes even a virtue.'

veal the increasing sterility within the officially recognised area of the Latin Church.

In the seventeenth century, the French clergy, then eminent above all others for Catholic tradition and conviction, not here and there individually, nor yet under the mask of timid-hearted anonymousness, but in corporate declarations with their names appended thereto, over and over again protested against, and stigmatized as outrageous, the theological maxims propounded by Jesuit divines. From no section of the great Catholic community has there, however, been heard any protest in recent times against enforced inoculation with such doctrine. If some individual has spoken an occasional word in disapproval, he has been instantly darted upon and ostracized as a rebellious sheep; but of collective protest from any quarter that might claim to represent an element of weight in the Church, there has been no sign.

This fact gives a measure to what degree that fibre of honourable self-respect, which was the best bulwark at once for the grandeur and the liberties of the Church, has been crushed out. Silently, but ruthlessly, that stealthy organisation which calls itself the Society of Jesus—in grim pursuit of what it also calls the Greater Glory of God—has laid siege to, broken into, and razed those glorious and venerable sanctuaries, in Italy, in Germany, and above all in France, whence during generations there had beamed forth across the wide plain of the Catholic world, with the calmly luminous glow of purified light, the mellow gleam of a religious sentiment, which did not divorce the fervour of Catholic piety from candid learning and heartfelt attachment to liberties, any more than it considered it essential for the triumph of the Faith to propagate a belief in coarse superstitions, and to fortify the Church by a network of trickeries. Having succeeded step by step in outlawing every element that betrayed a feeling for organic freedom, the Society of Jesus, in our time, has set the cope-stone on their work by that momentous stroke in the Vatican Council, which has dogmatically identified the Church with the Order, and has practically transformed, at all events for the present, the organisation of the former into an enlarged house of the latter.

This is not the place to enter upon the proceedings through which this result was achieved, and the consequences which it is reasonable to infer may flow therefrom. Amidst much that is controverted, one fact is positive. The outcome of the Vatican Council was wholly in accordance with what had been strenuously striven for by the Order.

It was a signal and emphatic victory for the Society. But the very magnitude of this triumph instantaneously evoked peril in the alarm instinctively instilled into the Civil Power at sight of this inflation of ecclesiastical pretensions. In consummating the conversion of the Latin Church into a synonym of the Jesuit Order, in vesting in the Pope absolute direction over a universal organisation, and in having ensured through careful preparatory enervation that, at the critical moment, all the forces in this organisation acquiesced in becoming obsequious agents at the beck of the Pontifical Cæsar, the authors of this transformation wrought a modification in [the Church's Constitution, that materially altered the aspect presented by it towards the Civil Power. In the instinctive sentiment of the Civil Power, that it is being confronted by an organisation bristling with menacing sentiments, is to be found the key to the state of public feeling—most marked in Germany, but unmistakably running along the whole line of modern governments—which looks on the Constitution of the Latin Church with uneasiness, and singles out the Society of Jesus as the Prætorian Guard of a dangerous ecclesiastical Cæsarism. How things may shape themselves during the course of the conflict that has been fairly joined, it would be vain to speculate. This much, however, may be affirmed, that the deed which consummated the mischief was rendered feasible only because the ever-increasing spread of the influences specially represented by the Society of Jesus had thoroughly saturated and made subservient those who needed only to have protested, firmly and persistently, in order to have saved the liberties of the Church; and that the recovery of what has thus been lost from failure of courage, can be hoped for only when there is in the body of the Catholic community a revival of the spirit now apparently quenched.

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ART. III.—*The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort.* By Theodore Martin. With Portraits and Views. Volume the First. London, 1875.

'To me,' says Mr. Theodore Martin, in his admirable dedication of this volume to the Queen, 'biography, while one of the most fascinating, has always appeared one of the most difficult branches of literature. How difficult, the few master-pieces in that kind, of either ancient or modern time, are enough to show.' In view of much that

has of late years been given to the world, the remark is peculiarly appropriate. A good biography demands very special qualities in the writer. As a primary requisite, he must enter thoroughly into the mind and character to be portrayed. He must also have so lived into the circumstances, and become imbued, as it were, with the atmosphere of the life of the man whom he has undertaken to describe, as to be able to look upon its incidents with the same eyes, as nearly as may be, as his. At the same time he must have the power of holding himself so far aloof as to scrutinize all its details with a judgment at once calm and penetrating, to discriminate the relative importance and significance of every detail with which he has to deal, and to assign to each its due place and relief in working out the picture which is to reproduce in the minds of his readers the conception to which conscientious research and long meditation have given a definite shape within his own.

Nor does the difficulty end here. 'We are a mystery,' as Mr. Martin truly says, 'to ourselves; how much more, then, must we be a mystery to each other;' and he illustrates his proposition by Keble's beautiful lines, which remind us, that

'Not even the tenderest heart, and next our  
own,  
Knows half the reason why we smile or sigh.'

An almost womanly sympathy and tenderness of touch are, indeed, required for the subtle half-tints that make up much of the charm of a good biography. But no biography will be good which is not also distinguished by a manly sincerity, no less than by the wise reticence of sound taste, and by an austere judgment that holds in check the writer's enthusiasm. For enthusiasm he must have; or the book will want that underglow of life, without which the reader's sympathy is not to be arrested or retained.

These considerations, and they are only a few of those which enter into the question, have had little weight with the mass of recent biographers. A quantity of crude materials, some good, some bad, some utterly worthless, are thrown together without method and without selection. All sorts of petty details, in themselves of the most insignificant kind and valueless as illustrative of character, are gone into, often at intolerable length. Things are not unfrequently divulged, which might make the miserable subject of the narrative turn in his grave with horror. His weaknesses, the mere accidents, it may be, of broken health, are recklessly laid bare, and the dearest secrets

of his heart turned into a theme for vulgar gossip. 'To drag his frailties from their dread abode,' would seem to be the main object in view; and they who should protect the man, whose life they have set themselves to manufacture into a book, do him as much mischief by their inconsiderate babble, or clumsy vindications, as the malevolent cynic does to the man and woman he has happened to know, who leaves behind him, as a legacy to mankind, a journal of the vilest gossip of his fellow cynics, which he dared not publish in his own lifetime, to be published after his death as 'materials for history.'

Happily a swift oblivion inevitably overtakes biographies into which so little conscientious study and artistic skill have gone. Charles Lamb, fortunately for himself, had sunk into his grave before some of the chief offenders in this line had thrust their chaotic octavos upon the world, otherwise these would, to a certainty, have been included with Court Circulars, Statistical Reports, Beattie's and Soame Jenyns's works, and the like, in that famous catalogue of his 'books, which are no books.' It is with a very different order of book that we are now called upon to deal. In the 'Life of the Prince Consort' by Mr. Theodore Martin, we have a book which is a book—a book fitted to be as welcome in the drawing-room as in the library,—and which Charles Lamb would certainly not have included in his catalogue of *biblia a-biblia*, for he would have been sure to have been delighted, not less with the delicate insight into character which it affords, than with the thoroughly artistic skill which has gone to its production.

Mr. Martin's task was one of supreme difficulty. The events in which the Prince played an important, though often unnoticed part, were still recent; the passions of old party strife had not as yet wholly cooled down; men were still alive of whom it was difficult not to speak, but who could not fail to be deeply sensitive about whatever was said in any work which appeared with Her Majesty's sanction. Much had to be set right, as to which the public were either inaccurately informed or wholly in the dark. To write a life of the Prince, which did not deal fully with public affairs both at home and abroad, which did not grapple with the *motum civicum*, *gravesque principum amicitias*, which are at all times a theme of peril, would have been to write a life from which what constituted its main elements of interest was omitted. Yet how might a writer hope to hold the scales so evenly as not to give offence, or, what in such a work

was to be still more deprecated, provoke controversy in which possibly the Sovereign might be involved?

Then Mr. Martin, as he tells us, 'had not the happiness or the good fortune to know the Prince personally,' and he had therefore to enter upon his task in total uncertainty whether he should be enabled by the information to be placed at his disposal to overcome this disadvantage, or to satisfy his instinct as a writer of experience, that nothing was withheld, which 'an honest chronicler' ought to know.

From the latter difficulty Mr. Martin assures us he was at once relieved by the generous unreserve with which Her Majesty placed every species of information at his disposal—an unreserve which this volume enables us to estimate in all its extent, while it shows at the same time, by the prevailing discretion and good taste with which Mr. Martin has used his materials, how fully the confidence has been repaid. One thing at least is evident, from what Mr. Martin has written, that the relation which has subsisted between himself and his Sovereign, with reference to this work, has been one of entire frankness on one side, and of unconstrained independence on the other. Mr. Martin has obviously not been asked to withhold the frankest expression of the convictions at which he has arrived from the facts and documents before him; and he has not hesitated to speak out with the fearless loyalty of a man who felt sure of a generous estimate from a Sovereign whose truthfulness and directness of character are no secret to her people.

With such materials as have obviously been placed in Mr. Martin's hands he was well qualified to deal. The pages of this Review have, on more occasions than one, contained evidences of his power to place eminent men of a past day before us 'in their habits as they lived.' And his admirable Monograph on Horace had satisfied the most fastidious that his knowledge of men and things, and his quick spirit of imaginative sympathy, were likely to bring vividly before us the salient points of the history of the days in which the prince's lot was cast, and to show the Prince himself moving and working among them with all the animation of a living picture. Nor have the expectations of those who were familiar with Mr. Martin's powers as a writer been disappointed. Even from this first volume the world will be enabled to know the Prince as he has not been known before. When the work is complete, and the Prince, who in these pages is seen rather growing into the great man, than developed into the noble

proportions which his character afterwards assumed, we may hope to possess a record not unworthy of one to whom, as Mr. Martin well says, England has assigned a foremost place 'among those whom she delights to hold in reverent remembrance.'

Fascinating as the work is, its success must not be altogether attributed to the merits of the writer, admirably although, to our judgment, he has executed his task. In this instance the Life is that of a person placed in a most singular and difficult position: always before the public, liable every day of his life to do something, or to say something, which might provoke censure or evoke applause; and, on that account alone, it becomes a Life of exceeding interest. Moreover, the character of the hero was fully as singular as the position he occupied. Perhaps the most remarkable point in that character, which is clearly discerned and well brought out by the biographer, is the interest, and that not of a superficial kind, which the Prince took in everything that went on around him in the world. Mr. Martin is thus justly entitled to say:—

*'Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas, Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli.'*

But it was not only the passions and affections of the men of his time that engaged the active mind of the Prince Consort. He took as deep an interest in the artistic, and literary, and scientific world, as in the political in which he bore so prominent a part. Nor was his interest bounded by any particular form of culture. An excellent judge of painting and of sculpture, he was also equally delighted with, and equally skilled in appreciating architecture and gardening. We particularly notice gardening, because the Prince has left behind him proofs of his great skill in that art in which, as his biographer notices, he took as much delight as did Lord Bacon. His love for it is well expressed in the following passage in one of his letters to the Princess Imperial of Prussia, 13th April, 1859.

'We have an art, however, in which even this third element of creation—inward force and growth—is present, and which has, therefore, had extraordinary attractions for me of late years, indeed I may say from earliest childhood, viz., the art of gardening. In this the artist who lays out the work, and devises a garment for a piece of ground, has the delight of seeing his work live and grow hour by hour; and, while it is growing, he is able to polish, to cut and carve, to fill up here and there, to hope, and to love.'

Then, too, there was probably no man of his time who was so thoroughly versed in

all the improvements in manufacture that abound in this improving age. All those persons who had the good fortune to be brought into close converse with the Prince, will recollect with what animation, with what fidelity, and with what clearness he was wont to describe any new development of manufacture which he had recently seen. He excelled in statement, using no unnecessary words, and taking every division of his statement in its own order. We have often thought how it would have delighted the inventor, or the adopter of some improvement in manufactures, to hear how fully and how admirably the Prince described its peculiar merits, and the new work it was to do.

It has frequently been a subject for anxious thought with biographers, whether they should give a summary of the character of their heroes at the beginning of the work, or at the ending; or whether they should leave this summary to be formed by the reader for himself. We prefer, not having that space at four command which the biographer possesses, to give our view of the Prince's character before entering in detail into the many subjects of private and political import with which the book abounds.

One of the principal characteristics we have already noticed, namely, his interest in all human affairs, and we might have added, his exceeding desire for the highest self-culture. Such a Prince would have greatly delighted Goethe. But, joined with this exceeding desire for self-culture, he had what Goethe's critics, somewhat unjustly as we think, are wont to maintain that Goethe had not: namely, a deep interest in other men's proceedings, and in the general welfare of the world. It was impossible, however, for the Prince, with his affectionate nature, to be otherwise than very sympathetic. How strong and deep were his affections, may be discerned, not only in his domestic relations, but also in his general converse with the world, and in his great anxiety to diminish suffering of all kinds. Besides it is evident, from the records in this book, that the Prince's sense of duty was very strong, and that no man was more aware of the benefit that might be effected by a person in his position furthering everything that was likely to produce good for the world in art, science, literature, or manufactures. We have sometimes thought what would have been his career if he had been born to occupy a very different position. He would then, we feel almost certain, have devoted himself chiefly to one pursuit, and would have become pre-eminent in that. This, however, is not the business of a Prince. He can do more good by exercising the receptive faculty, and so

being able to promote and encourage special excellence in others, than by any amount of culture, exercised in one direction.

But to proceed with the character, which may be summed up shortly. The Prince was an amiable, loving, affectionate man, possessing a high order of intelligence. He was penetrated by a sense of duty, such a sense of duty as was always to be seen in the great Duke of Wellington. He was very reticent himself, and very anxious that others should be reticent also. In a letter cited by Mr. Martin, which he wrote to his eldest daughter (21st of March, 1860), in reference to a very distorted report of some remarks of his own in a letter by the great Humboldt to Varuhagen von Ense, he says:—

'The matter is really of no moment, for what does not one write or say to his intimate friends under the impulse of the moment? But the publication is a great indiscretion. How many deadly enemies may be made if publicity be given to what one man has said of another, or perhaps even in many cases has not said?'

He was a very humorous man, and exceedingly prone to mark whatever was droll and comical that came before him, but always with exceeding good nature. This was a part of his character which was probably least known to the British public, and which would have more endeared him to them if they had known it.

He was a deeply religious man, with a pure horror of bigotry of any kind; and we should say, that he had always a dread lest theological questions of a minor kind should divert ingenious and learned men from devoting themselves to what he considered to be the essentials of all practical religious convictions, and their bearing on the truest and the best interests of mankind.

In the volume before us, Mr. Martin has most judiciously avoided a common fault of biographers by not dwelling too long upon the early years of the Prince Consort. One boy is very much like another—that is, apparently so, for children, especially children whom the world are likely afterwards to care about, are very reticent, and do not by any means tell their elders all that is going on in their young minds. There are, however, certain peculiarities, even in these early years of the Prince, which deserve notice. These are well shown in a letter of Count Mensdorf to the Queen:—

'Albert, as a child, was of a mild, benevolent disposition. It was only what he thought unjust or dishonest that could make him angry. Thus I recollect one day when wo children, Albert, Ernest, Ferdinand, Augustus, Alexander, myself, and a few other boys (if I am not

mistaken, Paul Wangelheim was one) were playing at the Rosenau, and some of us were to storm the old ruined tower on the side of the castle, which the others were to defend. One of us suggested that there was a place at the back by which we could get in without being seen, and thus capture it without difficulty. Albert declared that "this would be most unbecoming in a Saxon knight, who should always attack the enemy in front;" and so we fought for the tower so honestly and vigorously, that Albert, by mistake, for I was on his side, gave me a blow upon the nose, of which I still bear the mark. I need not say how sorry he was for the wound he had given me.

'He had a natural talent for imitation, and a great sense of the ludicrous, either in persons or things; but he was never severe or ill-natured, the general kindness of his disposition preventing him from pushing a joke, however he might enjoy it, so as to hurt any one's feelings. Every man has, more or less, a ridiculous side; and to *quiz* this, in a friendly and good-humoured manner, is, after all, the pleasantest description of humour. Albert possessed this rare gift in an eminent degree.

'From his earliest infancy he was distinguished for perfect moral purity, both in word and in deed; and to this he owed the sweetness of disposition so much admired by every one.'

It was well for England that these qualities did not escape the penetrating eye of the Prince's uncle, King Leopold. To the young Princess Victoria, heir-apparent to that throne, from the perilous splendours of which his youthful bride had been snatched by her untimely fate, Leopold had been a father—the only father the Princess had ever known. In her his affections had been centred; in her reign he yearned to see the fulfilment of that exemplar of constitutional monarchy which he had hoped to illustrate in the persons of the ill-fated Princess Charlotte and himself. In the character of his youthful nephew he saw the qualities which gave promise of what he could wish for in the Consort of his royal niece, and he singled him out from boyhood for the destiny he was ultimately to fulfil.

But the King was too conscientious to trust to his own judgment in so grave a matter;—and, well for our Queen, well for the Prince, well for England, he called to his aid one, on whose sagacity and fearless independence he could thoroughly rely. This was the friend of his heart—the friend who had stood by him in his hour of agony—the friend in whose heart thrilled to the last the pressure of the hand of that beloved Princess, which, as her life ebbed away, clung to his, as if to adjure him not to forsake the Prince, into whose eyes her own were never more to look. This was Baron Ernest von Stockmar, the inseparable com-

panion of her uncle. He had often nursed the baby Princess Victoria in his arms; as she grew up she had often played around his knees, and, while she drank in instruction from his lips, had grown to love him for his playful and kindly ways. But it was obviously not the future Queen of England merely whom Stockmar loved. He loved England, too; loved it with all his heart, as the citadel and bulwark of freedom, the one country in the world in which the claims of the many had been recognised, where a free civil life, and 'pure religion breathing household laws' were to be found in fuller force than they had yet been known in history. A time of many and radical changes he saw well was rapidly coming on; and he who was to possess the heart and ear of England's Queen, and to influence her domestic and public life, Stockmar had said to himself must be no common man.

It was not enough for a counsellor of this class that the young Prince Albert came recommended by the good opinion either of King Leopold, or of the many princely friends who had been impressed by the exceptional qualities that marked the Prince's youth. In this, as in all things, Stockmar would answer only according to his conscience. The welfare of the young Queen, the welfare, it might be, of a great nation, were dependent on the issue. He must prove the young man thoroughly before he would lend any sanction to his candidature; and he would do so only then if he found in him the 'making' of a noble Prince, fully equal to the position for which he was destined.

Those who are old enough to be familiar with the incidents of the early part of the present reign will remember the whispers of jealousy with which the name of Baron Stockmar used to be spoken. A foreigner, with foreign notions, with foreign attachments, using a dangerous influence for the advancement at the English Court of interests other than English interests, was the idea of the man, which had become rooted in the minds of certain circles. The simple facts are brought before us in the present volume; and all may now learn that England had no truer friend, that her Queen had no more loyal or English-hearted adviser, and that Prince Albert had in him a mentor whose sole object was to accomplish him in all respects for the duties of his station, that England's stability might be strengthened amid the crash of tottering kingdoms, and that her greatness might be upheld amidst every assault from without and from within.

In all his relations with the Prince Con-

sort, the appearance presented by Baron Stockmar is truly admirable. Never, in the history of Kings and Princes, do we find that any of these ruling personages had a truer friend than the Prince Consort was blessed with in Baron Stockmar. It was to the honour of both, that it was fearless and frank on the side of the Baron, as it was trustful and sincerely modest on that of the Prince. Sometimes, in the course of Mr. Martin's narrative, one almost thinks that the Baron exceeds the limits even of true friendship in saying disagreeable things to his Royal friend. But the Prince knew better. What his friend said he knew was prompted by a heart that loved, as few can love, no less than by a head that thought, as few could think. Nothing from such a friend could, therefore, come amiss.

At the first the Baron forms an opinion not altogether favourable of the Prince's character. At any rate, he sees grave errors and certain dangers :—

'The Prince,' he says (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 331), 'bears a striking resemblance to his mother, and at the same time, though differing in much, takes after her in many respects, both physical and mental. He has the same mobility and readiness of mind, the same intelligence, the same overruling desire and talent for appearing kind and amiable to others, the same tendency to *espéglerie*, and to the treatment of men and things in a droll and consequently often pleasant fashion, the same habit of not dwelling long upon a subject.

'His constitution cannot be called strong; still I incline to think, that with proper dietetic management of himself, it may easily gain strength and stability. After any exertion he is apt to look pale and exhausted. Great exertion is repugnant to him, and his tendency is to spare himself both morally and physically.'

Upon these remarks of Baron Stockmar, Mr. Martin judiciously observes :

'Such was the searching accuracy of Stockmar's powers of observation, that it is impossible to doubt the general truth of this sketch. The eye of the old physician was not more quick to detect the latent constitutional weakness, which was afterwards fatally developed, than to see the disinclination to sustained effort, which was probably in a great measure, if not wholly, the result of that weakness. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the standard by which Stockmar judged the Prince was no ordinary one. How few young men, even among the greatly gifted, could have borne so well a scrutiny so relentlessly severe?'

On the betrothal of the Queen and Prince Albert, the Prince wrote to the Baron to give what he knew would be 'the most welcome news possible;' and, speaking of

the joyful fact, in the tenderest and most modest terms, says, after the fashion of all true lovers, that he 'is puzzled to believe that he should be the object of so much affection,' concluding with Schiller's beautiful lines in the 'Song of the Bell,' when the poet's youth and maiden are betrothed.

'Das Auge sieht den Himmel offen,  
Es schwelgt das Herz in Seligkeit.'

'Stockmar,' says the biographer, 'would not have been Stockmar, if, while offering to the Prince his hearty congratulations in return, he had not coupled them with earnest counsels as to the course which must be pursued in laying the foundation of his future happiness, and in fulfilling worthily the duties of his great position. The Prince's reply was well calculated to assure him he would not be disappointed.

'Dear Baron Stockmar,—A thousand, thousand thanks for your dear, kind letter. I felt sure you would take much interest in an event of such moment to myself, and for which you have yourself paved the way.

'I have laid to heart your friendly and kind-hearted counsels as to the true foundation on which my future happiness must rest, and they accord entirely with the principles which I had already thought out upon that subject for myself. An individuality, a character, which shall win the respect, the love, and the confidence of the Queen and of the nation, must be the keystone of my position. Such an individuality gives a guarantee for the disposition, which prompts the actions; and where this exists, even should mistakes be committed, they are more likely to have allowance made for them, than are the best and grandest designs to secure support, where confidence in their author is wanting.'

And, indeed, throughout the whole of this most valuable correspondence, the Baron plays the part of Mentor with so much severity and with so little reticence, that we sometimes wonder whether a grown-up and decidedly mature Telemachus will endure it. But the Prince is never offended, and never replies with other than the due modesty of a younger man, and the due affection of a friend to a true friend. We should be inclined to rest our opinion of the Prince's character and the Prince's merits upon the Correspondence between himself and Baron Stockmar, if that alone had been published. If the Baron never forgets that he is somewhat of a tutor, the Prince always remembers that he is a Prince, and must reply with princely courtesy and just consideration to one of the best and truest of friends.

We have sometimes thought while reading the letters and conversations that are recorded in this book, between the Prince

Consort and Baron Stockmar, that the Baron was a kind of virtuous Macchiavelli. The good man would doubtless have been much astonished if he could have heard himself so described. Those, however, who have read their Macchiavelli must, we think, have read him to little purpose, if they have not discerned that he would have given very virtuous counsels, if virtue had been the fashion of his day. It is in the depth and shrewdness of the Baron's remarks that we have traced this singular resemblance. He always seeks to impress upon his Prince the necessity for continuing to build up his own character in such a manner as to make it most serviceable with regard to the position that he occupied—in short, to make himself a noble and great man, and then that all good work would follow. He is to be diligent, not to fear hostile censure, not to give his mind too much to details (an error which the Prince was not unlikely to commit), but to seek out the principles upon which any great affair was to be conducted, to hold to them, and to impress them upon others. Do right, and all will come right.

There is one fact which we wish our readers to take into due consideration. The Prince Consort was born in 1819. The end of this volume of Mr. Theodore Martin's brings His Royal Highness's life up to 1848. He was, therefore, only twenty-nine years of age at the conclusion of this part of the narrative. And it is certainly most surprising, that a man of this comparative youthfulness should have manifested the mature sagacity which appears throughout these pages. We make this remark, because we ourselves found, in considering this '*Life of the Prince Consort*,' that we had unconsciously been thinking of him as when we mourned his loss, and when he was thirteen years older.

The work we are criticising most happily illustrates the political history of the period. And here again we must give his due meed of praise to the biographer, who has dealt with this part of the subject almost as if he were a man devoid of party feelings. We should conjecture that Mr. Theodore Martin is one of those persons who take a great interest in politics; but, to a certain point, it is the interest of a bystander. There is evidently a love of order and discipline in his mind which makes him somewhat Conservative. On the other hand, he is willing to welcome improvement from whatever quarter it may come, and to look generously at all endeavours in that direction. He seems to sympathise with each Ministry as it comes forward on the stage; and, in

that respect, he associates himself with the thoughts and feelings of his hero.

Had this book been merely a record of the private life of the Prince Consort, we should have welcomed it on that account; but it has for us a much deeper and much wider interest. The book will be most valuable as an historical record; and, not the less so, to those persons who have lived through the times which Mr. Theodore Martin has described, for nearly all of us must acknowledge that it is about the events of contemporary history that our memories present us a strangely blurred and often a most inaccurate conception.

It was probably not foreseen by the biographer, when he accepted his honourable task, that his work was destined to assume so much of an historical character as it does. This result, however, was unavoidable, seeing that the Prince Consort took so large an interest in all that was going on around him, and exercised upon it an influence so considerable. Such being the case, it is most fortunate that the biographer possesses so singularly calm and equable a mind in dealing with political subjects; and, if we may presume to say so, it shows great discretion upon the part of the Queen to have entrusted the writing of this work to one who was not known as a politician. One thing alone is manifest—that Mr. Martin always endeavours to remove any misapprehension respecting the conduct of past or living statesmen, and to make a just and reasonable defence, wherever it can be made, upon those points respecting which they were considered by their contemporaries to have erred.

It is impossible to read his work without being impressed with one very noticeable fact, and that is the number of disastrous circumstances and events through which the British nation has victoriously passed during the few brief years in which the Prince Consort had scarcely assumed the position of political importance which he was afterwards destined to fill,—we mean the years of his life which are commemorated in the present volume. It needs only to refer to the headings of Mr. Theodore Martin's chapters to ascertain how frequent were these difficulties. In 1842, the uneasy state of public affairs, and the disturbed state of the country are mentioned. In 1844, there is the alarming state of Ireland, the arrest and the trial of O'Connell. In 1845-6, there is the troubled state of affairs in England. In 1846-7, there are the consequences of the Spanish marriages and alarming political symptoms in Europe. In 1847 there are Revolutionary symptoms through-

out Europe, commercial distress in England, great distress in Ireland. In 1847-8 there is great commercial and financial distress in England and in Scotland, alarming increase of crime in Ireland, measures of repression, disturbed state of affairs in Switzerland, Italy, and France.

Somehow or other we have contrived to survive all these difficulties and dangers. A recent work by a writer of considerable eminence, has shown to us, Cassandra-like, the rocks which are now ahead of us. His warnings are not to be despised; but at the same time we may derive considerable comfort by contemplating the difficulties and the dangers which we have, in this short period of time, passed through unscathed. It may also be remembered that the Prince Consort was never daunted by these disastrous events; and, on all these occasions, proved himself to be a most valuable adviser to the Sovereign and to the Government of the day.

There is a disposition in the present time to look upon constitutional monarchy as if it were little more than a mere pageant. But no one can read attentively the pages of the work now before us without perceiving that not only are the public duties of the Sovereign, of which the world takes no account, of a very arduous kind, but that the Sovereign exercises a very material and important influence upon public affairs. Even these visits of courtesy from one Sovereign to another, which were a novel feature of the present reign, are not without their effect, and upon the whole a very good effect. It is clear, from what is revealed to us in this memoir, that, upon more than one occasion, the personal influence of the English Court had a direct effect in maintaining the peace of Europe. And, doubtless, the visits of the Kings and Emperors who came to the English Court did not fail to impress upon those monarchs a just idea of the latent power of the British nation.

There is one memorable letter written by the Queen on the subject of the Spanish marriages, which we think affords a noticeable instance of the service that a monarch may perform to his or her country, even when writing in a somewhat private capacity. The part which England took in that painful question, the exact limits which she placed to her interference, the reciprocity which she demanded from the other parties concerned, have never been better expressed than in the letter to the Queen of the Belgians, a part of which we here subjoin:—

‘MY DEAR LOUISE,

‘I have read and re-read with the greatest attention the King’s explanation of the re-

cent events, and his statement of the motives which have governed the course of the French Government in regard to this unhappy Spanish affair, and I am deeply pained to have to declare that the perusal of his letter has in no way altered the opinion which I had previously formed, nor the pain I feel that these events should have occurred to trouble our cordial understanding\*—an understanding which was so useful and so precious.

‘The King accuses me of looking at these affairs only through the medium of Lord Palmerston. This accusation has caused me profound regret, because I had every right to hope that His Majesty knew enough of my sincere friendship for him to be convinced that this friendship would inspire within me the most lively desire—I might even say, anxiety,—to see things simply as they are, and to put upon them the most favourable construction. It is not the least of my vexations, to have to acknowledge towards all the world, that the conduct of France is wholly contrary to the spirit of our “*entente cordiale*,” and to the agreement formerly come to between us. I know that Lord Aberdeen takes precisely the same view as ourselves, and I believe that he has expressed as much to M. Guizot.†

‘The one simple fact, which governs this whole affair, is, that the King declared that he would not give one of his sons to the Queen of Spain, and that on this declaration he based the right to limit the Queen’s choice to the family of the Bourbon descendants of Philip V. We disputed and denied this right; still we consented to the choice being so restricted, and even promised to recommend it to Spain; and to this we have most scrupulously and religiously adhered, without swerving one hair’s-breadth. What the King desired has taken place; the Queen married a descendant of Philip V., and of his descendants just that one whom he knew we regarded as the least eligible. The same day the King gives his son to the heiress presumptive to the Crown, not only without previous concert with us, but contrary to the pledge which he gave me at Eu last autumn, when with the question of the marriage of the Queen he for the first time

\* ‘Lord Aberdeen,’ says the Comte de Jarnac, ‘was the first to make use of the phrase, “a cordial, good understanding,” in the course of a conversation with me at Haddo, his Scotch country seat. It expressed faithfully the nature of the relations which a sincere mutual attachment between two eminent statesmen had created for the two countries. . . . Even now, after more than thirty years, the two nations may congratulate themselves upon the practice, adopted then for the first time in their history, of living in relations of mutual confidence and goodwill.’—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 15, 1874, p. 294.

† Lord Aberdeen had by this time written to M. Guizot in answer to his explanation of the affair:—‘I do not comprehend why it has been thought right or necessary to abandon the engagement voluntarily entered into with me last year, and since frequently repeated, respecting the marriage of Montpensier.’

mixed up that of the marriage of the Infanta. This pledge was, "that he would not think of this marriage, so long as it was a political question, and not until the Queen was married and *had children*."

'The King endeavours to justify this departure from the course agreed upon between us, by assuming that we have pressed the candidature of our cousin Leopold, contrary to the engagement we had come under to His Majesty.

'I deny, in the most unqualified terms, that Leopold has ever been put forward as our candidate, either by the English Government, or by any member of the Coburg family. The fact is, that if Leopold became a candidate, this was due to Spain alone; and to Queen Christina herself, who, whether acting spontaneously and in good faith, or as a trap for the English Minister at Madrid, took numerous steps to effect this combination, which she only abandoned at the last moment. Then, as throughout, our conduct has been invariably the same; we lent no countenance to this scheme, and we advised the Queen to seek among the descendants of Philip V. a candidate to her mind.

'Such, then, I assert, has been the line of conduct pursued by us; its straightforwardness and probity cannot be impugned.

\* \* \* \* \*

'Nothing more painful could possibly have befallen me than this unhappy difference, both because it has a character so personal, and because it imposes upon me the duty of opposing the marriage of a prince, for whom, as well as for all his family, I entertain so warm a friendship.

'My only consolation is, that as what is proposed cannot be carried out without producing grave complications, and without even exposing to many dangers a family whom I hold in high regard, they may even yet retrace their steps, before it is too late.

'Ever, your most devoted,

'V. R.

'Windsor-Castle, September 27th, 1846.'

This was not a letter in the preparation of which Her Majesty's Cabinet had any share. That it was written in concert with the Prince (ever Her Majesty's most faithful adviser and truest friend) there can be no doubt. But although emanating purely from the Sovereign, we know from another source, that it had the entire approval of Her Majesty's Constitutional advisers. In a letter of Lord Palmerston to Lord Normanby, which is to be found in the third volume of Lord Palmerston's '*Life*,' he says, with an obvious reference to the letter in question:—

'Broadlands, September 27, 1846.

'MY DEAR NORMANBY,

\* \* \* \* \*

'Do not mention it to any one; but the Queen has written the King of the French a tickler in answer to a letter he sent her. Both

have passed through the Queen of the Belgians. Her letter was quite her own, in concert, I presume, with Prince Albert; and I did not see it till after it was written, but I concurred in every word. She claims the performance of his promise to her to delay till after children are born to the Queen. In his letter to her he had dropped all mention of that, and alluded only to Guizot's promise to Aberdeen. She takes no notice of what passed between the ministers, and dwells only on what was said between the Sovereigns.

'Yours sincerely,

(Signed)

'PALMERSTON.'

We have said that the letter to Queen Louise was assuredly the result of the joint counsels of our Queen and the Prince. In every detail of the great business of Her Majesty's life, a husband so loved and so worthy of all trust could not fail to be appealed to for counsel and guidance. The world knows already from other sources something of the Prince's relation to the Queen, of which a more complete picture is presented in Mr. Martin's volume. It was perfect in its kind. The writer of the '*Introduction to the Speeches of the Prince Consort*' thus describes it:—

'The tastes, the aims, the hopes, the aspirations of the Royal pair were the same. Their mutual respect and confidence went on increasing. Their affection grew, if possible, even warmer and more intense as the years of their married life advanced. Companions in their domestic employment, in their daily labours for the State, and, indeed, in almost every occupation, the burthens and the difficulties of life were thus lessened more than by half for each one of the persons thus happily united in this true marriage of the soul. When the fatal blow was struck, and the Prince was removed from this world, it is difficult to conceive a position of greater sorrow, and one, indeed, more utterly forlorn, than that which became the lot of the Survivor—deprived of him whom She herself has described as being the "*Life of Her Life*."—*Introduction to the Speeches and Addresses of the Prince Consort*, p. 55.

If, however, the writer of this Introduction had possessed the advantage of reading what Mr. Martin's readers now know, before he had written this paragraph, he might have added to it. The devotion of the Prince Consort to the interests of the Queen, and of the country which she governs, was complete. It was also very peculiar in its nature. The Prince did not aim at fulfilling, in any respect, the part of Her Majesty's Prime Minister, nor did he confine himself to the much humbler part of a mere private secretary to the Queen; but he did fulfil the part of her most intimate friend and counsellor, accomplishing himself for this office by making himself thoroughly master

of the whole field of home as well as foreign politics, and, at the same time, never flagged in the endeavour (which we have every reason to believe was fully responded to) to make the Queen thoroughly understand and appreciate the knowledge afforded and the counsel given, so that those two great ones might think and act in complete harmony and unison. Their marriage thus formed such a union as is rarely met with, and *can* only be rarely met with—the pursuits and avocations of most men being such as their wives can seldom enter into, or deeply sympathise with.

A most interesting subject, and one which is sure to attract the notice of all classes of readers, is the relation between the Prince Consort and the Queen's Ministers, as it appears in the pages of this work. The shrewd political observers of that time must, no doubt, have perceived and commented upon the difficulty of the position. The Prince Consort was a great personage—naturally a very potent personage—but yet having no distinctly recognised place in the constitution. The Prince thoroughly understood this anomaly, and, by his great tact, turned an anomalous position into a highly honourable and most useful one.

Doubtless with regard to the Queen's Ministers, this relation between them and the Prince Consort must sometimes have begun with a little feeling of fear on their part lest there should be any interference on his, which might prove a hindrance to the conduct of public affairs. If any such fear, however, existed, it was very soon dispelled; and the pages of this volume abound with expressions showing the entire confidence with which his wisdom and behaviour inspired successive Prime Ministers:—

'Lord Melbourne cannot satisfy himself without again stating to Your Majesty in writing what he had the honour of saying to Your Majesty respecting His Royal Highness the Prince. Lord Melbourne has formed the highest opinion of His Royal Highness's judgment, temper, and discretion, and he cannot but feel a great consideration and security in the reflection that he leaves Your Majesty in a situation in which Your Majesty has the inestimable advantage of such advice and assistance. Lord Melbourne feels certain that Your Majesty cannot do better than have recourse to it whenever it is needed, and rely upon it with confidence.

'Since the change of Ministry, the Prince had devoted himself more closely than before to the politics of the day. In this he was encouraged both by Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen, who were soon convinced, as Lord Melbourne had been, that Her Majesty had in him an adviser whose capacity and strong practical judgment could not fail to be of infinite value

in assisting her decisions. Before Baron Stockmar left England, he had the satisfaction of being told by Lord Aberdeen, how greatly both Ministers were gratified to perceive that the Queen leant upon the Prince's judgment, and showed an obvious desire that he should share her duties. It gave the Prince, Lord Aberdeen added, the moral status and influence to which he was entitled; and they had also remarked with pleasure in their dealings with him, how gently he exercised his authority, never giving a decided opinion on any point without previously consulting the Queen. They thought it most desirable that the Prince should occupy this position, and, as it was with the full concurrence of the Queen, it could be open to no possible objection.'

"'Sir Robert Peel," says Lord Kingsdown in his unpublished "*Recollections of his Life at the Bar and in Parliament*," p. 180, "when he introduced me to him (the Prince) in 1841, said that I should find him one of the most extraordinary young men I had ever met with." So, he adds, it proved. "His aptitude for business was wonderful; the dullest and most intricate matters did not escape or weary his attention; his judgment was very good; his readiness to listen to any suggestions, though against his own opinions, was constant; and though I saw his temper often tried, yet in the course of twenty years I never once saw it disturbed, nor witnessed any signs of impatience."

And it was with tears in his eyes, and with words of the deepest regret, that Lord Palmerston, who was Prime Minister when the Prince was taken from us, confided to one in whom he habitually placed confidence, how deeply he deplored for the nation, as well as for the Queen, the death of the Prince. This is the more worthy of record, as it is no secret that the political views of that Prime Minister and of the Prince had occasionally been much at variance.

Some idea may be given of the work before us by describing some one section of each division of labour which occupied the time and thought of the Prince and Queen during that part of His Royal Highness's life which Mr. Martin has already recorded.

In the course of this narrative there were many Royal visits received and returned. Such visits are not without considerable care and anxiety on the part of the entertainers; and they require to be managed with much discretion. In illustration of this we propose to give an account of the late Emperor of Russia's visit to the Queen.

Again, during that time which enters into the narrative of the biographer there are ministerial crises and changes of Ministers. We propose to give an account of one of these, which may serve as a type of the conduct of the Queen and the Prince on these critical occasions.

Thirdly, there is to be shown the interest which the Prince took in all the social affairs of Great Britain, and the encouragement which he gave to art, science, and manufactures.

To commence with the Emperor of Russia's visit to the Queen. On the 30th of May, 1844, the biographer says:—

"The Queen and Prince were somewhat taken by surprise by the intelligence that the Emperor of Russia was on his way to visit the English Court, and might be daily looked for . . . On the 3rd of June he was met at the Slough Station by the Prince, and conducted by him to the Castle. The Emperor was greatly struck—as, indeed, who is not?—by the beauty and magnificence of that noblest of all royal residences; and his reception during the five days of his stay at the English Court impressed him with the conviction, which he repeatedly expressed, that it was conducted on the noblest scale of any Court he had seen. Everything, he said, appeared to be done without effort, and as if nothing more than ordinary were going on.

'The object of the Emperor in visiting England was no doubt mainly political. It was an excellent thing, he said to the Queen, to see now and then with one's own eyes, as it did not do always to trust to diplomatists only. Such meetings begot a feeling of friendship and interest, and more could be done in a single conversation to explain one's feelings, views, and motives, than in a host of messages or letters. He avoided discussion on the position of affairs in Europe with the Queen, but he took frequent opportunities of going into them with the Premier and Lord Aberdeen, and also with Prince Albert, conversing at all times with the greatest apparent unreserve. In all his conversations he professed the utmost anxiety to win the confidence of the statesmen at the head of English affairs, and to convince them of the uprightness and strictly honourable character of his intentions.'

The caution of the Prince Consort is manifested in the following passage, a caution which was no doubt equally exercised in the course of all the other visits from foreign Sovereigns:—

'On the Emperor the Prince produced a deep impression. He told Lord Aberdeen he should like to have him for his own son. In their personal communications he treated him with the greatest confidence, and paid him what in the Emperor's opinion was probably the highest testimony of his regard, by expressing a hope, that they might one day meet in the field of battle on the same side. The Prince was on the point of replying, that he trusted they might never see any interruption of the then peaceful state of Europe; but as this would have implied disapproval of the policy, which seemed to assume such an interruption as certain to take place, he checked himself, thinking the remark might be taken amiss.'

Her Majesty, in a letter to King Leopold, marked by the incisive perception and graphic force which Her Majesty brings to all her descriptions of men and things, gives her account of this visit of the late Emperor of Russia:—

'I will now (having told all that has passed) give you my opinions and feelings on the subject, which I may say are Albert's also. I was extremely against the visit, fearing the *gêne* and bustle, and even at first I did not feel at all to like it; but by living in the same house together quietly and unrestrainedly (and this Albert, and with great truth, says, is the great advantage of these visits, that I not only *see* these great people, but *know* them), I got to know the Emperor and he to know me. There is much about him which I cannot help liking, and I think his character is one which should be understood, and looked upon for once as it is. He is stern and severe, with strict principles of *duty* which nothing on earth will make him change. Very clever I do not think him, and his mind is not a cultivated one. His education has been neglected. Politics and military concerns are the only things he takes great interest in; the arts and all softer occupations he does not care for; but he is sincere, I am certain—sincere even in his most despotic acts—from a sense that it is the only way to govern. He is not, I am sure, aware of the dreadful cases of individual misery which he so often causes; for I can see, by various instances, that he is kept in utter ignorance of many things which his people carry out in most corrupt ways, while he thinks he is extremely just. He thinks of general measures, but does not look into details; and I am sure much never reaches his ears, and, as you observe, how can it?

'He asked for nothing whatever—has merely expressed his great anxiety to be on the best terms with us, but not to the exclusion of others—only let things remain as they are. He is very much alarmed about the East, and about Austria. . . . He is, I should say, too frank, for he talks so openly before people, which he should not do, and with difficulty restrains himself. His anxiety to be believed is *very great*, and I must say his personal promises I am inclined to believe. Then his feelings are very strong. He feels kindness deeply,—and his love for his wife and children, and for all children, is very great. He has a strong feeling for domestic life, saying to me, when our children were in the room, "*Voilà les doux moments de notre vie!*" One can see by the way he takes them up and plays with them, that he is very fond of children.'

At the conclusion of the Emperor's visit, he spoke in the highest praise of the Prince Consort to Sir Robert Peel, saying he wished every Prince in Germany had as much ability and sense.'

Her Majesty, in her letter to King Leopold, makes the following important remark:—

'I hope that you will persuade the King (Louis Philippe) to come all the same in September. Our motives and politics are *not* to be exclusive, but to be on good terms with all—and why should we not? We make no secret of it.'

It was with such feelings that the Royal pair exercised their hospitality towards all foreign Sovereigns.

We now proceed to give an account of some political events in which Sir Robert Peel was the principal person concerned, and as regards which it is to be seen what support and comfort he derived from the Queen and the Prince Consort. But before doing so, it is not out of place to say, that nothing can give a higher idea of the principles which governed the relation of the Crown to its Ministers after the marriage of the Queen, than what is revealed in the present volume. Lord Melbourne, always loyal and generous, with all his fatal good-nature and readiness to yield to the pressure of his party, used his best endeavours, as we have seen, to smooth the way for those who were to succeed him in the place he had so long occupied as the confidential adviser of the Crown. Much use had been made, to the prejudice of the Tory party, of their conduct as to the vote on the Prince's allowance, and other matters, at the time of his marriage. Sir Robert Peel felt that he had allowed himself to be carried away, for the moment, by the passion of his party, and that the part he had taken in apparent hostility to the wishes of the Queen and the interests of the Prince might well be remembered to his prejudice. But however well founded such apprehensions might have been under former reigns, the spirit which now reigned in the Palace was such as quickly to put all such apprehensions to rest. This is very clear from what Mr. Martin tells us (p. 118), and his statement we are in a position to corroborate on the authority of one to whom Sir Robert Peel more than once spoke to the same effect.

'Peel used to say, that he had felt no slight embarrassment on first coming into official contact with the Prince, for the fact was painfully present to his mind, that the serious curtailment of the Prince's income was mainly due to the prominent support which he had given to Colonel Sibthorp's motion the previous year. He was, therefore, not a little touched to find that not a shade of personal soreness could be traced in the Prince's demeanour. On the contrary, his communications were of that frank and cordial character which at once placed the Minister at his ease, and made him feel assured that not only was no grudge entertained, but that he might count thenceforth on being treated as a friend.'

And as a friend he was from that hour welcomed and trusted; and when he was struck down in 1850, in the full tide of his ripened intellectual strength and influence, none mourned his loss more truly than the Queen and Prince, whom he had felt an embarrassment in approaching.

It cannot be said that Mr. Martin is not a master of brevity, for, though these events are narrated in his work with sufficient fullness and admirable clearness, we find the greatest difficulty in condensing his account, and must often let the author speak for himself. It was after a tour in Germany undertaken by the Queen and the Prince, which had afforded both of them great delight, that they returned to encounter a very disastrous state of things at home:—

'The state of affairs at home had not improved within the last six weeks. The rain, which had pursued the Royal tourists on the Rhine, had for many weeks, amidst thunder and storm, deluged the harvest fields of the British islands, and serious fears for the crops had spread from the farmers to the statesmen, whose anxieties such an event were so much calculated to increase. A new and terrible feature of apprehension was added in the reports which continued to crowd in upon them of a strange blight which threatened wholly to destroy the potato crop in Ireland, and to produce serious ravages in England and Scotland also, where, if less relied upon by the population as a staple of food, it was an important source of wealth to the farmers. In the Prince's *Journal* for October, entry upon entry tells of the prevailing anxiety, which culminates in the beginning of October in the words: "Very bad news from Ireland—fears of a famine." A crisis of the gravest moment was at hand, which had to be grappled with firmly and at once. Cabinet Councils were called, and four of these held in one week early in November, "agitated England, perplexed the sagacious Tuileries, and disturbed even the serene intelligence of the profound Metternich." What engaged their deliberations could be no secret to the outside world. The Free Trade party saw in the disaster which had fallen upon the country an auxiliary more potent than the best eloquence of their best Speakers; and Protectionists, who had long seen that to Sir Robert Peel they must not look as a leader, watched with apprehension for his next move in a policy which they must have for some time foreseen could only result in the abolition of the protective duties on corn.'

Sir Robert Peel had at first been inclined to submit to Her Majesty an Order in Council 'at once throwing open the ports and trusting to Parliament for an indemnity.' He must, however, have been overruled by his colleagues, for Parliament was not called together, as had been the general expectation, but was prorogued.

Mr. Martin notices that, at that time, the Whigs, at least the Whig leaders, had also changed their views on the subject of Protection. But, as he justly remarks, there was a great difference between the position of the Conservatives and the Whigs in respect to this question, all-important at the time. The Whigs were not hampered by pledges to uphold Protection—pledges on the faith of which their rivals had been placed in power. Then came Lord John Russell's famous Edinburgh letter, dated 22nd November, 1845, in which he said, 'It is no longer worth while to contend for a fixed duty. The imposition of any duty at present, without a provision for its extinction in a short period, would but prolong a contest already sufficiently fruitful of animosity and discontent.'

The effect of this letter was, no doubt, very great, but it is probable that Sir Robert Peel's determination was not much influenced by it, and had been resolved upon in his own mind before. To so shrewd a man his position for some time must necessarily have appeared untenable. As our author says, 'A Minister, whose judgment went along with the policy announced by his adversary, had no alternative but to provide for him the opportunity of carrying it out.'

Accordingly, on the 5th December, he placed his resignation in Her Majesty's hands. How it was received the following extract from Sir Robert Peel's 'Memoirs' will show:—

'In the course of the interview with Her Majesty, which took place after my arrival at Osborne on the 5th of December, I trust that I satisfied the Queen that I was influenced by considerations of the public interest, and not by the fear of responsibility or of reproach, in humbly tendering my resignation of office. Her Majesty was pleased to accept it with marks of confidence and approbation which, however gratifying, made it a very painful act to replace in Her Majesty's hands the trust she had confided in me.

'I will not say more than that the generous support which I had uniformly received from Her Majesty and from the Prince, and all that passed on the occasion of the retirement, made an impression on my heart that can never be effaced. I could not say less than this without doing violence to feelings of grateful and dutiful attachment.'—*Sir R. Peel's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 222.

Lord John Russell was then summoned from Edinburgh to attend the Queen, and was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry. This proved at once to be no easy task:—

'Lord John Russell had from the first anticipated failure as by no means unlikely, and

he had told Her Majesty that in such an event Sir Robert Peel would have no difficulty in carrying on the Government. But not the less severe was the strain upon that statesman's courage and loyalty when appealed to by his sovereign to resume the helm of affairs. The experience of the last year had taught him what he must be prepared to face in the coolness of former friends, the grudging support of unwilling adherents, and the rancour of disappointed political antagonists. Very significant is the brief record in the Prince's Diary of what occurred:—"Sir Robert Peel comes down in the afternoon, is very much agitated, but declares that he will not desert the Queen, and will undertake the Government."

The biographer comments upon the sacrifice of his private feelings which Sir Robert Peel must have made on this memorable occasion. And, indeed, nothing can well be more painful for a high-minded man than, as the Leader of a Party, to have adopted some distinct line of policy on some very important question, thereby largely pledging both himself and his followers, and then turning suddenly round and saying, "We are in the wrong, and our adversaries in the right." Sir Robert Peel's very sensitive nature must have made this confession doubly distressing to him. And then, when from the force of circumstances, as in the present case, the Leader is not only compelled to retract his opinions, but to take action upon the contrary opinions, the painfulness of his position rises to its utmost height, and every generous mind, not under the immediate sway of party politics, must feel deeply for him and with him. Such were the feelings of the Queen and the Prince Consort:—

"They had been long accustomed," writes our author, "to admire Sir Robert Peel and those about him, for thinking only of what was best for the welfare of the State, with little care whether it was good for his party or not. But in this most trying hour they felt more strongly than ever that he had shown himself "a man of unbounded loyalty, courage, patriotism, and high-mindedness." These are Her Majesty's words, writing two days after his resumption of office. "His conduct towards us," she adds, "has been, I might say, almost 'chivalrous.' I never have seen him so excited and so determined, and such a good cause must succeed."

'Entertaining such views of the minister and of the situation, the result of the ministerial crisis could not be otherwise than gratifying to the Queen and Prince. "We are *seelenfroh* (glad in soul), as they say in Co-burg," the Prince writes to his step-mother (25th December), "or still more frequently *ganz fidel* (in high glee), that we have survived a ministerial crisis of fourteen days' duration, and are now standing exactly where we stood

before—upon our feet, whereas during the crisis we were very nearly standing on our heads.”

Our object in quoting the foregoing narrative, is to show the support and encouragement given by Her Majesty and by the Prince Consort to the Queen's Prime Minister. And this support was not given to that Prime Minister only, but also to preceding and successive Ministers.

It now remains that we should speak in detail of the Prince Consort's love of art, and of the service which he rendered to his adopted country by the promotion of art. The constant labours of his very laborious life prevented that continuous self-culture in art, to which he would otherwise, doubtless, have devoted himself. Our author tells us ‘that, both in painting and in musical composition, he had acquired considerable technical skill; and in the etcher's art the Queen and himself found a delightful occupation for their scanty leisure. To sing and play together was also one of their constant recreations. To the Prince music was, at all times, a source of supreme delight—an element in which the hindrances and disappointments, and shortcomings of life were forgotten.’ Mr. Martin has given us, in ‘Extracts from Letters of Lady Lyttelton's,’ a vivid idea of the poetical power which the Prince threw into his playing of the organ,—‘the eloquent exponent,’ as Mr. Martin assures us it was, ‘of his thoughts and fancies.’ And many of those who had the privilege of being present at the Private Concerts in the Palace will recognize the truth of the following picture of the Prince in his later years:—

‘He would often stand apart in the drawing-room, while some great work of Beethoven, Mozart, or Mendelssohn was being performed, wrapt in reverie, but with a look in his face which those could best understand, who knew by it, that the pressure on a brain often too severely taxed was for the moment removed.’

In the first year of his marriage the Prince was called upon to take a public part for the promotion of that Art which he so greatly loved:—

‘As the Prince's devotion to art soon became known, he was called upon to take a prominent part in its encouragement before the public. So early as March he was appointed one of the Directors of the Ancient Concerts, and directed his first concert in this capacity on the 29th of April. His selection of the music for the occasion was made with great care, and he attended an elaborate rehearsal of it with the Queen two days before. This concert has peculiar interest as the first

of a very remarkable series directed by the Prince, which, with what was done by him elsewhere, gave a stimulus to the cultivation of classical music, and of musical art generally in England, that has been of the highest value in raising the public taste.’

A much wider sphere of action in respect to Art was to be opened to the Prince Consort in the succeeding year 1841:—

‘One of the first acts of Sir Robert Peel after the instalment of his Ministry, was to suggest that the Prince, whose wide range of knowledge in art and science was by this time generally known, should be placed at the head of a Royal Commission to enquire whether advantage might not be taken of the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament to promote and encourage the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom.’

The original Commission included a very remarkable array of names:—

‘In May 1844, the names of Lord Mahon and Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay were added by a supplementary Commission. “To me personally,” the Prince writes to Sir Robert Peel (4th April, 1844), in answer to his letter suggesting this addition to the strength of the Commission, “their addition would be very gratifying, as these sittings (besides the interest of the subject itself) give me an agreeable opportunity, which otherwise I should not have, to get more intimately acquainted with some of the most distinguished men of the day without reference to politics.”’

The Secretary of this Commission was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Eastlake. He met the Prince, possessed with the then prevalent, but utterly groundless idea that the Prince would entertain some peculiar favour for his own countrymen, as it was not then generally known, as it is now, how completely naturalized in heart and soul the Prince was; and that there was nobody more thoroughly devoted to British interests and to British welfare than himself. This kind of error is not confined to the British people, though they have often been especially accused of it. In the history of all nations it may be seen that the foreigner is, for a time, suspect, although it may be shown from history (from that of Spain especially) that the foreigner has often exceeded the native in his devotion to the country of his adoption. Sir Charles Eastlake manifested, in the course of this interview, the spirit and the good sense which might be expected from so eminent a man. ‘I listened to his (the Prince's) plans, and made objections where I thought it necessary. Two or three times I quite forgot who he was, he talked so naturally, and argued so fairly.’

Sir Charles, who was afterwards much in contact with the Prince, and also saw not a

little of the Queen, must have often rebuked himself at the surprise he felt that a Prince should talk so naturally, and argue so fairly. In other Courts, and in our own in a former day, such a feeling would have been not only natural, but more than justified. The earthly Jove's hand would grasp the thunderbolts on the slightest indication that his supremacy in knowledge and wisdom was questioned, and his talk would be of 'the character of 'thunder, nothing but thunder.' But those who have had the good fortune to converse with either Her Majesty or the Prince, must soon have been made to feel that they welcomed in others the simplicity, the directness, the frankness which are conspicuous in themselves. This was especially the case with the Prince, who had a singular delight in what Dr. Johnson would have called good talk, and who has been heard to say that one of the greatest pleasures in life is to hear a long course of good argument. The author of the 'Introduction to the Collection of the Prince's Speeches' corroborates this statement. 'In serious conversation,' he says, 'the Prince was, perhaps, the first man of his day. He was a very sincere person in his way of talking; so that, when he spoke at all upon any subject, he never played with it; he never took one side of a question because the person he was conversing with had taken the other; and, in fact, earnest discussion was one of his greatest enjoyments. He was very patient in bearing criticism and contradiction; and, indeed, rather liked to be opposed, so that from opposition he might elicit truth, which was always his first object.'

Sir Charles Eastlake now thought that the moment had come when he must make a stand against the introduction of foreign artists. Had His Royal Highness insisted upon this, Sir Charles had made up his mind to resign his Secretaryship. We must now give his own words:—

'I almost said as much by observing that I was irrevocably committed on that point by my letter to the chairman of the late committee. Prince Albert said he knew I was, for he had read that letter. He added, however, that he quite agreed with me. I then said I saw no objection to English artists, who might be entrusted with the management of considerable works, employing Germans under them. To my agreeable surprise Prince Albert would not even admit that this was necessary, for he said he was convinced that in all that related to practical dexterity, which was the department in which it was assumed that some instruction (for fresco) would be necessary, the English were particularly skilful. He observed that in all mere mechanism the English generally surpassed all other nations. He gave

several instances, and among others said, "Even to the varnish on coaches, it is surprising how much more perfect the English practice is than that one sees on the Continent."'

On this Mr. Martin notes:—

'The Prince, it is well known, was particularly observant of the materials used in manufacture, and of their special qualities, and often surprised people by his intimate knowledge of the technicalities of their own craft. We are able, on the authority of Lord Portman, to cite the following striking instance of the accuracy of his knowledge in a matter purely technical. When at Salisbury, in 1857, on the occasion of the Royal Agricultural Society's Show, the Prince visited the Cathedral Chapter House, the restoration of which was then nearly completed. The Prince admired the work, but observed to Lord Portman, who attended him that the paint used was of the wrong kind, "and that in a short time it would fall off in flakes." A friend of Lord Portman's visiting the Chapter House in July, 1870, found the walls in great disorder, a part of the paint falling away precisely as the Prince had foretold.'

The Prince's attention was not merely directed to the encouragement of art, according to the common but restricted use of that word, which is mostly employed to signify works of sculpture, of painting, and of music. His attention was not the less directed, and was not the less usefully employed, in visiting and encouraging whatever of skill was to be seen at the great centres of commerce in this country. Mr. Martin gives a vivid account of the Prince's visit to Liverpool:—

'Not a point was lost to his observation. "He had often heard," was his remark to Mr. Bramley Moore, the Chairman of the Liverpool Dock Committee, who attended him, "of the greatness of Liverpool, but the reality far exceeded his expectations." After opening the dock with the usual ceremonies, the Prince brought the enthusiasm of his hosts to a climax by proposing at the déjeuner which followed, "Prosperity to British Commerce." The Prince's dock, the largest in the port, was then inspected; visits were paid to the South Corporation and Bluecoat Schools, and a careful survey was made of the St. George's Hall, with which considerable progress had been made. Mr. Elmes, the architect, found to his delight that every architectural feature of novelty or importance, which he would have wished to be noticed, was appreciated and commented on by the Prince. At the docks and warehouses it had been the same. The Dock engineer, Mr. Jesse Hartley, a man of the first eminence in his profession, was at once surprised and gratified by the technical knowledge of hydraulic engineering shown by the Prince.'

'So close and practical,' says Mr. Martin, 'was the Prince's interest in the details of the

work, that he requested that a sample of the granite-rubble masonry used in the docks, by the excellence of which he had been struck, might be sent up to him at Windsor Castle. These details are given on the authority of Mr. Robert Rawlinson, C.B., an intimate of both Mr. Elmes and Mr. Hartley, from whom he received them at the time. "St. George's Hall," Mr. Rawlinson writes, "is a noble monument of the artistic skill of the young and gifted architect. The Liverpool Docks are among the finest specimens of hydraulic engineering in the world. The Prince was at home with such men amidst such works. To an architect he could talk as an architect; to an engineer, as an engineer; to a painter, as a painter; to a sculptor, as a sculptor; to a chemist, as a chemist; and so through all the branches of Engineering, Architecture, Art, and Science."

The further development of the Prince Consort's incessant labours to promote the best interests of art, science, and manufactures, will be seen in the remaining portion of his Life, which Mr. Martin has yet to publish. But enough has already been stated to prove that, from the Prince's first coming to England, up to the time at which the present narrative ends, he did not fail to be a most attentive observer of all that was going on in these great departments of labour, and to render his aid and sympathy to all good efforts made in that, or indeed in any worthy direction.

It is to be noticed of the Prince, as it is very characteristic of the man, that he did not care for those works only in which he himself took an active part. It is mentioned that—

'He loved to ride through all the districts of London where building and improvements were in progress, more especially when they were such as would conduce to the health or recreation of the working classes; and few, if any, knew so well, or took such interest as he did, in all that was being done, at any distance, east, west, north, or south of the great city—from Victoria Park to Battersea—from the Regent's Park to the Crystal Palace, and far beyond. "He would frequently return," the Queen says, "to luncheon at a great pace, and would always come through the Queen's dressing-room, where she generally was at that time, with that bright loving smile with which he ever greeted her; telling where he had been—what new buildings he had seen—what studios, &c., he had visited. Riding for mere riding's sake he disliked, and said: *Es ennuyist Mich so.* (It bores me so.)"

From a work so comprehensive and varied as this is, it is difficult to determine what passages to select, in order to give the best idea of what the reader will find in it most worthy of notice. But we cannot go wrong in calling attention to some of the Prince's

remarkable expressions of opinion which are scattered through the book.

In a memorandum by the Prince, which he gave to Lord John Russell, on Italian affairs, there is the following pregnant and judicious passage: those of our readers who recollect the political events of the day (1847) will not fail to remember the occasion referred to by the Prince:—

'What will be Lord Minto's position at Rome? Will he be a minister accredited to the Pope, or a member of the British Cabinet? He will be opposed by the *Corps Diplomatique*, at the head of which the Austrian ambassador is supreme, who will be supported (if only underhand) by his French colleague. These two great Catholic powers have means in their hands to influence the Vatican, which we cannot dream of competing with. The probability is that Lord Minto will have very little real influence, and will be made responsible for every act of a doubtful nature, and of which he may have been totally ignorant.'

These are surely very wise suggestions, and very remarkable as coming from a young man only twenty-eight years of age. Lord John Russell assured Her Majesty, that the views expressed in the memorandum entirely coincided with the course of conduct which Lord Palmerston and himself had agreed to recommend to the Queen.

In a subsequent letter to Lord John upon the same subject the Prince observes:—

'England has, by her own energies and the fortunate circumstances in which she has been placed, acquired a start in civilisation, liberty, and prosperity over all other countries. Her popular institutions are most developed and perfected, and she has run through a development which the other countries will yet in succession have to pass through. England's mission, duty, and interest is, to put herself at the head of the diffusion of civilisation and the attainment of liberty. Let her mode of acting, however, be that of fostering and protecting every effort made by a State to advance in that direction, but not of pressing upon any State an advance which is not the result of its own impulse. Civilisation and liberal institutions must be of organic growth and of national development, if they are to prosper and lead to the happiness of a people. Any stage in that development missed, any jump made in it, is sure to lead to confusion, and to retard that very development which we desire. Institutions not answering the state of society for which they are intended *must work ill*, even if these institutions should be better than the state that society is in. Let England, therefore, be careful (in her zeal for progress) not to push any nation beyond its own march, and not to *impose* upon any nation what that nation does not itself *produce*; but let her declare herself the protector and friend of all States engaged in progress, and let them acquire that confidence in England that she will,

if necessary, defend them at her own risk and expense. This will give her the most powerful moral position that any country ever maintained.'

To the same effect the Prince wrote on another occasion :—

'We are frequently inclined to plunge States into constitutional reforms towards which they have no inclination. This I hold to be *quite wrong* (*vide* Spain, Portugal, Greece), although it is Lord Palmerston's hobby; but, on the other hand, I maintain that England's true position is to be the defence and support (*die Schutz-Macht*) of States, whose independent development is sought to be impeded from without.'

Again, with what sagacity and boldness the Prince comments, in a letter to Baron Stockmar, upon the King of Prussia's speech.

'“I have to-day read with alarm the King of Prussia's Speech, which in my vile word-for-word translation into English produces a truly strange impression. Those who know and love the King recognise him and his views and feelings in every word, and will be grateful to him for the frankness with which he expresses them; but if we put ourselves into the position of a cold critical public, our heart sinks. What confusion of ideas! And what boldness in a King to speak extempore; and at such a moment, and at such length, not only to touch all the most terrible and difficult topics, but to plunge into them slap-dash, to call God to witness, to promise, threaten, protest, &c.”

'In writing to Baron Stockmar a few days later the Prince remarks on two qualities in the character of King Frederick William, which were soon found to interfere fatally with his powers to deal with the problems of practical politics.

'“The King lets himself be misled by similes which captivate his fancy, which he carries out only so far as they suit his purpose, and which frequently by no means reflect the true state of things, but satisfy because they are clever and suggestive (*geistreich*). This makes close discussion with him impossible.”

This last remark of the Prince Consort will be allowed by observant men to be singularly shrewd. Most of the greatest errors in the world find a large support in similes which captivate the fancy, but do not serve to enlighten the understanding.

His character of Pope Pius IX. is equally striking :—

'The Pope is the counterpart of the King of Prussia: great impulsiveness, half-digested political ideas, little acuteness of intellect, with a great deal of cultivated intelligence (*Geist*), and accessibility to outward influences. The rock on which both split is the belief that they can set their subjects in motion, and keep the direction and spread of the movement

entirely in their own hands; nay, that they alone possess the *right* to control the movement, because it emanates from them?'

In conclusion we would cite a remark that was made by the Prince Consort, which we think, though it is not of a political or diplomatic nature, deserves much consideration in the present time.

“I don't understand,” he would often say, “people making a business of shooting, and going out for the whole day. I like it as an amusement for a few hours. *Die Leute hier* (in England) *wollen ein Geschäft daraus machen.*”

We said at the commencement of this article, that Mr. Theodore Martin had been very fortunate in having to portray the life of one who was so deeply interested in, and so thoroughly conversant with, most of the principal events of his time. There is, however, one drawback against which the author has had to contend. The Prince Consort's character was of that tempered, proportionate, and thoroughly well-conditioned nature, which does not admit of any of those violent contrasts which are wont, especially at first sight, to make a character interesting. The world in general is much fascinated by what is picturesque in character. A hero such as Cortes, pious and unscrupulous, polite and cruel, amiable and fierce, inevitably amuses, astonishes, and attracts us. The reader likes to read about these strange contrasts, and perhaps, plumes himself upon the fact that if he has not the greatness, at least he has not the inconsistency, of the hero of the story.

In reality there was something in the Prince Consort's character which entirely relieved its noble gravity and consistency. As we have intimated before, he was one of the most humorous of men—humorous in contra-distinction to witty; and the kind of humour was peculiarly British. It pervaded all descriptions he gave of anything that he had seen; it was lambent and not forked; and in short was of the kind that does not admit of repetition.

Moreover, as the Prince had a great dislike to giving pain, and to saying anything that was ill-natured, his humour never expressed itself in those short, sharp sayings, which are easily recollected and readily repeated. Still, this humorous nature of the Prince formed a great and ever present relief to the somewhat stern quality of virtue which was always to be perceived in him as the ground-work of his character.

As an instance of this sternness, we may mention the feelings of the Prince as regards the conduct of Louis Philippe in the disastrous business of the Spanish marriages.

It is evident that the Queen was inclined to forgive that conduct; but the Prince could not, feeling that 'if truth had deserted the rest of the world, it ought to find a resting-place in the bosoms of Kings.'

We have endeavoured to give a general review of this important and suggestive work. It is, however, a work of which extracts give but a faint notion, and it must be read throughout before a just opinion can be formed of the continuous labour, of the strict adherence to duty, and of the exceeding intelligence devoted to British interests, which this portion of the 'Life of the Prince Consort' reveals to us.

We have not dwelt much upon the purely domestic details which are described in this volume. These are, however, peculiarly fascinating, and, through the writer's skill, they have the special charm of being felt, rather than insisted on. Throughout the narrative it is clearly to be seen that the Prince Consort was a good husband, a good father, and a kind master; such a man, in short, as may be adopted by fathers for their own model, and set as an example before their sons.

We congratulate the biographer upon the conclusion of this first volume, and look forward with hopefulness to the future volume or volumes with which he may favour us. At the same time, we cannot help remarking upon one of his singular merits as a biographer, namely, that he entirely effaces himself in his work, and that the reader is never withdrawn from the contemplation of the life of the hero by any prominence of the personality of the biographer. It is only when we pause to reflect on the impression as to the Prince, his character, and influence, which has been left upon our minds, that we appreciate the skill and artistic reserve which have produced so living and harmonious a picture from the complicated materials with which he has had to deal.

ART. IV.—I. *Le Barreau Anglais. Discours prononcé par M. Maurice Van Meenen à la Séance Solennelle de Ren-trée du 29 Octobre 1873.* Bruxelles, 1873. 8vo.

2. *Hortensius.* An Historical Essay on the Office and Duties of an Advocate. By William Forsyth, LL.D., Q.C., M.P. 2nd Edition. London, 1874. 8vo.

3. *A Guide to the Inns of Court and Chancery.* By Robert R. Pearce, Esq. London, 1855. 8vo.

4. *Remarks upon the Jurisdiction of the Inns of Court.* By Frederick Calvert, Esq., Q.C. London, 1874. 8vo.

5. *Speech of Sir Roundell Palmer, Q.C., M.P., delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Legal Education Association, in the Middle Temple Hall, on Wednesday the 29th November, 1871.* With a Report of the Proceedings. London, 1871. 8vo.

6. *Fusion: an Elementary Lecture, delivered Nov. 28, 1872, at the request of the Incorporated Law Society.* By Freeman Oliver Haynes, Esq. London, 1873. 8vo.

7. *Origines Juridicales.* By William Dugdale, Esq., Norroy King of Arms. Second Edition. London, 1671. 4to.

8. *Report from the Select Committee on Legal Education:* ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 25th August, 1846. 4to.

9. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the arrangements in the Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery, for promoting the Study of Law and Jurisprudence.* London, 1855. 4to.

MR. FORSYTH, in his 'Hortensius,' of which a second and improved edition has now been published, has given, with much learning and literary ability, an historical sketch of the Advocate's office and functions, and described the origin and career of the profession in Greece and Rome, France and England. Hortensius, the famous Roman advocate, has been selected by the author as The Advocate *par excellence*, and his name has therefore been taken as the title of this interesting work. Cicero had before paid a similar compliment to his friend and contemporary. Yet, Hortensius was guilty of such misconduct in the affair of Minucius Basilus,\* that, had he lived in England in our days and been a member of an Inn of Court, the Benchers would probably have disbarred him. The English Bar has always kept itself remarkably free from the accusation of perverting privileges to the accomplishment of fraudulent objects, and has, for more than five centuries, held a high place in the estimation of the public, not only for learning and eloquence, but for honourable conduct. The profession is a favourite with the English nation. It has acted as an elastic band, uniting the aristocracy with the classes below it. The younger sons of the nobility, when possessed of sufficient mental energy for the Bar, have cheerfully entered its ranks, to gain there, by a successful career, wealth not otherwise

\* Cicero, 'De Officiis,' iii. 18.

attainable by them. The humblest tradesman, who can give his son a good education and enter him at an Inn of Court, may hope to see him rise to fame and opulence at the Bar, become a Judge and even Lord Chancellor.

But the opinion of an intelligent foreigner on matters affecting England, is often more accurate than any we can form for ourselves. It more resembles the opinion to be expected from the impartiality of posterity. Maurice Van Meenen, a learned Belgian Advocate, has, in a discourse lately delivered before the Junior Brussels Bar, given an elaborate account of the English Forensic system, from which we extract the following passages :

‘England, as one knows, is the country of traditional institutions. These daughters of the genius of the nation have developed and modified themselves in the course of centuries together with the nation, shaping themselves in conformity to new wants, and, under the appearance of immobility, transforming themselves as completely as English civilisation itself. They are not at all, as in other countries, conceptions which, in a moment, have started full-grown from the brain of an individual or of an assembly, and been forced on a people whose wants they do not satisfy, and into the life of which they never, except superficially, penetrate. The spirit of England rebels against systems constructed according to absolute principles. It is the enemy of abstractions. Like the man of science, who only advances prudently, step by step, by the light of experience alone, it respects that which long traditional experience has brought to it, changes that only which is manifestly insufficient or bad, and, above all things, creates nothing but what is strictly necessary for actual wants.

The Bar participates in the character of all the institutions of the country. It is from the unwritten common law, from a tradition six centuries old, that it derives its strength and greatness. It does not owe its existence to an Act of Parliament, or an ordonnance of the crown (*à une loi ou à un décret*), but it is itself one of the puissant organs of the Constitution. It has remained steadfastly the defender of the rights and liberties of the people, and has, in the worst periods of history, resisted the aggressive encroachments of power, the pretensions of the crown, and even the illegal proceedings of a Parliamentary majority.

The Inns of Court are societies of a truly singular character. They are not corporations created by State authority, but purely voluntary associations: yet the voluntary associations are one of the organs of the State; they possess exclusive rights, regulate themselves freely, without tolerating the interference in their government of any authority whatever;

but they have, as visitors, the Judges of the Supreme Courts of law sitting at Westminster.’ (Pp. 6, 7, 8.)

The English Bar had its origin in a patriotic movement and uprising of the nation against the machinations of the Pope of Rome, in the era of the Plantagenets. The clergy, as the most educated class in the community, had got into their hands the administration of the municipal law of most of the European States; but the Popes wished to supersede such law by the Civil and Canon Law. Early in the reign of our Henry III., the Episcopal Constitutions were published, which forbade clerks and priests to practise as advocates in the Common Law Courts. Towards the close of the same reign (A.D. 1137), a complete copy of the Pandects was discovered at Amalfi; and from that time, in England as elsewhere, the clergy endeavoured to introduce universally the study of the Canon and Civil Law in preference to the ancient laws of the realm. In A.D. 1254, Innocent IV. forbade the reading of the Common Law by the clergy, who down to that time had been its chief expositors at the Universities. It then became necessary either to train up a body of laymen to the law, or to allow the Civil Law to supersede it. Inspired by patriotism, the youth of England in great numbers entered with ardour into the legal profession. Schools of law were, in the first instance, opened within the precincts of the City of London, and they were most numerous attended, especially by the sons of the landed gentry. Edward I., in 1292, authorised the Chief Justice and other Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, which had then sole jurisdiction over all civil causes, to confer the exclusive privilege of pleading causes upon a certain number of persons learned in the law, who were to be selected from every county in England. The serjeants at law, who have always formed a distinct class, are an order of advocates which derives its status directly from the Crown. The Judges of the King’s Bench and Common Pleas and, subsequently, of the Exchequer, were selected exclusively from the serjeants, who, before being made Judges, acted as advocates, and were at one time the only advocates. From the 20th of Edward I. down to the present reign, serjeants only could practise as advocates in the Court of Common Pleas, or try civil causes at Nisi Prius at the Assizes. On the calling of every Parliament the Judges and serjeants are summoned by writ to give their attendance, and the writs of summons are issued to the Judges, not as Judges but as serjeants.

It was impossible for the legal business of advocacy throughout England to be satisfactorily conducted very long by a small set of men privileged by the Crown. It was essential that some freer opening for the transaction of legal business should be offered to the crowds of young gentlemen who had been encouraged to devote themselves to the study of the Common Law, and who had already begun to organize themselves into societies, which we should now call clubs. The advocates and students of the law appear to have formed themselves, as early as A.D. 1307, into one or more voluntary societies, in the nature of colleges, under the sanction of the Judges, for the study and advancement of the law. They were always distinct from the serjeants, and had separate Inns and independent self-government; but they had a difficulty for some time in finding suitable places in which to reside and pursue their studies. Strong objections appear to have been entertained to their being allowed to settle themselves permanently within the walls of the City of London. They were able at last to hire various old buildings, at places situated between the City and Westminster, where the King's Courts of Law were generally held; but they established themselves there in the first instance as lessees only from private owners. The 'apprentices at law' were soon permitted by the Judges to act as advocates in those courts in which the assistance of serjeants could not be obtained. But the apprentices soon became absorbed into the class of 'utter-barristers,' who were so called because in arguing 'moot cases' in the Halls of their societies, they were placed at the outer or uttermost end of the form on which they sat, called 'the barr.' They are now called Barristers simply. In all societies of Barristers the Readers and Benchers of each House were, from the earliest times, the superior and governing body, and occupied the upper end of the hall, which was raised on a dais; next came the utter-barristers, who sat below them, and finally the students, who were at one time called 'inner barristers.'

In the time of Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice in the reign of Henry VI., the Four Inns of Court were in existence, and we learn from him that there were about two thousand students in the Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery. The class of society to which they belonged may be judged of by the fact that the expense of each law student in Fortescue's time amounted to more than 28*l.* a year, which is equal to 450*l.* of our money. They were therefore a numerous class, drawn to the metropolis from the most

important families in the kingdom, and they required careful management by competent authorities. This was afforded by their system of self-government established in their several Inns of Court. Each of the four Societies had already acquired, at the cost of its own members, and without any assistance from the State, a house for itself, called an Inn of Court, and in each of these Inns, and in the Inns of Chancery affiliated to them, the students were lodged, fed, and instructed. They were not taught law only, but they came under a system of general discipline, which extended even to dress, demeanour, and amusements.

We will now explain briefly how the property of the Inns of Court, which in our days has been said to belong to the public, was originally acquired.

After the order of Knights Templars was abolished by the Pope and their property seized by the Crown, Edward II. (A.D. 1307) granted the Temple estate to the Earl of Pembroke, who afterwards (A.D. 1315) resigned the grant to the Earl of Lancaster. One considerable body of the professors and students of the law became the Earl of Lancaster's lessees of great part of the old Temple, and thereby gained, for the first time, that footing there which has never since been lost. Subsequently, after a series of changes, the Temple came again by escheat, into the hands of Edward III., and he committed it to the care of the Lord Mayor, as his escheator. That the lawyers then resided in the Temple, appears by a curious mandate of the King, dated 2nd November, 1330. In the course of the same year he farmed out the estate of the Temple, with certain exceptions, to William de Langford, at a yearly rent of 24*l.*, and the Society became De Langford's sub-lessees. But the Temple Church, the cloister, and other 'sanctified places dedicated to God,' and also the 'residue' of the Temple, were subsequently granted in fee to the Prior and Brethren of the Hospital of St. John, who were afterwards called the Knights of Rhodes, and ultimately the Knights of Malta. But the more western parts of the Temple, called the 'Outward Temple,' were not included in this grant. Thereupon an abatement of 12*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* was made by the Crown out of William de Langford's rent in respect of the premises taken from him. At that time the total revenue of the estate of the Temple was estimated at 73*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*, equal to about 1000*l.* of our present money. There were two Halls in the Temple in the year 1337. The first, which stood on the site of the present Hall of the Inner Temple, had been the Hall of the old Knights Tem-

plars, and was the one originally assigned to their successors, the Hospitallers; the other had been the Hall of the 'Freres Serjens' of the order, and remained in the hands of the Crown until A.D. 1340, when it was also granted to the Hospitallers as part of the 'residue of the Temple.' The lawyers who were congregated in the Temple had no title there, except as lessees of William de Langford or of the Hospitallers. But between the reigns of Richard II. and Henry VI. they had become so numerous, that both Halls were necessary to contain them, and they divided themselves into two separate Societies, called the Inner Temple and the Middle Temple. The Outward Temple, which was farthest away from the City, was granted away by the Crown, and became, after a series of changes, the site of Essex House. In 32 Henry VIII. an Act of Parliament was passed dissolving the Order of the Hospitallers and vesting all the property of the brethren in the Crown, saving the rights and interests of the *lessees* and others who held under them. In this way, though not originally, the Templars became tenants of the Crown, paying rent for the property held by them. The old Hall of the Freres Serjens soon became too humble for the thriving Society of the Middle Temple, and in reliance that they would never be disturbed in their holding by the Crown, they converted their old Hall into Chambers, and afterwards pulled it down; then, in the 5th of Elizabeth, they, out of their own resources, built their present magnificent Hall, which is still one of the noblest ornaments of the metropolis. In both the Temples the ruinous old buildings which had been left by the Knights Templars and Hospitallers were pulled down, and various new buildings and sets of chambers were erected by the Societies, or by private members, who had leases for lives granted to them as an inducement to build. All this was done by the Templars in reliance on the honour of the Crown that their holdings under it, which had been made valuable by their expenditure upon them, would never be interfered with. But although they were for all practical purposes secure against being disturbed by the Crown, there was danger that the Crown might grant the estate of the Temple to some courtier, just as Henry VIII. had granted the estate of the Convent Garden to the Earl of Bedford. In the reign of James I. some 'Scotchman'\* actually attempted to obtain from His Majesty a grant of the fee simple of the Temple, which would have

enabled him to avail himself of the improvements which had been made by the lawyers. On this application coming to the knowledge of the Societies, they forthwith made 'humble suit' to the King, and by the influence principally of one of their members, Sir Julius Caesar, who stood very high in His Majesty's confidence, they obtained a grant, dated 13 Aug., 6 James I., of the property in fee-simple to trustees for themselves and their successors 'for the lodging and entertainment and for the education (*pro hospitacione et educatione*) of the students and professors of the laws residing in the same Inns for ever,' the grantees yielding and paying to the King, his heirs and successors, 10*l.* yearly for the mansion called the Inner Temple, and the same yearly sum for the Middle Temple. It will be observed that this trust is for the benefit of their own members only, and not for that of the general public. The two Societies then executed a deed of partition, by which the property was divided and apportioned between them, to be held in severalty for ever. In the year 1673 the two Societies purchased from the Crown the fee-farm rent of 10*l.* a year each, which had been reserved in the grant of James I., and thus became absolute owners of the Temple.

Another great body of apprentices at law and students was established, shortly after A.D. 1310, in an old mansion in what is now called Chancery Lane, where they have ever since continued. This mansion had formerly been inhabited by a religious community, had escheated to the Crown, and been granted by Edward I. to Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, from whom it acquired the name of Lincoln's Inn. Soon after his death a voluntary association of lawyers, which had constituted themselves into an Inn of Court, became lessees of the mansion, and have since been called the Society of Lincoln's Inn. Some of the existing records of this Society reach back to the commencement of the reign of Henry VI. The Bishops of Chichester appear to have been then the owners of the fee-simple of this house, and in the reign of Henry VII. Robert Sherborne, Bishop of Chichester, made a new lease to William Suliarde, a member of the Society, for ninety-nine years, at the yearly rent of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Afterwards another Bishop of Chichester, by deed, dated 1st July, 28 Henry VIII., which was subsequently confirmed by the Dean and Chapter, conveyed the inheritance, with other adjoining property, to William and Eustace Suliarde. Eustace was the survivor, and by deed, dated 12th November, 22 Elizabeth, Edward, son and heir of Eustace,

\* 'The Temple Church.' By C. G. Addison. P. 23.

in consideration of 520*l.*, conveyed the premises in fee to Richard Kingsmill and the rest of the then Benchers, whereupon a fine was duly levied. Thus the Society of Lincoln's Inn, from having been merely lessees, acquired the fee-simple of their property by purchase out of their own funds.

The remaining Society, called Gray's Inn, was an Inn of Court as early as the reign of Edward III., when they became lessees of the mansion and lands there, which were then the property of Lord Gray, of Wilton, from whom they afterwards, in August, 21 Henry VII., obtained a grant of the fee-simple. The list of Readers of the Inn has been preserved, showing an unbroken succession from the reign of Edward III.

It will be perceived, from this short account of the origin of the Inns of Court, that none of the Societies derived their existence from the State, but all were voluntary associations, which, by purchase out of their own funds, or, in the case of the Temples, partly by grant from the Crown, became possessed of certain plots of land, on which stood originally decayed buildings of no great value. These plots have since been covered by the Societies with new and beautiful structures, erected at an enormous cost, out of liberal contributions from members of the Society, or out of savings made from the annual dues and payments received from their own members, exclusively.

But although the young gentlemen of England could, under the influence of patriotic feeling, form themselves into voluntary societies for the study of the law in the manner described, they could only be admitted to practise the profession of the law as advocates in the King's Courts by the permission of the Judges presiding there. It was, in fact, with the sanction and by the encouragement of the Judges that the Inns of Court were originally formed. The Judges, as representing the Sovereign in the King's Courts, have an inherent right to decide who shall be heard to plead before them for other persons. In India and all the British Colonies the Judges still call to the Bar. The same was also the case in Ireland. But if there were, as early as the reign of Henry VI., two thousand students in the Inns of Court, it is obvious that the Judges personally would be unable to spare the time and labour necessary to examine into the qualifications of each individual before he was permitted to practise, nor could they bestow on them the education and discipline necessary to make them worthy members of a great profession. But in the Inns of Court the Judges found an

organization ready to hand, which they had themselves, before their advancement to the Bench, contributed to form, and with the leading members of which they were necessarily in the most intimate relation. The Judges, therefore, at a very early period, delegated to the governing authorities of each of the four Inns of Court that power of calling to the Bar which they could not efficiently and satisfactorily exercise themselves, and also the correlative power of suspending from practice and disbarring, in case of misconduct; but they reserved the right of an appeal to themselves in every case in which the exercise of their delegated powers by the Benchers should be questioned by any member of the Society who considered himself aggrieved, and they assumed, with the consent of the several Societies, which voluntarily submitted to their jurisdiction, the position of visitors or *quasi* visitors of each Inn. It is impossible to name the exact period when this delegation took place. No historical account has come down to us of the circumstances which attended it, but the fact is incontestable. Lord Chief Justice Mansfield was correct when he stated that 'all the power they' (*i. e.* the Inns of Court) 'have concerning the admission to the Bar is delegated to them from the Judges, and in every instance their conduct is subject to their control as visitors.'\* The Benchers have now exercised their delegated authority for centuries, and it has produced results so satisfactory to public opinion that the English barrister is universally recognised as holding a high social rank, and Parliament has, in its wisdom, though fit, without the solicitation of the Inns of Court, to make barristers exclusively eligible to many offices and public employments. It is a remarkable fact that the selection by the State of the barrister as the only person whom it would permit to be appointed to certain offices, began long after the professional education of the students by the Inns of Court—which, in the earlier ages, was of a most thorough description—had become wholly neglected, and at a time when every Inn of Court called its members to the Bar without any preliminary instructions to prepare, or any examination to test them. In ancient times the course of instruction to which students were subjected was of the most elaborate kind, and lasted several years. Even at later periods the most distinguished Benchers gave readings in the Halls of their Societies on various branches of the law, particularly on the more important statutes. Sir Thomas Littleton,

\* *Rex v. Gray's Inn*. 1 Douglas R., 353.

Sir Edward Coke, and Thomas Williams (Speaker of the House of Commons) gave readings at the Inner Temple, Sir Robert Brooke, Sir James Dyer, and Francis North, afterwards Lord Guildford, at the sister Society, and Sir Francis Bacon at Gray's Inn. At the conclusion of each reading the senior barristers, one after the other, declared their opinions on the subject-matter of the reading, and points were mooted and discussed with profound learning to attentive audiences. But, unfortunately, it became usual for the Readers to give feasts on these occasions, of so expensive a character, that the cost frequently exceeded a thousand pounds, and this gradually led to the discontinuance of the readings themselves. The Judges kept a careful supervision over the whole course of legal instruction, and gave directions from time to time as to what should be done. If the Inns of Court had been corporations, like the ancient municipalities and the Universities and Colleges, and the Judges had been their legal visitors, the orders of the Judges might have been enforced by due course of law, and a *Mandamus* would have been issuable against any refractory Society. A *Mandamus* will lie even against a University which has no visitor, as well as against a College which has.\* But it has long been well settled that no *Mandamus* will lie against the Inns of Court, because they are only Voluntary Societies, and not corporations.† The Judges, nevertheless, never had any practical difficulty in enforcing their orders on the Inns of Court, nor have the latter ever refused obedience. If an Inn of Court should do so, the Judges could suspend, and even withdraw from that Inn, its power to call to the Bar, which is only a delegated authority. It is not generally understood that an Inn of Court only calls to the Bar of its own Inn. It is the recognition of the call by the Judges in Court which makes it a call to the English Bar. The Inns of Court, instead of trying to resist the authority of the Judges, have always shown the utmost deference to their directions. There is only one case on record of any disagreement, and that was when Francis North was made Q.C. at an unusually early age, and the Benchers of the Middle Temple, who were then almost all stuff-gownsmen, refused to call him to the Bench of the Inn, notwithstanding an intimation from the Judges that they ought to do so. Roger North‡ has told, in a very

amusing way, the easy and effectual mode by which the Judges compelled the Benchers to conform to their wishes.

Besides directions of an informal character which in early times were, when necessary, given by the Judges to the Benchers, the Judges occasionally made written orders of great importance for the observance of the Inns of Court. Dugdale has collected some of them, which date from 3 & 4 Phil. and Mary to 16 Charles II.\* They give various directions as to the keeping of Commons, the readings in Hall, the moots for the instruction of students, the callings to the Bar, the elections to the Bench, and even condescend to such minutiae as the style of apparel and the length of beards. In the earliest of these orders (3 & 4 Phil. and Mary) we find a direction—'That none attorney shall be admitted into any of the houses, and that in all admissions from henceforth this condition shall be implied.' By an order of the Judges, dated 12 James I., a similar direction is given, which in subsequent orders is reiterated, and in the last of them in a manner so uncomplimentary to the attorneys that we will not venture to quote it.† Some of the more important of these orders are expressed to have been made with the advice of the Privy Council, and some upon the consent of the Readers and Benchers of the four Inns of Court. By an order in 1627 the Judges directed 'that no Reader should have above ten men to attend him during his reading.' This shows a disapproval by the Judges of large classes. It also shows that at that time the number of students must have greatly decreased from what it was in the time of the Plantagenets. By an answer made by the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn to one of the Judges' orders in the reign of Elizabeth, they state that 'almost for this three years there has been no call to the Bar.'‡ The fact is that the Wars of the Roses extirpated many of the great families whose sons were accustomed, in times of old, to enter at the Inns of Court. Afterwards, during the Reformation, the bent of men's thoughts turned from the study of the law to that of theology. The civil war in the reign of King Charles I. was not favourable to the legal profession, and the Restoration inaugurated a system of careless laxity, which enervated the nation until the Stuarts were expelled. Then Holland and Hanover sent foreigners to reign in England, who were strangers to its jurisprudence, and cared but little either for

\* *Rex v. Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge*. Str., 557. *Rex v. St. John's College*. 4 Mod., 241.

† *Rex v. Gray's Inn*. 1 Doug., 353. *Rex v. Benchers of Lincoln's Inn*. 5 B. and C., 855.

‡ 'Life of Lord Guildford.'

\* 'Origines Juridiciales,' pp. 322-324. 2nd edition, 1671.

† *Ibid.*, p. 322.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 816.

English Judges or the English Bar. During the dreary period of the Georges no efforts were made by the legal profession to resuscitate the educational system which had once flourished in the Inns of Court, but had then fallen, by neglect, into decay. The Judges themselves acquiesced in the torpor which prevailed, and for many years abstained from giving directions on the subject of legal education, although any interference on their part would have been met by the Benchers with the profoundest deference. But the blame rests not on the Judges only; for there is no trace of any expression of disapproval of this neglect by Parliament or by public opinion. Thus it unfortunately happened that, with the tacit approval and concurrence of the Judges, the Bar, Parliament, and the nation, all attempts on the part of the Inns of Court to prepare young men to be barristers by a good system of legal education was abandoned, and students were left to their own devices to learn their profession as they best could. This they mostly did in the chambers of practising barristers or pleaders. Nothing more was required of them by the Benchers than that they should dine in Hall a certain number of times, and thereby keep the twenty terms necessary for their qualification. This number of terms was afterwards reduced to twelve, first in favour of students from the Universities, and ultimately in favour of all students.

But in the reign of William IV. the Benchers of the Inner Temple spontaneously inaugurated a new system by requiring that every person who desired to enter as a student of their Inn should pass a preliminary examination on certain subjects, with the view of showing that he was a gentleman of liberal education. This has since been followed, and is now observed by all the Inns. The Benchers of the Inner Temple also, in the year 1833, instituted two lectureships; but although the lecturers were eminent lawyers, the attendance was so small that the experiment failed. Both the Temples then co-operated in establishing a system of legal education, and the Inner Temple established a lectureship on Common Law, and had voluntary examinations at which prizes were given. The Middle Temple established, at the same time, a lectureship on Jurisprudence and the Civil Law. In 1846 the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee to inquire into the state of legal education in Ireland, where the barristers and attorneys were educated at the King's Inns together, and the powers of such Committee were afterwards extended to England also, where education

was given separately to each branch of the profession. Sir Thomas Wilde, Daniel O'Connell, and Spencer Walpole served on this Committee. They took a vast body of evidence, and in August 1846 issued their Report, which is the most profound and valuable contribution ever yet made to the cause of legal education. We have not space to quote from the Report, which relates to the education of solicitors as well as of barristers. They reported decidedly against a system of education common to both branches, which they thought, even if the Bar would accept it, would lead 'to unsatisfactory results.'\* They disapproved of the admission of solicitors to the Inns of Court, as strongly as the English Judges had before done in their orders. This Report for the first time made the suggestion that the four Inns of Court should form for all purposes of instruction, 'a sort of aggregate of colleges, or, in other words, a species of Law University.'† The present Council of Legal Education is in substance exactly such a 'Caput' as is recommended in this Report.‡ The Report gives an unqualified condemnation of the proposal to transfer legal education from the Inns of Court to any voluntary society like the Law Institute, which had been tried experimentally in Ireland.§ From this Report it appears that the state of legal education in Scotland was, at the time when the Report was made, quite as defective as it was in England or Ireland. The modern Scotch system is therefore quite recent, and can be considered at present as experimental only.

Shortly after this Report had been made, Gray's Inn established a lectureship followed by voluntary examinations, in which the students were classed according to merit, and 'moots' were revived. In 1851 Sir Richard Bethell, Solicitor-General, who was always most earnest in the cause of legal education, caused a meeting of the Benchers of the four Inns of Court to be convened on that subject, and this resulted in the establishment of the Council of Legal Education, which, as originally constituted, consisted of two Benchers only from each Inn. The Council, out of funds supplied by the Inns and from the contributions of students, founded several readerships and lectureships, and students were encouraged to exert themselves by studentships of fifty guineas each. Attendance on the lectures and classes was

\* Report from the Select Committee on Legal Education. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 25th August 1846, p. liii.

† 'Report of 1846,' p. lix.

‡ Ibid., p. lx.

§ Ibid., p. lii.

made compulsory, except in the case of students who chose to submit themselves to a voluntary examination. But the blunder was made of omitting to make examination compulsory before a call to the Bar. It is remarkable that this resuscitation of a system of legal education for their students was not imposed on the Inns of Court under the orders of the Judges, who might at any time have required it, but was the spontaneous act of the Benchers.

Before the new system thus commenced in 1851 had had time, by a process of natural growth, to develop itself, the Crown, at the instance of the Houses of Parliament, issued a Commission in May 1854 to inquire, amongst other things, 'into the arrangements of the Inns of Court, and also those of the Inns of Chancery, for promoting the study of law and jurisprudence;' and in August 1855 the Commissioners made their Report to the Houses of Parliament, whereby they stated, shortly, the origin of the several Inns of Court and the trust which attached to the property of the Temples: but with respect to Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's Inn they stated as follows:—'The property of these Inns appears to have been acquired by purchase, made by the members of the Inn, nor is there a trace of its being held upon any trust.' They then gave a detailed statement as to the incomes and outgoings of the several Inns and others matters; they also, for cogent reasons which nobody now disputes, expressed themselves in favour of the establishment of examinations, the passing of which should be requisite for the call to the Bar. They also recommended 'that the four Inns of Court should be united in one University for the purpose of these examinations and of conferring degrees,' and they gave the heads of a 'Scheme' which they proposed for that purpose, and according to which none but members of the four Inns of Court and of Serjeants' Inn were to be members of the Senate. They also recommended a course of instruction for students, which has since been adopted substantially by the Council of Legal Education and is now in full force. In this Report the Solicitors' Inns, called Inns of Chancery, are almost totally disregarded, and are cast aside in a few paragraphs, like so much dead wood, though, by the Commission, the Commissioners were directed to inquire into the arrangements of the Inns of Chancery, just as much as into those of the Inns of Court. One great defect in this Report of the Commissioners is too remarkable to be passed over. It is unaccountably silent as to the important relations existing between the Inns of Court and the Judges

with reference to calls to the Bar, and it ignores the fact that the Judges had for so many centuries been accustomed to superintend the education given by the Inns to their students, and to make orders for its regulation. One of the witnesses examined before the Royal Commissioners was Mr. Cairns (now the Lord Chancellor), and he gave it as his opinion that the larger the reading in jurisprudence which those preparing for the Bar should be led to adopt, the greater would be the advantage; but at the same time he thought that students for the Bar should spend at least two years in the chambers of a practising barrister; that their compulsory attendance on lectures in London, so far as it withdrew them from chambers, would be inconvenient and injurious, and that such attendance should be optional. He even thought that the establishment of lucrative studentships might be disadvantageous, by drawing students off from chamber work to a 'sort of second college education.' He thought that when the general education of a young man was finished, and he devoted himself to the profession of the law and entered into a course of study for that purpose, that course of study should be exclusively special, and that he should have nothing to distract his attention while he was in the chambers of a barrister during two years at the least. He was decidedly in favour of compulsory examination before admission to the Bar, but he would at the same time allow a legal degree at one of the Universities to be made a substitution for such examination.

The two great points of any moment brought out by the Commissioners' Report were, first, Whether there should be a compulsory examination before a call to the Bar? and secondly, Whether the body to be constituted out of the Inns of Court to superintend legal education should be a new corporate body empowered to grant degrees? On the latter question we will say a few words presently. The first question was, shortly after the Report, brought before the Benchers of the several Societies, and all of them, with the exception of Lincoln's Inn, were in favour of a compulsory examination, and some of them passed, in the first instance, a resolution to that effect. But the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, on the 15th of November 1859, came to a contrary conclusion, and the other Inns then withdrew from an attempt which could not be successful unless all concurred. It cannot be alleged that the great opponents of compulsory examination were a parcel of bigoted Tories, for some of them were leading members of the Liberal party,—such as Dr.

Lushington, Mr. Roebuck, and others. In the year 1833 Lord Cairns, then one of the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, succeeded after a sharp struggle in gaining, by a majority of one vote only, the assent of Lincoln's Inn to the project of establishing a Legal University which should grant degrees, as proposed by the Royal Commissioners, and to which the Inns of Court might be affiliated. This proposal did not, however, present such attractions to the Benchers of the other Inns as to command their immediate approval, but the representation that something more was necessary to be done for legal education than was then being done, induced all the Inns of Court to join in taking concurrent action on the subject, and the several Societies passed resolutions to effect that purpose. In fact, as early as 1861, and before Lord Cairns moved in the matter, the four Inns of Court had appointed a Joint Committee to consider the subject of legal education, and on the 1st of July 1861, an elaborate Report was made, which was signed by Lord Westbury as chairman. There were frequent communications between the several Societies on the subject, and some difference on matters of detail. But on the 6th of July 1863, there was another Report of the Committee of the four Inns, which was signed by Lord Justice Turner, and on the basis of the labours of this Joint Committee, a body of 'Consolidated Regulations' of the four Inns of Court was ultimately made and agreed to. Under these regulations, additional readerships, making six in all, were established, with increased emoluments. Voluntary, but not compulsory, examinations of students were also instituted. Several studentships, of fifty guineas and twenty-five guineas a year, were also founded. Although this new scheme was, as we consider, defective by not making examinations compulsory, it was nevertheless a great step in advance, and was an earnest of the more comprehensive and perfect scheme which has since followed.

But before narrating the subsequent and successful efforts of the Inns of Court, we must direct attention for a short time to the other branch of the legal profession, namely, that of the Solicitors and Attorneys. Before the Statute 13 Edward I. c. 10, suitors could not appear in Court by attorney without the King's special warrant, but were compelled to appear in person. The authority given by that statute had the effect of forming the attorneys into a regular body of practitioners; and their number soon so greatly increased, that several statutes and rules of court for their regulation, and or limiting their numbers, were pass-

ed in the reigns of Henry IV., Henry VI., and Elizabeth. There has since been a series of Acts of Parliament on the same subject; and the Acts which now regulate them are those passed in 1843, 1860, and 1874. The attorney is, and always must be, 'an officer of the court' in which he practises, and he therefore has not the same independence as the barrister. But the attorney is permitted to recover his fees by an action, which a barrister is not; and, unlike a barrister, he is liable to his client for neglect of duty. In case of misconduct, he may be called upon summarily to answer in Court 'the matters in the affidavit' made against him. If he commit a fraud, the Court itself will order him to be struck off the Rolls. The attorneys and solicitors were once allowed to hold chambers and keep commons in the Inns of Court, but the Judges disapproved of it; and the Inns of Chancery have always been their special domain. Some centuries ago, students for the Bar, before being permitted to enter an Inn of Court, were required to undergo a preparatory training in one of the Inns of Chancery along with the attorneys; and the Benchers of the Inns of Court provided the necessary Readers for students in those inns. Of the Inns of Chancery, two, namely, Furnival's Inn and Thavies' Inn, belonged to Lincoln's Inn; four, namely, Clifford's Inn, Clement's Inn, New Inn, and Lyon's Inn, belonged to the Temples; and two more, namely, Staple's Inn and Barnard's Inn, belonged to Gray's Inn. These Inns of Chancery were governed by their own Ancients, just as the Inns of Court are governed by their Benchers; but there was one serious defect in their constitution, for, being purely voluntary societies, no effectual control over them could be enforced by anyone.\* The Benchers of the Inns of Court to which they belonged, exercised over them in former times a sort of paramount authority. This the Inns of Chancery submitted to so long as they pleased; but they have all, one after the other, long since emancipated themselves from it, because there were no means, direct or indirect, of compelling obedience. It is different with the Inns of Court, which are also voluntary societies; for, if the Judges issued orders to them, they could, in case of resistance, enforce compliance, by their power of withdrawing or suspending the delegated right of calling to the Bar. But the Benchers had no power whatever of enforcing any regulations made by them for

\* *Rex v. Barnard's Inn*, 5 AColphus and Elli p. 17.

the Inns of Chancery. Nevertheless, the Judges used their best efforts, though without avail, to maintain the jurisdiction and control of the Benchers over such inns. With this view the Lord Keeper and the Judges, by command of the Privy Council, made a series of orders, dated 15th April, 6 Car. I. (A.D. 1630). The first commences as follows:—‘That the Inns of Chancery shall hold their government subordinate to the Benchers of the Inns of Court unto which they belong.’\* Then followed a threat in case of disobedience, which was found incapable of being put in force.

In 1704 the Judges relaxed the strictness of the directions whereby the Inns of Court were prohibited from admitting attorneys as members; and it was directed ‘that all attorneys should procure themselves to be admitted into one of the Inns of Court (if those Honourable Societies would admit them), or into one of the Inns of Chancery.’† Such orders, however, were easier made than enforced. The Inns of Chancery, being only voluntary societies, could disregard all orders which had not their own approval. Every such Inn has therefore become in course of time a close little clique of solicitors, which has withdrawn itself altogether from training young men in the knowledge of law. Lyon’s Inn has lately been sold by the members, the proceeds divided among themselves, and the inn pulled down. No attempt has for centuries been made by the solicitors constituting the governing bodies of the Inns of Chancery to make themselves auxiliary to the purposes of legal education. If Readers were sent to them from the Inns of Court, their services were either declined, or if accepted, then the only persons who were admitted to the course of instruction were the members of the Inn themselves. Readings in the Inns of Chancery having thus become as great a farce as Dean Swift’s address in church to his ‘Dearly beloved Roger,’ they have been discontinued. But the Inner Temple still appoints Readers, and annually tenders their names to Clement’s Inn, without any practical result.

Nothing can be greater than the contrast offered by the Inns of Court, consisting of barristers, and the Inns of Chancery, consisting of solicitors, in respect to legal education. The Inns of Court, whenever required by the Judges or by public opinion to make fresh efforts in its favour, have always done so with conscientious energy; but the Inns of Chancery have withdrawn

themselves altogether from the work for the furtherance of which their Societies were established, and have thrown off the jurisdiction to which they were intended to be subordinate. They have succeeded in maintaining their right to exclude and their practice of excluding. But the Inns of Court, on the other hand, when it was decided in *Wooller’s Case*, that on the ground of their being voluntary societies, the Judges had no jurisdiction, as visitors, to entertain an appeal from a person who had applied to be admitted to an Inn of Court as a student, and been refused,\* immediately took steps to place themselves in that respect under the jurisdiction of the Judges. There was at once a meeting of all the Inns of Court, and they agreed that jurisdiction should be given to the Judges, if they would assume it, in the nature of an appeal upon non-admission to the Inns of Court, and the Judges agreed to take it.†

The complaint which may, with more or less justice, be brought against the Ancients of the Inns of Chancery, cannot, however, be made in modern times against the great body of solicitors. In the year 1827 they established themselves, under Charter from the Crown, into a society called ‘The Incorporated Law Society,’ and the Council of that body have ever since had the regulation and control of the legal education of articulated clerks, and they have, by establishing lectures and instituting, under the authority of an Act of Parliament, compulsory examinations, provided for the instruction of candidates who desire to be admitted on the Roll of Attorneys, and for ascertaining their competency in point of legal knowledge. No complaint has, to our knowledge, been made of neglect of duty on the part of the eminent men who constitute this Council, and the course of legal education which has, under their auspices, been established for the solicitors, has been one which has given general satisfaction and been rewarded by remarkable success.

But the course of improvement in which both branches of the profession were thus engaged was not enough to content certain uneasy provincial solicitors, who, in an age when everything established is liable to be brought in question, and the maxim ‘Whatever is is wrong’ has many admirers, cast hungry glances on the rich possessions of the Inns of Court, and became desirous of asserting a claim to participate in them. Exclusion from a share in the property of the

\* ‘*Origines Juridiciales*,’ p. 320.

† *Adolphus and Ellis’ Reports*, p. 17.

\* *Rex v. Benchers of Lincoln’s Inn*, 5 B. and C., 855.

† *Per Baron Rolfe. Report of Hayward’s Case. London, 1848. P. 95.*

Inns of Court, which consists almost entirely of barristers' chambers, was not the only circumstance felt or imagined by them to be a grievance. The higher social position of the Bar in the estimation of the public filled them with indignation. In the republic of the United States, and in the British Colonies, the professions of the barrister and solicitor are not separate, but may be conjoined in the same person. In a large territory with a sparse population it is hardly possible that it should be otherwise; for the persons versed in law are too few and widely scattered to enable a division of labour to be effected with advantage. The lawyer, whether barrister or attorney, must be prepared to see the client personally, to collect and prepare the materials for his case, to introduce and conduct the case in court, and to carry it through every stage from its inception to its end. But in a more civilised and populous community the experience of centuries has proved that it is better that the attorneys, who form the administrative branch of the legal profession, shall prepare out of court the case which the barristers shall argue in it. This involves a distinction of ranks, and public opinion has given the superiority to one branch over the other,—a result not incongruous in a monarchy. There is in this country a gradation of ranks, which is not confined to the legal profession, and its existence is a subject of congratulation to the public at large, which would otherwise groan under the unmitigated nuisance of a plutocracy. But the opulent and influential country solicitor, who has generally succeeded to a business ready made for him by his predecessors, and holds in his repositories the title-deeds of half the landed gentry of his county and has a warm balance at his bankers, is apt to feel annoyance at seeing a young barrister from London, who has just joined the circuit with a few guineas in his pocket, take precedence over him, and receive superior manifestations of respect, on the ground merely of his belonging to a class which holds a great place in public estimation. It is a further annoyance that such a class should be exclusively eligible to the great prizes of the law, those dignified and lucrative judicial offices to which the solicitors have never yet been admitted. As early as the year 1846 an active-minded London solicitor, the late Mr. Edwin Wilkins Field, who was proud of his descent from the family of Cromwell, and had no aversion to any innovation which smacked of republicanism, read a paper at the annual meeting of the Metropolitan and Provincial Law Association, in which he inveighed against the exclusion of

the attorney from the bar, and contrasted England with the United States, in which every lawyer may plead in court and address the jury, and be raised by popular election to the Bench.\* A topic like this was well adapted to meet with a response in the minds of the provincial solicitors, for whom Mr. Field's firm acted extensively as London agents. In 1868, Sir James Hannan, who had just been made a Judge, presided at the Annual Meeting of the Solicitors' Benevolent Association; and in the course of an impromptu after-dinner speech he used some complimentary expressions towards the solicitors by expressing a wish that the two branches of the profession should be more intimately connected. His words were seized upon with avidity, and a construction has been given to them that must have surprised the speaker. On the 25th of September in the same year, the Leeds Law Society, and some deputations from Law Societies of Liverpool, Manchester, and other towns, held a meeting at Leeds to consider Mr. Justice Hannan's remarks 'on the subject of the amalgamation of the two branches of the profession;' and on the motion of Mr. Jevons (of Liverpool), seconded by Mr. T. Marshall (of Leeds), the resolution was passed—'That this Meeting is of opinion that the time has come when provision should be made for the foundation of a Law University, which should be open to both branches of the profession without distinction, and that the means of providing an institution already exist in the funds at the disposal of the Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery, which were originally common to both branches of the profession.' How these gentlemen, in the teeth of the historical facts on the subject, make out the last assertion, so far as the Inns of Court are concerned, we are not aware; but they addressed a willing audience, not too fastidious about accuracy. On the 5th of February 1869, a meeting was held at the Incorporated Law Society of an associated Committee of the Council of that body, and of the Metropolitan and Provincial Law Association, which was attended by a deputation from the Leeds Conference, and a series of Resolutions was passed by the Associated Committee, which are too lengthy to be set forth fully; but it was resolved that 'the regulation as to admission to the Bar should be placed under Act of Parliament;' also, 'That it is not right that the Benchers of the Inns of Court should have the uncontrolled power of making rules which may place attorneys in a position

\* Law Mag., February 1872, p. 89.

more restricted than the rest of the public as to the right of admission to the Bar; also, 'That the establishments of the Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery should be, under legal control, made subservient to purposes of Legal Education.' They also resolved that the rate of remuneration for barristers 'should be governed by fixed tariffs.' This sufficiently shows the objects aimed at: a Bar regulated like the attorneys, by Act of Parliament, and to be remunerated in the same manner; interference with the Inns of Court and their internal management; the assertion of a right on the part of the attorneys to become barristers, free from regulations imposed by the Benchers; and the appropriation of the property of the Inns of Court for the education of attorneys as well as barristers. These resolutions were not, however, carried without opposition on the part of some solicitors, who looked with disdain on the whole project. The main body of the eminent London solicitors, and not a few throughout the country, held aloof from this movement, and condemned with unequivocal distinctness all attacks on the Inns of Court and all aggressions against the Bar. They still continue to do so. But on this subject 'the tail has outvoted the head,' and the preponderance of the general body has manifestly gone in the other direction. One great difficulty was to find a good leader for this new movement. At last the sorrowful sighings of aggrieved opulence and the murmurs of repressed provincial self-consequence found sympathy in a quarter where it might have been least expected. In the year 1870 Sir Roundell Palmer, a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, consented to become President of an Association got up originally by the solicitors who favoured the Resolutions of February 1869, and to which, under the favourable auspices of Sir R. Palmer, a few barristers also united themselves. They assumed the title of the 'Legal Education Association.' The then Attorney-General (Sir Robert Collier) and the Solicitor-General (Sir J. D. Coleridge) became members of the Council of this Association, but without, as we believe, the slightest suspicion that there were any ulterior intentions of the kind which have since been developed. The first Circular or 'List,' sent round to the legal profession on the 7th of May 1870, includes in the Council of this Association the names of seventeen Queen's Counsel only out of the 170 which then constituted their number. There was also a sprinkling of members of the Junior Bar, out of the 5000 persons of whom the Bar then consisted; there were also twenty-one solicitors and one or two gentlemen who

are not members of the legal profession at all. In July 1870, a meeting of the profession was convened at Lincoln's Inn Hall, at which the Association was formally constituted. The principal object of this Association, as announced in their Circular, was 'a system of common education for both branches of the profession.' This is exactly what had been expressly condemned by the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1846,\* and it had received no approval from the Royal Commissioners in 1855. No hint was given in this Circular of any intention to attempt an interference by the State with the property of the Inns of Court or with their internal government. On those important subjects there was entire reticence.

We have not space to give the history of this Association. The real object of its leading projectors was at first so little suspected that a few distinguished Judges and members of the Bar joined it, who subsequently, when better informed, thought proper to withdraw. Even the venerable Lord St. Leonards sent a contribution to its funds, of three hundred guineas, which has not yet been returned to him. We have not heard that Sir Roundell Palmer, before inaugurating this association of barristers, solicitors, and laymen, for the supposed improvement of legal education by taking it out of the hands of the Inns of Court, made any effort whatever to persuade his brother Benchers of Lincoln's Inn or the Benchers of the other Inns to reconsider the whole matter of legal education, and co-operate with him in any project for its real improvement. To most minds this would seem the proper step which should have been first taken by anyone who was himself a Bencher. When Lord Cairns proposed a great change, he began to work inside his own Inn of Court, in a spirit of loyalty to the Society to which he belonged: he preferred that course to the more objectionable one of working from the outside, and trying by external pressure to force upon his own and the other Inns of Court fundamental changes. But the profound respect felt by the Inns of Court for Sir R. Palmer's personal character prevented the Benchers from running blindfold against what the Association proposed. On the contrary, they, with sound practical good sense, set to work at once to rectify everything which required alteration, and to establish, on a grander scale and with more liberal endowments than before, a system of legal education for the Bar, and to compel every student, before being called to the

Bar, to pass an examination proving his legal proficiency.

In 1870-71 the four Inns of Court appointed a Joint Committee to consider the whole subject of legal education. This Committee, besides carefully considering and discussing the subject among themselves, received Sir Roundell Palmer, with a deputation of the Legal Education Association, on the 25th of April 1871, and listened attentively to his explanation of the views expressed in the Association's printed Proposals. The only practical advantage of this interview was, that the Committee saw, in the deputation which accompanied Sir Roundell Palmer, a sample of the men proposed to supersede in their functions such of themselves as were members of the Council of Legal Education: it is sufficient to say that they were able to look upon them without alarm. By their printed Proposals, the Legal Education Association proposed to establish a Legal University, to make both barristers and solicitors pass compulsory examinations (which is now done), and to enable the new University to confer 'degrees in law,' but not to confer the status of attorney or barrister. On the establishment of this 'Legal University,' the functions of the Council of Legal Education were to cease, and the fees of students and the contributions of the Inns of Court were to form the academical fund to defray the expenses of the new body. The effect, in short, would have been to take from the Inns of Court the teaching of their own students, and to commence a system which would speedily reduce the Benchers of each Inn to the condition of mere Building and Dining Committees. Their end would not then be far distant. The Degrees in Law which such an University might grant would never shed around the head of a barrister a halo equal to the light of a farthing candle; but such a degree would enable the solicitor who obtained it to say to the barrister, 'I am a Master in Law as well as you, and I ought therefore to be equally allowed to conduct cases in Court.'

On the 22nd of June 1871, the Joint Committee made their Report to the four Inns of Court, in which they stated that in their opinion 'it is not desirable that the education of students for the Bar and the education of the articulated clerks of solicitors and attorneys should be under one joint system of management;' but they recommended a compulsory examination of students before they should be called to the Bar, and that this should be done through the instrumentality of the Council of Legal Education.

Sir Roundell Palmer, after a compulsory examination had been thus approved, moved, in July 1871, certain resolutions in the House of Commons, in favour of the establishment of a 'General School of Law,' but with no practical result beyond eliciting from Sir George Jessel (now Master of the Rolls) a brilliant refutation of his whole project, in a speech which has never been satisfactorily answered.\*

On the 6th of December 1871, the Joint Committee of the four Inns made a Second Report repeating their recommendation of a compulsory examination, and advising that the Council of Legal Education should be strengthened, by its numbers being increased to twenty Benchers, with whom should be, for the future, the appointment of readers and examiners, whose remuneration should be increased by the contributions of the several Societies.

The recommendations of the Joint Committee having been approved by all the Inns of Court, the number of the Council of Legal Education was increased accordingly, and the additional powers recommended were given to them.†

On the 22nd of February 1872, the newly constituted Council of Legal Education held their first meeting, under the auspices of that veteran law reformer Lord Westbury, who took the chair and addressed the meeting at some length. The Council immediately set to work; but before they had had time to perfect anything, Sir Roundell Palmer again, on the 1st of March 1872, moved a resolution in the House of Commons in favour of a General School of Law for the instruction of Students 'intending to practise in *any branch* of the Legal Profession.' In that speech he gave the first intimation of meditating any aggression on the property of the Inns of Court, if those Inns should continue to prefer their own opinions to his; and he uttered a threat on the subject, which elicited a prompt and well-deserved remonstrance from the present Attorney-General, Sir Richard Bagge.‡ The then Attorney-General (Sir J. D. Coleridge) and the Solicitor-General (Sir George Jessel) spoke and voted against the resolution.§ Mr. Gregory

\* Hansard, vol. 208, p. 239.

† The Council, when thus constituted, comprised twenty leading men of both political parties without distinction, including several members of the Legal Education Association.

‡ Hansard, vol. 2091, p. 1260.

§ The former, desirous of dispelling the ignorance which exists among the general public on such subjects, condescended to explain to the House that the money at the disposal of the Benchers was not expended in providing themselves with unnecessary luxuries, and that so far

and Mr. Leeman, both eminent solicitors, also spoke against the resolution, which was negatived on the division by a majority of 13.

The Council of Legal Education have, since this debate, settled an elaborate SCHEME for the Legal Education of the Bar, which they have subsequently extended and improved, and against which, as it now stands, nothing important can be urged, except that it applies to the Bar only. Everything has been established on the most liberal scale. There are five Professors, with fixed salaries, varying from 600 to 400 guineas a-year, according to whether, in addition to lecturing, private classes are taken. To this are added fees from students who attend. There are also eight tutors, with fixed salaries of 300 guineas, besides students' fees. There are also six examiners, with salaries of 120 guineas each. A dozen studentships, of 100 guineas each, have also been established, for the encouragement of merit. In the course of the year ending in January 1874, the income of the Council amounted to nearly 8000*l.*, of which less than 2000*l.* arose from students' fees, and the remainder from contributions of the Inns of Court.

In consequence of the urgent representations of Lord Westbury as to the inutility of pompous lectures to large classes, in which the Professor too often displays his own erudition, and the students learn little or nothing of any value, the main business of teaching is, under this scheme, placed in the hands of the tutors, who teach private classes, and whose numbers will be augmented as the number of the students who attend increases. The subjects on which instruction is afforded are—Jurisprudence; International Law, public and private; Roman Civil Law; Constitutional Law and Legal History; Common Law; Equity; the Law of Real Pro-

perty; and Criminal Law. It is expressly provided by this Scheme that no person shall receive from the Council the certificate of fitness for call to the Bar now required by the Inns of Court, unless he shall have passed a satisfactory examination in the following subjects, viz., 1st. Roman Civil Law; 2ndly. The Law of Real and Personal Property; and 3rdly. Common Law and Equity. This is a requisition of greater stringency than was recommended by the Royal Commissioners.\* The Council of Legal Education, which have, since the death of Lord Westbury, had the Right Honourable Spencer Walpole for President, are continuing, with unabated diligence, to watch over and direct the course of legal education; and, unless the two branches of the profession are to be blended into one, they fully and perfectly answer all that can in reason be required. But there will, for the reasons given by Lord Cairns in his evidence already quoted, be always some difficulty in any institution for teaching law attaining great success.

It has, however, been objected to the educational system thus established that, although it may be very well at present, yet it lacks the element of permanence, because there is no security that one of the four Inns may not, at any time, withdraw itself from further connection with the Council of Legal Education, and thus break up the whole arrangement. This objection rests, however, on no just foundation, for it assumes a moral impossibility. The Benchers of the Inns of Court have never once, during five centuries, exhibited such a gross act of indiscretion as this objection assumes may be a possible contingency. Even if any Inn of Court should do so, there would at once be an appeal on the subject to the Judges, either from members of the Inn which withdrew, or from the other Inns affected by such a breach of faith, and the Judges would have full power to rectify the mischief by an intimation to the offending Inn that until it again united with the other Inns in the system established by the Council of Legal Education, its power to call to the Bar should be suspended. The Judges, therefore, have the matter in their own hands, and the remedy, if applied, would be irresistible.

Nothing, however, which has been or can be done on the principle of maintaining the existing separation of the two branches of the profession, will ever be satisfactory to the assailants of the Inns of Court; and when, towards the close of Mr. Gladstone's

as his Inn (the Middle Temple) was concerned, and he believed the same remark applied to the other Inns, 'not a single sixpence was lost to the funds of the Inn by the dinners which the Benchers eat.' We have before us a return on that subject, as to the state of affairs at the Inner Temple for the ten years from 1861 to 1871, carefully made out a few years since by the Sub-Treasurer. It shows that the sums received during that ten years from the Benchers for fees on calls to the Bench, were 17,435*l.*, and for commons and dues, 3245*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*, making a total of 20,680*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* The cost of the Bench table during the same period, including wine, beer, dessert, tea and coffee, and the *entertainment of all visitors*, was 7888*l.* 10*s.*, making a balance in favour of the Society of 12,791*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* It is true that a few of the senior Benchers have chambers. But they belonged to the Bench as early as the reign of Elizabeth, and not a single Bench chamber has since been added.—*Royal Commissioners Report*, p. 7.

\* Report, p. 18.

Government, Sir Roundell Palmer became Lord Chancellor Selborne, there was a general expectation that something would be attempted by him in his official capacity to further both the avowed and the undisclosed objects of his Association. Nor was this expectation disappointed, for, just before the General Election of 1874, he caused to be prepared and printed the draft of a 'Bill to incorporate the Inns of Court and to establish a General School of Law.' This Draft Bill was sent to the four Inns of Court, whose opinions were invited on the subject, and to the Incorporated Law Society. It also found its way to certain obscure Provincial Associations of Solicitors throughout the country. The General Election, however, took place immediately afterwards, and the Gladstone Government, which had attacked and harassed every class in the community, came to an end. The British nation would endure it no longer.

This Draft Bill proposed to embrace in one single measure the two objects which are now kept separate in the two Bills since introduced by Lord Selborne into Parliament. Under the provisions contained in Part I., the four Inns of Court, without their having solicited anything of the kind, were each to be made 'one body politic or corporate,' and were, as corporations, to exercise similar functions to those which they have exercised for five centuries without feeling any want of a more formal organization. The Benchers of each Inn were to be gradually reduced to half only of their present number, and the members of the Bench were to be elected by the Barristers of five years' standing. Such an election would certainly be a more lively affair than the present mode of election by the Benchers, especially if the canvass were a severe one. We doubt, however, whether in practice it would be found eminently conducive to the discipline of the Bar, over whom the Benchers have to exercise a very delicate jurisdiction. The management of their own property was graciously to be left to the several Societies, and they were to be permitted to pay out of it the current expenses of their establishments, and to erect new buildings and improve the old; but, subject to these privileges, it was proposed to be enacted that 'all the *surplus* or residue of the funds and income of the Corporation shall be *appropriated*, and from time to time applied for or in aid of the purposes and objects of the General School of Law established by this Act.'

Who can explain to us the difference between 'confiscation' and 'appropriation' in such a clause as this? The clause is absurd

in itself: for it does not say who is to decide upon what is or is not 'surplus;' whether the General School of Law, which is to receive it, or the Inns of Court, which are to pay it over. At present the chambers which constitute the property of each Society are let to its own members at about twenty per cent. under the rent at which they could be let if offered to the general public. If the 'surplus' were to belong to some stranger Institution, it would be necessary to raise these rents to rack-rents. On the other hand, the Benchers, by lowering the rents, might always prevent the existence of any 'surplus.' If anything could conciliate a body of Lawyers to the proposed change, it would be the delightful prospect of the ceaseless litigation which such a provision would make certain. By this proposed 'appropriation' of the 'surplus,' the threat uttered by Sir Roundell Palmer in the House of Commons was intended to be made effectual. By Part II., a new corporation was to be established, under the title of 'The Queen's General School of Law,' and it was to be governed by the Lord Chancellor as President, and a Senate of thirty-eight persons. All Barristers and Solicitors of three years' standing were to be members of this General School. It was not proposed that the State should contribute one farthing to its endowments, but the Crown was to nominate ten members of its Senate, in addition to twelve *ex officio* members named in the Bill: of the remaining sixteen, *six* only were to be elected by Barristers, and *ten* by Solicitors.

Notwithstanding the fall of the Gladstone Government, the Benchers, who had been invited by Lord Selborne to give their opinion on his Draft Bill, proceeded to do so, and the Benchers of each Inn appointed members of a Joint Committee of the four Inns to consider the subject together. This Committee met, and took Lord Selborne's Draft Bill into careful consideration. There were twenty-one Benchers present on that occasion, including men of all political parties. After careful consideration and debate, a Resolution was passed *unanimously* in the following terms:—

'At a meeting of the Joint Committee of the four Inns of Court, appointed by orders of the several Societies to consider Lord Selborne's "Inns of Court and School of Law Bill, 1874," held at Lincoln's Inn on the 4th day of March, 1874, present:—The Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn (Right Hon. Lord Justice James) in the Chair; the Treasurer of the Inner Temple (Henry W. Cole, Esq.); the Treasurer of the Middle Temple (John R. Kenyon, Esq.); the Right Hon. Sir George Jessel (M. R.); the Right Hon. Thomas E. Headlam; the Hon.

Sir Richard Malins (V.-C.); the Hon. Sir James Bacon (V.-C.); Sir John B. Karslake (Attorney-General), M.P.; John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., M.P.; Brent Spencer Follett, Esq.; Edmund Beckett Denison, Esq.; Charles S. Whitmore, Esq.; John Locke, Esq., M.P.; Henry Manisty, Esq.; Thomas Webb Greene, Esq.; Archibald J. Stephens, Esq., LL.D.; Joseph Brown, Esq.; James Dickinson, Esq.; Henry Cotton, Esq.; Sir Thomas E. May; — it was moved by the Vice-Chancellor Malins, and seconded by Mr. Roebuck, and *resolved unanimously*:—

“That this Joint Committee disapproves of the Draft Bill sent to the Inns of Court by the late Lord Chancellor; and recommends that this Resolution be communicated to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Selborne.

“(Signed) W. M. JAMES,  
Chairman.”

This Resolution having been reported to the four Inns, each of them separately confirmed it by a resolution of approval, which we believe was in every case *unanimous*.

Shortly before this important Resolution was passed, it was confidently asserted in the ‘Times,’ in a leading article generally supposed to have received its inspiration from a source remarkable for accuracy of statement, that it was the intention of the new Lord Chancellor, Lord Cairns, ‘to attack the Benchers.’ That statement was contradicted in the ‘Standard,’ and the then Attorney-General, Sir John Karslake, who attended the meeting of the Joint Committee, joined as heartily as any of his colleagues in condemning Lord Selborne’s Draft Bill.

We believe that we have good grounds for asserting that Lord Selborne’s Draft Bill never received the approval of the Cabinet of which he was a member. But he has since, in his private capacity, renewed ‘the attack on the Benchers,’ which the ‘Times’ incorrectly represented as intended by Lord Cairns. At the end of last session he introduced into the House of Lords two Bills: the first corresponded in substance with Part I. of his original Draft Bill, and is ‘for incorporating the Inns of Court, and for providing for the future administration of their affairs;’ the other corresponds with Part II., and is ‘for establishing a General School of Law in England.’ In this school the barristers and attorneys are to be educated together.

On the 10th of July last, these Bills were formally read for the first time in the House of Lords; but three Law Lords only took part in the debate. Never before was a great measure introduced into Parliament by a speech so flimsy in its texture as that of Lord Selborne, but this flimsiness was, no doubt, intentional. A more thorough

explanation of the subject would have induced other hearers than Law Lords to have directed their attention to the subject and to have mastered its principles; but this would have provoked opposition. Lord Selborne in his speech stated that the Inns of Court could be traced back to a Royal Commission issued in the reign of King Edward I. But as they did not take their origin from this Commission, such mention of it might mislead unlearned persons. He then referred to the Report of the Royal Commissioners appointed in 1854; but he omitted to mention that the Commissioners were appointed to inquire just as much into the arrangements of the Inns of Chancery as of the Inns of Court. He then ‘ventured with confidence’ to say that the Inns of Court ‘discharged public functions.’ But what public functions have they ever discharged, except that of calling their own students to the Bar of their respective Inns, as delegates or agents of the Judges, whose names were quietly passed over in silence? Lord Selborne, in another part of his speech, made the bold assertion that the Inns of Court ‘hold their property solely for public purposes.’ By what process of reasoning, or by what historical facts, his lordship makes that out, he did not condescend to explain. We hesitate not to give the statement the broadest contradiction, and to affirm that the Inns of Court do not hold, and never have held, their property by any such tenure. It is true that, with a noble disregard of selfish purposes, they have voluntarily, during five centuries, *used* their property for the public advantage, and have discharged gratuitously for the Judges, and as their delegates and agents, important work which the Judges could not possibly have performed so well for themselves; but this is the sum and substance of their public functions, and the State has no more right to interfere with their property on such a ground than with the property of the individual Benchers. The paragraph quoted by Lord Selborne from the Report of the Royal Commission respecting the trust attaching to the property of the two Temples, does not establish that the Inns of Court hold their property for public purposes. In the first place, such trust does not affect Lincoln’s Inn or Gray’s Inn at all; and even with respect to the Temples, the trust for education is one not for the education of the public, but for the education exclusively of members of their own Societies.\* Another

\* Independently of the express language of the Trust, such would be the case on general principles, according to the decision of Lord

passage quoted from the Commissioners' Report in favour of compulsory examination was beside the question, since compulsory examination was then already established, and its conduct was and is in the hands of men of the highest mark in the profession, who do their work better than it could be done by any other body of persons. Let anyone attempt to formalise the argument by which Lord Selborne contends that the property of the Inns of Court is public property, and it may be shown, by the same style of reasoning, that the estates of the noble Lords who constitute the House of Peers are public property also. The Peers exercise 'public functions;' some of their estates were obtained by grants from the Crown; all the land in the kingdom was originally held upon condition of contributing in certain proportions to the defence of the realm,—a condition imperfectly discharged in time of war by the payment of a paltry Land Tax. Lord Selborne proceeded to say of the Inns of Court, that, 'being invested with a public character and invested with a public responsibility—as they were *in fact* corporations—no harm could result from their being legally incorporated.' We do not understand how any institution can be a corporation in fact, which is not a corporation in law. Is the Athenæum Club a corporation in fact? It took its origin from a movement in favour of the encouragement of literature, science and art, which are public objects. The members are lessees of the Crown. Each member during his life, or until expulsion, has a joint ownership in the property of the club, which is very valuable, and increases in value every year by the rich stores added to the library, but on a member's death no interest whatever in such property devolves on his executors; the surviving members of the club and the subsequently admitted members take the whole. The same is the case with the Freemasons, and other voluntary associations, which Lord Selborne might, with equal inaccuracy, call 'corporations in fact.' No Inn of Court is, or ever was, or ever will be, with its own consent, 'a body politic;' and we assert that, neither in law nor in fact, are the Inns corporations. If the members of an Inn of Chancery, or of an Inn of Court, were unanimously to resolve on selling and converting into money its property, and dividing it among themselves in equal proportions, no Court of Law or Equity in this kingdom could prevent them. One of the Inns of Chancery—Lyon's Inn—has already

done so. Another association of lawyers, constituted like the Inns of Court in some respects, but which was actually incorporated by Charter, viz., the College of Advocates at Doctors' Commons, insisted, when their order was abolished by Parliament, upon their right to distribute their property and possessions among themselves 'for their own use and benefit;' and this right was recognised and made effectual by a statute.\* If the present scheme of gradually extinguishing the ancient Order of Serjeants, instead of utilising it, shall be persisted in, and Sir Richard Paul Amphlett, 'the Last of the Barons,' shall live to become the last of the Serjeants, he will have reason to felicitate himself on having succeeded by survivorship to a valuable inheritance in Serjeants' Inn, of which nothing but an Act of Parliament can deprive him. It is said that when a Romanist longs too greedily for a beefsteak on a Lenten fast day, he takes one, christens it 'fish,' and then eats it. When Lord Selborne christens the Inns of Court 'Corporations in fact,' it is not difficult to understand his ultimate intentions. As to the statement of Lord Selborne respecting the Inns of Court, that no harm 'can result from their incorporation,' we answer that great and irreparable harm must be the result of every wrong done by arbitrary power overbearing private rights, confiscating or 'appropriating' private property to public uses, and compelling private Societies to become 'bodies politic' against their will. It is but too clear why Lord Selborne wishes to incorporate the Inns of Court. Such a change would place them and their possessions under the control of the State, as is the case with the Universities and Colleges. Then, when they are thus made creatures of the State, their property may, by the State, be taken from them, and applied for the education of the solicitors, or any other object which the Government for the time being, if strong in Parliament, shall capriciously choose. The real object sought by the proposed incorporation is clear. We have been taught by Divine wisdom that 'no man can enter into a strong man's house and spoil his goods, except he will first bind the strong man; and then he will spoil his house.'† Lord Selborne's Bill, therefore, proposes, as a preliminary step, to bind the strong man; and this will effectually be done if the Inns of Court are forced into the trammels of incorporation. The spoiling of their houses afterwards will be but a natural consequence. Lord Selborne also, in his speech, quoted in

Chancellor Hatherley in The Attorney-General v. Sidney Sussex College.—*Law Reports*, 4 *Chancery Appeals*, 722.

\* 20 & 21 Vict., c. 77, sec. 117.

† Mark iii. 27.

complimentary terms Lord Cairns's Resolution at Lincoln's Inn in 1863; but he omitted to state that it was carried by a majority of one only. He then mentioned that his own original Draft Bill had been sent to the Inns of Court, but added, 'I am bound to say that I did not get all the assistance I could have wished from those Societies;' and he professed not to understand their 'extremely short Resolution' disapproving of his Draft Bill! He subsequently proceeded to explain some of the details of his Bill; but the only point on which we need pause to make a remark is that the 'surplus' income of the Inns of Court, which, according to his original proposal, was to be handed over to his Central School of Law, is now to be left with the Inns, but with a declaration of trust affixed to it, which is obviously intended to pave the way to the same ultimate result; for it proposes to declare that it shall be '*appropriated*, and from time to time applied, to the purposes of legal education.' The legal education spoken of in this 'appropriation clause' is not the legal education of the barristers and students, who are members of the Society from whose property such surplus shall be derived, but the trust is for Legal Education generally!—in short, for the legal education of the solicitors and others, who are not members of the Societies. Lord Selborne's project is in conflict with the history of five centuries, infringes on the sacredness of private property and private rights, and has already been condemned by the acknowledged leaders of the Bar in an unanimous resolution of disapproval; yet it will never appear in its true and natural colours to the public eye so long as it continues to be decked out and dressed up by the practised hands to which it has been confided.

Our space will not allow us to examine the rest of Lord Selborne's speech, in which he explained the provisions of his second Bill for establishing a General School of Law, nor can we stop to criticise the speeches of the two other Law Lords who took part in the debate. The Lord Chancellor, however, pointed out, with his usual penetration, one defect in Lord Selborne's scheme, viz., that it proposed to establish 'a teaching school,' instead of a mere examining body, and he predicted that any attempt to provide funds for a teaching school would fail, and that such a school would of necessity 'exhaust or destroy the Inns of Court and their capacity for teaching law.' We entertain no doubt that the Inns of Court will continue to teach their own students, and they need feel no apprehension that any 'teaching school,' to be established under

the auspices of the State, will ever be able to rival that which now flourishes under the control and care of the Council of Legal Education. If the State thinks fit to appoint its own examiners to ascertain that the students of the Inns of Court possess a competent knowledge of law before they are called to the Bar, the Inns of Court will have no reason to complain, and will perhaps be glad to be relieved from one of the most irksome of the labours now discharged by them; but if the State, or any 'body politic' created by the State, is to undertake this work, the State will be expected to pay the examiners, as well as appoint them.\* We cannot conclude our observations on the debate of the 10th of July without noticing one passage in the latter part of Lord Hatherley's speech, in which he stated, with that noble frankness for which he is distinguished, that he 'should also rejoice to see the *barrier* that existed at present between the two branches of the profession *broken down*.' This phrase about 'breaking down the barrier' is capable of being understood in two ways: 1st, it may merely mean an abrogation of the system of having one course of legal study for the Bar and another for the solicitors, by establishing a general school common to both classes; or, 2ndly, it may mean abolishing the distinction between barrister and solicitor altogether, by introducing the blended system which prevails in the United States. The first is the only sense in which the term would be approved of by many members of the Legal Education Association. We doubt if Lord Selborne himself would approve of any other. The second, however, is the

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\* Since the above was printed, a Joint Committee of the four Inns of Court was held at the Inner Temple on the 18th December last, on the subject of Lord Selborne's two Bills, when the following Resolutions were passed *unanimously*:—It was moved by the Master of the Rolls, and seconded by Vice-Chancellor Malins: 'That Lord Selborne's Bill to incorporate the Inns of Court, and interfere with their property and internal management having been introduced into Parliament, notwithstanding the unanimous Resolution of the Joint Committee of the 4th March, 1874, disapproving of his original Draft Bill—a Resolution since confirmed by each of the four Inns—this Committee resolve that the four Societies be recommended to take all proper steps for opposing such Bill in Parliament if again brought in.' It was moved by Mr. Calvert, and seconded by Mr. George Loch, Treasurer of the Middle Temple: 'That this Committee disapproves of Lord Selborne's Bill for establishing a General School of Law, and especially of the provisions contained in it whereby Students for the Bar and the Articled Clerks of Solicitors shall be under one joint system, and are of opinion that the Legal Education of Students for the Bar should continue to be under the control of their own branch of the profession.'

sense in which it is used by that great body of Lord Selborne's supporters who entertain the revolutionary opinions which have lately been expressed with so much boldness. We will make a few observations on each view.

First. If the two branches of the profession are still to be kept distinct, is it expedient that both should receive one common educational training? Such a plan may have some advantages, though few. It has been tried in Ireland, but with no good results, if we may judge from the report of the Committee of 1846, and from the loose and inaccurate style too often observable in Irish pleadings and conveyances. We consider that, on the whole, the disadvantages of such a system vastly preponderate. At the commencement of their legal studies there is almost always a great disparity in age between students for the Bar and articled clerks. Five-sixths of the former have been educated at the Universities, and are four or five years older than the articled clerks. The latter, when they begin their career, are in general but an imperfectly educated set, if we are to place confidence in the important evidence given by one of their own branch of the profession, Sir George Stephen, before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1846. Nothing can be more melancholy than his description quoted in the Committee's Report.\* 'To subject students for the Bar, when beginners, to a course of instruction suitable for the class described by Sir George Stephen would manifestly be to the disadvantage of the former. If, however, this difficulty can be partly got over by the articled clerks passing their first two or three years in a solicitor's office and then, during only the last two years of their course, residing in London for instruction in the General School of Law, they will begin to study the theory of law just at the time when, from their having acquired some knowledge of its practice, their services were becoming valuable to the solicitors to whom they are articled. To the latter the loss would be important, and for the articled clerks themselves the gain would be small; for it would be better for them, just before becoming solicitors, to be engaged in actual practice in a lawyer's office, and be attending the Courts, than to be listening to lectures on the Roman Civil Law and other recondite subjects. Under a system common to both branches of the profession, the system of teaching will be pushed rather too high for the articled clerks and rather too low for the Inns of Court students; both must, therefore, suffer in the result. Again, the larger the number of

students in any particular class, the less will become the value of the teaching to those who attend it. The Judges fully understood this when, by their order dated in 1627, they directed that not more than ten students should attend the class of each Reader. The Benchers of the Inner Temple are so impressed with the same view, that although their annual contribution to the funds of the Council of Legal Education exceeds that of any other Inn, by reason of their having the largest number of students, they have devoted an additional 2000*l.* a year to give special instruction, in private classes, to the students of their own Society, and have established six tutorships for that purpose and placed their supplemental system under the directions of a Committee of the Bench. It is clear that if all the students of all the Inns of Court and all the articled clerks of all the solicitors are mixed together in one mass, the classes into which they would have to be grouped would become too numerous and unwieldy to be of much good to anyone. Should an attempt be made to avoid this evil by increasing the number of tutors and classes, then the students will have to be grouped with reference to their previous attainments, and the articled clerks will be drafted into one class, and the students from the Universities, who are going to the Bar, will be drafted into others, and for all practical purposes the 'broken down barrier' will be built up again. All learners may begin in the same building, but they will not and cannot learn together. Again, students for the Bar who are to be trained to understand and argue difficult cases of municipal and international law, require a higher system of education than is needful or useful for men whose duties must be principally of an administrative character. Common sense tells us that it would be better for articled clerks to be instructed in mercantile book-keeping and in those special branches of knowledge which a land-agent should understand, than to be taught to explain such niceties as the differences between Depositum, Pignus, and Hypotheca. If the solicitors, who have suffered their own Inns of Chancery to slip through their fingers, had been more alive to their own true interests, they would never have allowed the body of men called 'accountants,' to have sprung up, as they have done during the last few years, to absorb a lucrative portion of legal business which the solicitors ought to have kept for themselves, and they would also, by giving a special course of instruction to their articled clerks on the subject, have long since tried to get all the land agencies in the country in their exclusive keeping. But they have

\* Report, p. xxxv.

been like the dog in the fable, which dropped his mouthful of meat to snatch at a shadow.

Secondly. Is the 'barrier to be broken down' in the sense desired by some of the Provincial Law Associations? In some respects this would be useful to the solicitors. They could then deprive the junior barristers of a few briefs in undefended causes and unopposed petitions, by holding them themselves. They might also occasionally air their eloquence in more important cases, but not always to the advantage of their clients. There would no longer be a class called barristers to take precedence of themselves in society and receive superior manifestations of public respect; all would be 'advocates' and of equal dignity; all must then, without distinction, become 'Officers of the Court,' and be equally liable to be called upon 'to answer the matter in the affidavit;' firms would be formed in which some of the members would do the barrister's work in Court, and some the solicitor's work in chambers; this would keep business to a large extent in the same groove from generation to generation, so long as the firm continued to exist. These composite firms would also be able to sue for forensic fees, which are now irrecoverable. There might be other advantages to the solicitors which do not now occur to us; but, on the other hand, the disadvantages to the public would be enormous. The interest of the public is to have the fewest possible mistakes committed. The present system secures that advantage, but the proposed one would not. Moreover, the great English Bar would exist no longer; that lofty and noble profession which, during so many centuries, has repressed the wrongful doings of dishonest men, protected both poor and rich, and defended the liberties of the people and the rights of individuals and institutions against aggressive tyranny, would become disintegrated and fall to pieces, whilst its *débris*, mixed up with foreign substances of less value, would be transferred to the new class or order of advocates, which is to absorb all others. It is impossible that there can be this confusion of classes and functions, without loss of that fearless independence which is now characteristic of the English barrister. The Inns of Court, those nurseries of learning and public spirit, would necessarily be destroyed in such a change or be perverted to ends worse than their destruction. At present the English barrister is called by the Benchers of his Inn under the sanction of the Judges; but the Judges, though he should resist and offend them, cannot disbar him without infringing the usage of five centuries, for he is not an 'Officer of the Court;' nor can the Judges of the

Court give him orders or exercise authority over him. A late notorious case has shown to what extent the Judges feel bound to exercise forbearance, even when a member of the Bar abuses his privilege. If the State shall ever get under its control the institutions which call to the Bar or expel from it, the independence of the Bar will be lost, and an English barrister will soon become as timid an official as the Bavarian advocates, who trembled to accept without permission a brief to defend Kullmann for shooting at Prince Bismarck.\* To what condition of degradation would the assailants of the Bar reduce it? There have been instances in which it has been proved to the Benchers that some unsuccessful barristers of their Inn have hired themselves out as conveyancing clerks to solicitors, and while sitting on a stool in their offices have drawn and settled deeds for their employers, which they have signed as Counsel, the solicitors receiving the fees and the barristers only a salary; but in such cases, when proved, the barrister has been disbarred. Nevertheless, if the system against which we protest were established, any large firms of solicitors, which chose to do so, might keep an arguing barrister in their office, as part of the staff, and send him out when required for a case in Court, just as a butcher keeps a bulldog in his backyard and takes him out occasionally when wanted for a fight. But it may be replied, we do not wish to abolish the distinction between barrister and attorney; we merely wish that if the attorney desires to conduct his own case in Court, without a barrister's assistance, he may be at liberty to do so. We answer, that the interests of the public would suffer by such a change. The privilege of free speech in Court, which the barrister possesses when he argues cases and cross-examines witnesses, is one which requires to be exercised with the greatest delicacy of treatment. It would become a nuisance if confided to men not specially trained to the work. At present the barrister is answerable for what he says and does, not only to public opinion and the Bar Mess on circuit, but, in grave cases, to the Benchers of an Inn of Court. The solicitors would do well if, instead of seeking to intrude into the domain of the Bar, they were to look to the preservation of their own business and exclusive rights,

\* 'In Prussia, the number of Advocates is limited, and the Government decides where each shall establish himself, and marks out his domicile, and changes it at pleasure. There is no separation of the two branches. (Varnberg, 'La Profession d'Avocat en Prusse.') This is nearly as bad as in China, where, according to Varnberg, 'l'Avocat reçoit le bambou dès qu'il se charge d'une mauvaise cause.'

which are in more danger than some imagine. If they demand free trade in advocacy, let them remember that there is the new class of 'accountants and debt collectors,' who are striving to obtain free trade in the instituting and conduct of causes, and to infringe on the exclusive privileges of the solicitors. The existing system of a separation of the work of the barrister from the work of the solicitor is, we are satisfied, the best; it grew up with the growth of the nation itself, and is established by usage, which would long since have been abrogated had it not been beneficial. To use the language of one who was, in years gone by, a distinguished Bench of Gray's Inn, 'What is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit, and those things which have long gone together are, as it were, confederate among themselves; whereas new things piece not so well.'

The notion that Lord Selborne and Lord Hatherley are, with a certain amount of countenance from the Lord Chancellor, banded together to obliterate the Bar as a great and separate profession, appears to us to be simply preposterous. There is no sufficient ground for supposing that any one of them entertains a wish of the kind. But some have given encouragement to the projects of a few solicitors whose designs go beyond their own, and they have omitted to explain with sufficient distinctness to what extent they disagree with such projects and are prepared to oppose them. Even if the notion had a basis as real as we believe it to be imaginary, there would be no just cause for apprehension; for the English Bar is too powerful to be destroyed with facility. One fact we consider certain: the Government over which Mr. Disraeli presides will never give its support to Lord Selborne's Bill for the Incorporation of the Inns of Court, or for the 'appropriation' of their property, in the face of the unanimous disapproval which that measure has received from the governing bodies of those learned and ancient Societies. Why, indeed, should the Conservative Government act so unwisely as to provoke the hostility of a Bar more redoubtable than that of the publicans? They would be covered with derision were they to embark on a course of 'plundering and blundering,' or to sanction any of those innovating schemes by which every class and profession, every institution and establishment in the country, has during a series of years been more or less vexed by Liberal Administrations. Lord Selborne's Bills will be brought before Parliament during the next Session, and our Conservative Government will be obliged to decide whether the

new movement now in progress shall receive its support or its opposition. It is for many reasons most important that the Cabinet should come to a resolution on the subject as soon as possible, and let the result be known.

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ART. V.—*The Life of Christ.* By Frederic W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S.; late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Master of Marlborough College, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. Tenth Edition. London, 1874. 2 Vols. 8vo.

WHATEVER opinion be entertained as to the purpose of these brilliant volumes, there can be no doubt that the publishers, with whom the idea originated of placing in the hands of English readers 'such a sketch of the life of Christ on earth as should enable them to realise it more clearly, and to enter more fully into the details and sequence of the Gospel narratives,' acted with wise forecast in committing the furtherance of their design to the present Master of Marlborough College. Dr. Farrar was no novice in literature. His published studies in the Science of Language had not merely distinguished him as a writer of independent thought and untiring research, but had shown him to possess gifts of exposition and illustration, such as are to be found only in born teachers. Hardly less important as a qualification for the task imposed upon him was his well-known eloquence as a preacher. And though the aim of the promoters was 'to spread the blessings of knowledge' rather than to strengthen the foundations of faith, the marked ability of his Hulsean Lectures on 'The Witness of History to Christ,' delivered before the University of Cambridge, in 1870, might not unreasonably have been accepted as a substantial augury of his success. To these tokens of aptitude for the work may be added another, the importance of which must have been obvious to his publishers. Dr. Farrar, though known to be staunchly attached to the faith of the Church of England, had publicly expressed himself, on more than one occasion, with characteristic fearlessness, in favour of a clergyman's right to follow his conscience at all hazards in pursuit of truth; and hence his name was sure to carry with it a guarantee, not merely that the faith of tradition would not be trifled with, but that the many deep and intricate problems connected with his subject would be resolutely encountered to the best of his knowledge and ability. The result of his

labours is now before us ; and, considering that we are reviewing the tenth edition of his somewhat costly volumes within nine months of their publication, he may certainly be congratulated upon a literary success to which the annals of English theology present no parallel. Some portion of this success, it may not perhaps be fanciful to attribute to a reactionary mood in matters of faith, analogous to that which has recently influenced the popular current of political ideas in England. Since the publication of 'Essays and Reviews,' society, for good or for evil, has extended an ever-increasing tolerance to scepticism, of which the Press has not been slow to take advantage. Opinions which a few years since were confined to learned corners, are broached to-day without reserve in leading journals and popular magazines ; and side by side with the last new novel, upon the counters of our circulating libraries, may be found attractive essays, bearing influential names, which make no secret of their author's belief that the creed of our common Christianity is a sham. It would, nevertheless, be a mistake to suppose that the religious mind of England, curious as it is in regard to sceptical ideas, is, at bottom, sceptically inclined ; least of all, is it disposed to tolerate anything like ridicule of that which it holds sacred. But criticism has indulged itself of late in a licence of *badinage* to which we are little accustomed on this side the Channel. We have been told in accents of mock pity that our theology is nothing better than a series of fairy tales, tricked out with delusive metaphysics. The same self-confident authority has assured us that 'the reign of the Bible miracles is doomed.' And, in order, we suppose, to hasten their extinction, we have been treated quite recently, among other pleasantries, to an exposure of rationalistic interpretation at least suggestive of a parallel between the Miracle of Cana and the story of Cinderella.\* Such liberties overreach themselves. There is, probably, no religious conviction which has not been worried, no religious interest which has not been affronted, by the assumptions and familiarities of this kind of writing. Hence, apart from the intrinsic merits of Dr. Farrar's work, we are inclined to think that there was a predisposing cause for the enthusiastic welcome it has met with. And though it might savour of rashness to infer, from the success of a single book, that there is no such disintegration of faith in our midst as that of which we have been lately warned *ad nauseam*, the fact that a new

Life of Christ, avowing itself 'unconditionally the work of a believer,' has achieved a popularity far exceeding that of nearly, if not quite, the most captivating sceptical work of modern times, may well serve to moderate the over-sanguine expectations of the critic, no less than to calm the undue fears of the orthodox.

Dr. Farrar's standpoint is that of an orthodox theologian, not, however, of the school to which the somewhat unguarded expression we have just quoted might seem to attach him. While adhering 'to every fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith,' he holds liberal views in regard to Inspiration which distinguish his position fundamentally from that of the mere harmonist. We quote the following, as a more distinct expression of his opinion upon this subject than we find in these volumes, from a work to which he refers us (vol. ii. p. 182, n.) :

'We believe with unfeigned heart that Holy Scripture was given by inspiration of God. That in it is contained all that is necessary for salvation. . . . We hold that, while the revelation which it contains was continuous, many parts of that revelation were delivered in a manner relative to the immediate needs of the age in which they were uttered ; and as regards the method of its deliverance, we have seen a multitude of facts, both external and internal, which lead us to believe that, except in special clearly defined instances, it was not essentially dissimilar from that by which we arrive at the apprehension of those truths which are vouchsafed to us from other sources, *i.e.*, that it was only supernatural as the deepest facts of our spiritual experience are supernatural ; and only miraculous, as any communications must be miraculous whereby the Finite is enabled to comprehend the teaching and will of the Infinite.'

He acknowledges the existence of formidable difficulties in the Gospel records, and, in many instances, candidly admits the possibility of error. 'Against *any* harmony which can be devised, some plausible objection,' he allows, 'could be urged.' Hence he lays no claim to finality for his own efforts. At the same time he aims at showing 'by the mere silent course of the narrative itself, that many of the objections' brought against it 'are by no means insuperable, and that many more are unfairly captious, or altogether fantastic.' For a delineation of the Life of Christ, from an orthodox point of view, his work is singularly free from the special pleading which has too often nullified the labours of his predecessors in the same field. It may, no doubt, be charged on this account with inconsistencies and ambiguities which a less candid pen would have avoided. But, whatever may be our differences with

\* 'Objections to Literature and Dogms.' Part I. Vide 'Contemporary Review' for October, 1874, p. 816.

Dr. Farrar as to the method he has employed, we are not disposed to quarrel with him for what we regard as its necessary results. We feel at any rate that he has no mental reservations, but that, from first to last, he gives us the honest impressions of a richly-gifted and highly-cultivated mind, fairly representing, both in its certainties and in its uncertainties, the great majority of religious, which are at the same time thinking, minds of the present day.

The volumes are prefaced by a long list of authorities, to whom reference is made in the course of them. The list is by no means complete, nor does it give any idea of the many-sided culture which, apart from the learning displayed, imparts to their contents a peculiar fascination. A writer would be ill qualified to undertake 'a task so difficult and important as that of writing the Life of Christ,' who had not made himself familiar with the voluminous criticism, foreign and domestic, of the last half-century in relation to his subject. And certainly no fault can be found with Dr. Farrar for neglect of the works even of those critics with whom he most disagrees. He has been, in fact, an omnivorous reader; and if we detect traces of hurry in his occasional misapprehension of the views of those whom he quotes, yet he must be credited with having brought together and placed within the reach of ordinary readers an amount of varied information in reference to his great theme, such as can be found in no other popular work in the language. His acquaintance with Talmudic writers, and with the Talmud itself, gives a special value to his illustrations from the rarity of this kind of study among English theologians; and no one can read the Appendices at the close of his second volume without perceiving how conscientious his labour has been. We lay stress upon this point, because the character of his style is calculated to create a wrong impression as to the solidity of his work. In his diffuseness and love of ornament he is a veritable Chrysostom. But the stream of rhetoric which leaps and glitters in his pages springs from no affectation. It flows naturally and irrepressibly from his pen. We should guess, indeed, that he had lisped the prose of Milton and Jeremy Taylor; for though his diction lacks the robustness of his favourites, it has an echo of the same sonorous music, and is evidently the result of intimate familiarity with, rather than conscious imitation of, their style. Dr. Farrar's scholarship is too highly reputed of to need our commendation. His retranslations from the Greek are, for the most part, as happy as they are accurate, though, being

more of a classical than a Hellenistic scholar, he is sometimes apt, we think, to press the distinctions of Attic style too far, or to err from insufficient induction in regard to New Testament usage. For illustration we might refer to his interpretation of *ἐταίρει, ἐφ' ὃ πάρει*; Matt. xxvi. 50 (vol. ii. 318), where he differs from Winer and the best authorities; and to his explanation of the elliptical *ἀλλ' ἵνα*, John ix. 3 (vol. ii. 83, n.), the assignation to which of a consequential force is contrary to the invariable use of the idiom by St. John. He seems to us to miss the meaning of *τὴν δωρεὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, John iv. 10 (vol. i. 209), which clearly refers to the free and universal gift of water, and supplies the clue to the words that follow: and we must take exception to his translation of *ἀγαπᾷ με*; John xxi. 15, 16 (vol. ii. 443), by '*Honourest thou Me?*' remembering the words *μαθητῆς ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἡγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς* in the 7th verse. If he is at times forgetful, in drawing out delicate shades of meaning from our Lord's words, that Greek was not the language in which He must ordinarily have expressed Himself, we think that, generally speaking, his unconventional treatment of the text of the Gospels will prove highly useful, not merely in preparing the unlearned reader for a revision of the Authorised version, but in introducing him for the first time to many unsuspected points of interest in the life and teaching of Christ.

Considerable charm accrues to the work from the author's brief experience of Oriental travel. Many of his descriptions are such as could only have been inspired by personal observation. We select at random one of many graceful passages, to the truthfulness of which we bear willing testimony. He is describing El Mejdol, the home of Mary Magdalene.

'Though the few miserable peasant-huts are squalid and ruinous, and the inhabitants are living in ignorance and degradation, the traveller will look with interest and emotion upon a site which brings back to his memory one of the most signal proofs that no one—not even the most fallen and the most despised—is regarded as an outcast by Him whose very work it was to seek and save that which was lost. Perhaps in the balmy air of Gennesareth, in the brightness of the sapphire sky above his head, in the sound of the singing-birds which fills the air, in the masses of purple blossom which at some seasons of the year festoons these huts of mud, he may see a type of the love and tenderness which is large and rich enough to encircle with the grace of fresh and heavenly beauty the ruins of a once earthly and desecrated life.'—vol. i. p. 305.

At the same time we feel that, had Dr. Farrar been able to extend his visit to the

Holy Land beyond what we may suppose to have been the limits of a school vacation, there would have been less in his pages of that exuberance which first impressions of the East are so apt to inspire in a poetic temperament. His pictures too often remind us of the brilliant combinations of colour we owe to the art of Mr. Holman Hunt than of the every-day aspect of the scenery of Palestine. Take, for instance, the following:—

'The view from this spot (the hill behind Nazareth) would in any country be regarded as extraordinarily rich and lovely; but it receives a yet more indescribable charm from our belief that here, with His feet among the mountain flowers, and the soft breeze lifting the hair from His temples, Jesus must often have watched the eagles poised in the cloudless blue, and gazed upwards as He heard the long line of pelicans, as they winged their way from the streams of the Kishon to the Lake of Galilee.'—vol. i. p. 101.

Here he allows his fancy to run riot, as is the case also when he describes the Jordan valley, as it must have appeared to the eyes or the imagination of John the Baptist. Later on (vol. i. 312), in a chapter, entitled, 'Jesus, as he walked in Galilee,' founded upon Dr. Delitzsch's tract, '*Sehet welch ein Mensch*,' he writes with stricter regard to probability:—

'He is not bareheaded, as painters usually represent Him, for to move about bareheaded in the Syrian sunlight is impossible, but a white *keffiyeh*, such as is worn to this day, covers His hair, fastened by an *aghal* or fillet round the top of the head, and falling back over the neck and shoulders.'

The typography of the book shows every mark of care; but (in vol. i. p. 71) Jeb'a, a village in the territory of Manassah, is confounded with El Jib (Gibeon), which belonged to the tribe of Benjamin; and we think that if the author had visited Baniyas, with its magnificent background of mountain spurs and ravines, he would not have thought it necessary to place the scene of the Transfiguration among the open and featureless uplands of Gebel es Sheikh.\* Certainly he would not have identified Cæsarea Philippi with Dan (Tel el Kadi), which lies some few miles to the west, or taken for granted Josephus's unintelligible story of a subterranean connection between Lake Phiala (Birket er Râm) and the fountain of the Jordan at Paneas.

\* This is the Arabic designation of the loftiest point of the Anti-Lebanon, the 'Hermon,' 'Sirion,' or 'Shenir' of Deut. iii. 8, 9. Though the mountain is 11,000 feet above the level of the sea, the summit may without difficulty be reached on horseback as early as May.]

In regard to externals, we are unwilling to dwell upon defects where there is so much that is inviting, but we observe that the typographical errors, particularly in the Greek orthography, of the first edition remain uncorrected in the tenth; and we feel that if Dr. Farrar should see fit to reduce his work to less costly dimensions for the benefit of a large class of readers who are now excluded from its use, it might with advantage be divested of many needless repetitions. We notice, moreover, several oversights in matters of fact,\* which, though they can hardly be said to affect the real value of the book, and may fairly be excused on the plea which is tendered in the Preface, point, in our opinion, to the necessity for careful revision. Perhaps, too, we may be allowed to suggest the enlargement of the Index and the addition of a few good maps.

To ourselves, we own, the most attractive feature of the book is its deep sincerity of purpose. While neither learning nor eloquence, nor descriptive genius, could compensate for the absence of this in a work that professed to interpret the earthly life of Christ, its presence in every chapter of the present work atones, in great measure, for certain grave defects which it will be our duty to point out in the course of the present review, and carries us, notwithstanding, to the last page with feelings of hearty admiration for the writer.

And first, we must express our opinion that the aspect of the theological field in England was not such as to render desirable at the present time a new attempt to combine into one the fragmentary records of the Life of lives. The image of the historical Christ belongs, it is true, to no one age in particular; and from time to time men feel the necessity of having vividly represented to them in their own stage of social and scientific progress that Realized Ideal which is the property of the whole race. But the theologian, who would build up the faith of

\* Such, for instance, are the statements as to the probable position of Judas at the Last Supper, which is differently described in two consecutive pages (vol. ii. 284-5): the contradiction which is given to Luke xix. 14, by the words, 'We are told that *once* He wept' (vol. i. 319): the misrepresentation of 1 Sam. xxi. 1-8 contained in the assertion that 'David went *with* his armed followers into the Temple' (vol. i. 437): the application of the epithets '*ascetic*' and '*impassioned*' to James and Jude the Apostles (vol. i. 368), notwithstanding the author's decision against the Hieronymian theory as to the 'Brethren of the Lord' (vol. i. 97, n.); and the allusion to 'Sidon, with its fisheries of the purple limpet' (vol. i. 476), a term which cannot, even poetically, be applied to *Murex trunculus*, or *Purpura haemastoma*.

his fellow men securely, must not hastily assume that such representations are always in season. 'The incredulous murmurs of an impatient scepticism,' to which a passing allusion is made in an eloquent passage at the close of these volumes, should be to him a perpetual reminder that the soil on which he treads is volcanic; and he will forbear to raise a stately pile upon the very ground which threatens eruption until he has ascertained the real extent of the coming danger, and determined in what direction he may build with safety to himself and others.

Within the last year we have plainly felt the shock in this country of that unsparing wave of criticism which has shaken the fabric of orthodoxy in Germany to its very foundations; and it seems highly probable that the impetus towards sceptical inquiry, which was derived by the Continent from English Deism in the early part of the last century, is about to be repaid us with interest at the close of the present. For our own part we have no fear that careful investigation of the origin and nature of the evangelic records, conducted with a view to discover truth and not to establish a preconceived theory, will result at this period of the world's history in any such novel discovery as shall discredit the supernatural claims of the Christian religion. Theologians may be forced to express themselves in less dogmatic language than heretofore; apologists may have to abandon ground it were better that they had never occupied; students of the New Testament and of ecclesiastical history may be driven to confess that problems they fancied themselves to have solved are still beyond their grasp; but until the opponents of divine revelation are able to explain to us how an age and people, of whose disingenuousness and credulity they accumulate convincing proof, came to give birth to a Teacher whom, in the same breath, they acknowledge to have 'carried morality to the sublimest point attained, or even attainable, by humanity,' they can hardly expect us to admit that they have made out a case against miracles, or demolished the only adequate explanation that has ever been offered of so unique a phenomenon.\*

\* 'The teaching of Jesus carried morality to the sublimest point attained, or even attainable, by humanity. . . . Such morality, based upon the intelligent and earnest acceptance of Divine law, and perfect recognition of the brotherhood of man, is the highest conceivable by humanity; and although its power and influence must augment with the increase of enlightenment, it is itself beyond development, consisting as it does of principles unlimited in

At the same time we deprecate the attempt to impart a suspicious unity and definiteness to narratives confessedly fragmentary and unchronological as our Gospels are, while the question is still earnestly debated by devout critics whether in the form in which they have come down to us, they are the actual compositions of those whose names they bear, and while the highest theological wisdom is still at variance with itself as to the degree in which their subjective character is to be recognised. It may, no doubt, be possible, by careful intertexture of the sacred biographies, to present such a picture of the life of Christ as shall satisfy the minds of the unlearned by its apparent consistency; but if the harmony be only attainable through the neglect of scientific method—and in the present state of our knowledge it can hardly be otherwise—the cause of faith, it appears to us, is better served by the elaboration of separate features than by abortive attempts at synthesis. Doubtless the essential unity which may be shown to pervade them is a weighty argument for the truth of details; but the evidential force of such unity is in proportion to its unconscious suggestion: whereas the visible effort to bind the facts into one is apt to increase the conviction of their inconsistency in minds that crave logical precision.

Now we trust that Dr. Farrar will bear with us when we say that his power of vivid narrative is considerably in excess of his critical acumen. We do not mean to imply that his judgment is untrustworthy when he has to deal with various readings of the Greek text, or when he has to decide between several explanations of the same historical difficulty. On the contrary, he exhibits a remarkable capacity for arranging and weighing evidence: witness his admirable note upon John viii. 1-11 (vol. ii. 61, 62), and exhaustive excursus, 'Was the Last Supper a Passover?' But with all his sagacity in discriminating between the opinions of others, we constantly find him making suggestions himself which stir more difficulties than they solve, and at times so handling the sacred narrative as to invite rather than disarm the attacks of a sceptical foe.

Take, for instance, his treatment of the

their range, and inexhaustible in their application. . . . It is too Divine in its morality to require the aid of miraculous attributes. No supernatural halo can heighten its spiritual beauty, and no mysticism deepen its holiness. In its perfect simplicity it is sublime, and in its profound wisdom it is eternal.'—*'Supernatural Religion,'* vol. ii. pp. 487-489.

Fourth Gospel. 'Writing as a believer to believers, as a Christian to Christians, surely,' pleads Dr. Farrar, 'after nearly nineteen centuries of Christianity any one may be allowed to rest a fact of the life of Jesus on the testimony of St. John without stopping to write a volume on the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel:' and if he had confined himself to the some what narrow audience whom he claims to be addressing, we should have had nothing to urge against his plea. But it is easy to perceive that while he invites the attention of those only whom he somewhat vaguely terms 'believers,' he has in his mind's eye a much wider circle. Every page in his book, and especially the valuable notes with which he has enriched it, teems with anticipations and refutations of supposed objectors. He is, in fact, too good a theologian to divest himself wholly of the critic; on the other hand he is too zealous an artist to allow the seductive flow of his narrative to be seriously interrupted by critical observations. His work in consequence exhibits the defects inseparable from a double intention. As history it cannot altogether be trusted; as criticism it is manifestly inadequate. Now the Gospel of St. John is, to say the least, dangerous ground for the writer of a popular Life of Christ. Granted that the author was St. John—and we cordially agree with Dr. Farrar in thinking that the weight of internal evidence is all but decisive in favour of the orthodox view—granted that much of the Gospel is pure narrative, still the results of criticism are not so wholly void as to allow of its indiscriminate use as a document of precisely similar character to the records of the Synoptists. Our author's chapter on Nicodemus furnishes one among many instances of the critical unsoundness into which he is too often unconsciously betrayed through what seems to us an imperfect apprehension of the conditions of his task. The third chapter of St. John's Gospel, after narrating the nightly visit of the timid Rabbi to our Lord, passes in the 18th verse into one of those didactic discourses in the style of St. John's First Epistle, which form so peculiar a feature of the Gospel. Few critics but such as maintain a more or less mechanical theory of inspiration—and of these Dr. Farrar is not one—refuse to admit here that the Evangelist is in part commenting upon and explaining the testimony which he records, and more obviously still is this the case in the expansion of the Baptist's words at the close of the chapter. But although, if the subjective element be thus admitted, the admission is a most important one as

affecting the purely historical character of the Gospel, Dr. Farrar treats the discourse as resting upon exactly the same footing as any other recorded words of Jesus, and founds upon it the following reflection, just, no doubt, in itself, and full of spiritual insight, but unsuited to the connection in which it is found:

¶ 'Doubtless in the further discussion of [these mysteries] the night deepened around them, and, in the memorable words about the light and the darkness with which the interview was closed, Jesus gently rebuked the fear of man which led this great Rabbi to seek the shelter of midnight for a deed which was not a deed of darkness, needing to be concealed, but which was indeed a coming to the true and only light.'—vol. i. p. 200.

It is of course open to Dr. Farrar to hold that St. John's Gospel was written for the purpose of supplementing or occasionally rectifying the accounts of the Synoptists, rather than of arranging certain features of the great picture according to a special point of view: but as the latter is in the main the opinion even of those critics who hold the Johannean authorship, and at least accounts for many of the most difficult phenomena of the Gospel, he is hardly free to express impatience of the scepticism which doubts its genuineness, while he almost entirely ignores that peculiar element which distinguishes this record so widely from the earlier narratives.

We find ourselves compelled to enter a still stronger protest against the use which Dr. Farrar makes of Christian legend. To a mind like his, intensely susceptible of the picturesque, the temptation to interweave with the sacred history extraneous fables which sober criticism has either set aside or not thought it worth while to refute, tends at times seriously to compromise the faithfulness of his narrative. Conspicuously is this the case in regard to the Visit of the Magi, and the Interview with the Greeks, recorded by St. John (xii. 20 ff.). True, he characterises the legends connected with the former incident as 'innocent fancies;' but when we are told in the same sentence that they are 'worthy of mention because of their *historic interest*, and their bearing on the conceptions of Christian poetry and Christian art,\* it would seem as though some importance were attributed to them over and above the influence they have exercised upon the latter, and in this case their 'innocence' becomes more than questionable in the context where they are found. A similar objection must be urged against

\* Vol. i. 36.

the introduction of the legend of Abgarus in connection with the Visit of the Greeks. We are not aware that even tradition links them together, and we suspect the author has been misled here by the fanciful ingenuity of Sepp; but to speak of an absurd fable as 'an interesting tradition, but one upon which we can unfortunately lay no stress,'\* is to suggest a possibility of its truth which is simply mischievous. The effect of such playing with legend is unconsciously illustrated by Dr. Farrar himself, when he introduces the Greek inquirers at the head of his page by the uncritical designation '*Emissaries* from the West.' There is another instance of the same want of historic perception in vol. i. p. 60, which we notice, because the writer is evidently unaware of the impression which his too unguarded use of legend is calculated to make upon the mind of the thoughtful reader. After pointing out the contrast between the style of the Apocryphal Gospels and that of the Evangelists, and condemning the former in language that needs no palinode, he quotes a story from the 'Arabic Gospel of the Infancy,' as 'at any rate harmless, and possibly resting upon some slight basis of historical fact.' The scene is so manifestly a childish reflection of the Triumphal Entry that, whether harmless or not, its quotation as possible fact must detract something from the weight of Dr. Farrar's judgment in regard to a far more important matter—the difficulties, namely, which are involved in the duplicate narratives of the Gospels. His vindication of a second cleansing of the Temple as belonging to the last days of our Lord's life, in immediate connection with His entry into Jerusalem, forms the introduction to the most original and suggestive chapter in the whole work.

Another fault to which Dr. Farrar is prone is the uncritical use of scientific or pictorial description in cases where the inadequacy of the one or the uncertainty of the other is simultaneously admitted. We can see no possible reason why he should have encumbered his text with Kepler's calculations in reference to the Star in the East, 'the applicability of which to the Gospel narratives is now generally abandoned.' A note would have sufficed, and would have obviated besides the disturbance of the religious ideas which the chapter is intended to convey. Among other instances of the same want of self-restraint are the lurid description of Herod's malady, of which we are presently told in a note that

'it is very doubtful whether there is such a disease' \* at all; and the translation of the solemn words, *ἐγένετο ὁ ἰδρώς αὐτοῦ ὥσει θρόμβοι αἵματος* into 'This passion . . . which forced from Him the rare and intense phenomenon of a blood-stained sweat,'† when the pathological explanation seems to be discountenanced in a note, and a subjective interpretation has been applied to the passage only a few lines before.

One other point we notice because of its importance with respect to many of the most difficult problems with which the writer of a Life of Christ is called upon to deal. When we are told by St. Luke that 'Jesus increased in wisdom'—an expression which, notwithstanding the very full and interesting account which Dr. Farrar gives us of Jewish education, he allows to pass without comment—it seems to us that a door is opened for humble speculation as to the meaning of this intellectual growth. If our author had ventured upon the subject, we think his treatment of some portions of the sacred history—notably of the Temptation—would have been different. But the cognate question as to whether Jesus shared the beliefs of His time, as is boldly assumed by one school of critics, or, as others hold, accommodated His teaching not unfrequently to those beliefs, is one that can hardly fail to suggest itself from time to time to the student of the Gospels. It is prominently forced upon us, for instance, in relation to the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, and the promise of our Lord to the Dying Thief. Dr. Farrar, however, dismisses the doctrine of 'accommodation' in a brief note upon demoniacal possession (vol. i. 237), with the slight remark that 'although it has received the sanction of some very eminent Fathers'—he might have added 'of many very eminent divines'—'it must be applied with the most extreme caution.' We readily accept the admonition, but when we find the author drawing a hasty inference like the following from the use of *ἑταῖρε* (comrade) instead of *φίλε* (friend) in our Lord's question to Judas, Matt. xxvi. 50, 'Never, even in the ordinary conventionalities of life, would Christ use a term that was not strictly true,' we are constrained to ask whether the statement is intended to preclude the idea that the language of our Lord's utterances was ever qualified by the defects in knowledge characteristic of His time.

Dr. Farrar's method, which seldom allows him to forsake the literal interpretation of the Gospel accounts, is necessarily least sat-

\* Vol. ii. 207.

\* Vol. i. 47.

† Vol. ii. 311.

isfactory whenever the history is couched in mysterious form. It was probably the author's own consciousness of this which determined the commencement of his narrative with the scenes of the Nativity. Although, from a theological point of view, the omission of all direct mention of the Miraculous Conception is hardly what we should have expected in the present work; its truth being unmistakeably assumed, we think that Dr. Farrar has shown his wisdom in making no attempt to impart a more definite outline to the angelic apparitions recorded in the initial chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke than is given to them by the Evangelists themselves. Perhaps it may be doubted whether he has not gone too far in asserting 'the absolute credibility of the Gospels as simple histories'\* in reference to the story of the Shepherds. The belief that the narrative of the Holy Infancy has been conveyed to us in more or less imaginative form—a belief which has been entertained by many devout critics, and which several of Dr. Farrar's own expressions tend to encourage—is a wholly different thing from its rejection as myth or legend; and we fail to see what reason can be assigned for the subjective explanation which our author unhesitatingly applies to the angelic ministrations of the Temptation and the Agony which will not equally serve to consign the angelic accessories of the Nativity to the highly-wrought imagination of its earliest witnesses. The incidents of the Holy Infancy seem to us to offer no scope for the harmonist of the Gospels. The conviction of their essential truth must result from a spiritual apprehension of those central and more tangible facts of the sacred life which presuppose an origin transcending human experience. Dr. Farrar professes to be appealing, not, like Correggio in his 'La Notte,' to our imagination, but to our historical sense: he intends that we shall be able to realise these incidents more clearly than before; and he has failed, in our judgment, not because his attempt is a feeble one, but because he has made it at all.

To judge from the tendency of thought at the present time, we should imagine that no portion of the work before us will have been scanned with greater interest than that which treats of the Miracles of Christ. In regard to these Dr. Farrar had already uttered no uncertain sound; and in the present volumes he follows in the main the line of thought adopted in his Hulsean Lectures. We could wish that he had been content with

one calm statement of his views in opposition to those of his supposed adversaries, instead of returning to the charge, and involving himself in some confusion of thought when he has to deal with the miracles of the 'Water made Wine,' and the 'Walking of Christ upon the Sea.' The language of his preface is as follows:—

'In considering the miracles of Jesus we stand in a wholly different position to the earlier disciples. To them the evidence of the miracles lent an overwhelming force to the teachings of the Lord. They were as the seal of God to the proclamation of the new kingdom. But to us, who for nineteen centuries have been children of that kingdom, such evidence is needless. To the Apostles they were the credentials of Christ's mission; to us they are but fresh revelations of His will. . . . We appeal to them not to prove the truth of Christianity, but to illustrate its dissemination. But though to us Christianity rests on the basis of a Divine approval far more convincing than the display of supernatural power . . . a belief in these miracles enables us to solve problems which would otherwise be insolvable, as well as to embrace moral conceptions which would otherwise have found no illustration. To one who rejects them—to one who believes that the loftiest morals and the divinest piety which mankind has ever seen were evoked by a religion which rested on errors or on lies—the world's history must remain, it seems to me, a hopeless enigma or a revolting fraud.'—vol. i. pref. xvi.

Later on (vol. i. 167 ff. and 331 ff.) we regret to find him adopting a controversial tone in reference to the sneer of the scientist, for his language savours of exaggeration, and fails to pierce the real armour of scientific unbelief:—

'Men in these days have presumptuously talked as though it were God's duty—the duty of Him to whom the sea and the mountains are a very little thing, and before whose eyes the starry heavens are but as one white gleam in the "intense inane"—to perform His miracles before a circle of competent savans! Conceivably it might be so had it been intended that miracles should be the sole, or even the main, credentials of Christ's authority; but to the belief of Christendom the Son of God would still be the Son of God, even if like John, He had done no miracle.'

Here is not only an *ignoratio elenchi* as regards science, but a concession on the part of theology in which, as believers in the Incarnation, we are unable to follow Dr. Farrar. Let us, however, hear him further upon the same subject:—

'If we believe that God rules, if we believe that Christ rose, if we have reason to hold among the deepest convictions of our being the certainty that God has not delegated His sove-

\* Vol. i. p. 13.

reignty or His providence to the final, unintelligent, pitiless, inevitable working of material forces . . . then we shall neither clutch at rationalistic interpretations nor be much troubled if others adopt them. He who believes, he who *knows* the efficacy of prayer in what other men may regard as the inevitable certainties or blindly directed accidents of life—he who has felt how the voice of a Saviour heard across the long generations, can calm wilder storms than ever buffeted into fury the bosom of the inland lake—he who sees in the person of his Redeemer a fact more stupendous and more majestic than all those observed sequences which men endow with an imaginary omnipotence, and worship under the name of Law—to him at least there will be neither difficulty nor hesitation in supposing that Christ . . . did utter His mandate and that the wind and the sea obeyed; that His word was indeed more potent among the cosmic forces than miles of agitated water or leagues of rushing air.\*

Dr. Farrar's object is to strengthen the faith of the doubter; but to group spiritual things with natural in the same category, as he has done in the above passage, is not the way to remove perplexity. He is well aware that to talk to one who rejects miracles on scientific grounds, of 'a preparation for belief' which every Christian derives from the experiences of his own life, and from that which he believes to be the voice of God speaking to his heart,\* is to talk a language which to him is but the jargon of prejudice. Equally futile is it, in our opinion, to continue the argument with such an one upon the ground of 'antecedent credibility.' *A priori* considerations are powerless against the evidence of Nature when she has ceased to be regarded as the exponent of a Living Will. Meanwhile the advance of scientific knowledge is widely diffusing a preparation for disbelief, which is wholly distinct from the desire to disbelieve; and we who view the Gospel miracles with Dr. Farrar as something other than 'those unsavable things' which have been recently thrown in our teeth, turned to a new interpreter of the Life of Christ, who is also a votary of Science, in expectation of finding clearer and more helpful views upon this subject, than are to be met with in the present volumes. The efforts of theology at the present day should be directed, not to vindicate the possibility of miraculous interference with the order of Nature, but to show the relation which miracles bear to a divine revelation accepted upon other grounds; and to this end the New Testament itself supplies help that has been too much neglected. St. John speaks of the 'first beginning of signs' which Jesus

did in Cana of Galilee: *σημεῖα* (signs), not *ἔργα* (works), as Dr. Farrar over-hastily asserts, is 'the favourite expression' of the theological Evangelist in special relation to miraculous acts.\* 'The Word,' he asserts, 'was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father.'† Miracles were in his view the necessary results of the Incarnation. Accordingly the first miracle of Christ is described not as 'a stupendous' work, but as the undemonstrative manifestation of a Divine Presence; and though that Presence is withdrawn from human sight, to the eye of faith its unabated energy is visible still in every physical process and every human vicissitude. If miracles be regarded in the light which St. John's Gospel throws upon them, the progress of science will be seen to confirm rather than to confound the faith of the theologian. Already it has exorcised the world of many an evil genius that had usurped the throne of the Invisible. Interpreted by the aid of patient experiment, earthquake and storm, famine and flood, even the phenomena of mental and physical disease, are found to disclose traces of harmonious arrangement, which to the eyewitnesses of the miracles of Christ were imperceptible; and when we read that Jesus stilled the waves, and multiplied the loaves, and restored their soundness to the paralytic limbs, we feel that whether the 'cosmic forces' were suspended or not, His acts did but manifest forth immediately to human sense that creative and redemptive power of which these are but the imperfectly apprehended expression. 'Miracles,' says a keen-sighted preacher of modern times, 'have only done their work when they teach us the glory and the awfulness that surround our common life. In a miracle God for one moment shows Himself, that we may remember that it is He that is at work when no miracle is seen.' And surely the thought is borne out by the frequently manifested unwillingness of the great Sign-giver that His works should be bruited abroad to vulgar misapprehension. Dr. Farrar, though somewhat hesitatingly, has suggested the same idea in a pleasing passage:—

'Why did our Lord on this (the healing of the leper) and many other occasions enjoin on the recipients of the miracles a secrecy which they so rarely observed? The full reason perhaps we shall never know, but that it had re-

\* The word *ἔργον* occurs frequently in St. John's Gospel, but is never represented in the A. V. by the English 'miracle,' whereas the word *σημεῖον* is so translated thirteen times.

† John i. 14.

\* Vol. i. 172, n.

ference to circumstances of time and place, and the mental condition of those in whose favour the deeds were wrought, is clear from the fact that on one occasion at least where the conditions were different, He even enjoined a publication of the mercy vouchsafed. Was it as St. Chrysostom conjectures, to repress a spirit of boastfulness, and teach men not to talk away the deep inward sense of God's great gifts? or was it to avoid an over-excitement and tumult in the already astonished multitudes of Galilee? or was it that He might be regarded by them in His true light—not as a mighty wonder-worker, not as a universal Hakim, but as a Saviour by revelation and by hope?—vol. i. 277.

We cannot but feel the contrast between the last sentence of this passage and some of Dr. Farrar's most graphic descriptions of the miracles of Christ, notably that of the Stilling of the Storm, in which his rhetoric is allowed to get the better of his taste, and the real meaning of the sign is unfortunately obscured by the sensational accessories which are introduced to heighten the effect of the picture.

Having overstepped the lines he laid down in his Preface, we are the less surprised to find him falling into inconsistency in his treatment of the miracles. Thus he expresses impatience with the rationalism of Olshausen, Neander (whom he unintentionally misrepresents), and Lange, in regard to the 'Water made Wine,'\* but justifies his own singular rationalism with considerable earnestness when he has to deal with that most difficult incident of miracle,—the Demonisation of the herd of swine.† We are far from denying that there is much even in regard to miracles in the course of his work with which we find ourselves in accord; but the uncertain manner in which the subject is dealt with, and the sensitiveness which our author betrays to the taunts of unbelief, coupled though it be with a delicate courtesy towards those who differ from him, leave us with the feeling that he is not the champion we should choose to defend our position as believers in the miraculous.

We pass to another main department of Dr. Farrar's work—the Teaching of Christ. And here we find ourselves for the most part so thoroughly at one with the writer, so often struck by the original lights he throws upon well-known passages, so frequently indebted to him for the illustrations which always seem to lie ready burnished for use in the rich storehouse of his memory, that we are tempted to wish that instead of writing 'The Life of Christ,' for which on

many grounds we find it difficult to render him even the thanks which are his due, he had confined himself to giving us a series of chapters upon the aspects of that life in its bearing upon human necessities and human conduct. It is a commonplace that writers who possess a combination of brilliant qualities are by no means the best judges of what constitutes their chief strength; and from the naive indications of a more than ordinarily sensitive temperament, which we find in these volumes, we fear that Dr. Farrar may feel aggrieved that we have been unable to assign them a higher critical value. But he will hardly find fault with us for saying that as a popular teacher we hardly know his equal; and that to have gained by five years of self-denying labour the intelligent ear of thousands for the living words which echo as a dead language from too many pulpits, is an achievement that may well satisfy the most exacting ambition. For the few who may condemn the work for its inadequate recognition of the results of criticism, for its too systematic attempt to realise the divine under human conditions, or for its obvious defects of style, there are numbers—and those by no means the uneducated of society—whose minds are not even abreast with those conclusions which are no longer in dispute between the advanced guards of either camp in theology, who seldom realize at all the gracious presence of Jesus in its natural setting of time and place, and whose senses, though indifferent to what has been called 'the incomparable chiaroscuro' of the original portraiture, are yet susceptible to the more vivid colours of modern painting; and among such we prophesy for Dr. Farrar's work not merely an enduring popularity, but an elevating influence, both moral and intellectual, for which he need fear nothing from the gibe of caricature or the sneer of a self-satisfied criticism.

There is no point upon which Dr. Farrar insists more emphatically, or supports his opinion with a greater weight of learning, than that which has perhaps derived a factitious importance from the interest with which it was incidentally invested in our own pages by the genius of the late Emmanuel Deutsch, namely, the originality of Jesus as a teacher. M. Renan's loose remark to the effect that Hillel, fifty years before Him, had given utterance to aphorisms very analogous to his own—the next step to which is to claim for the chief light of Rabbinism, in some not over-clearly defined sense, the moral parentage of Jesus\*—needs but to be confronted, as Dr. Farrar has confronted

\* Vol. i. 168.

† Vol. i. 338 ff.

\* 'Vie de Jésus,' p. 88.

it in his useful and able excursus, 'Jesus and Hillel,' with the real sayings of the latter, to prove its utter baselessness. But the general result upon our own mind of the Talmudic lore with which Dr. Farrar's 'Life of Christ' is interpenetrated has been considerably to strengthen our conviction of the immeasurable superiority of Jesus to His age. The importance of this testimony can hardly be overrated at a time when the sharp criticism to which the form of the Gospel narratives has been subjected may cause doubt in many unstable minds as to the divinity of their substance. The passage in which our author concludes an able summary of the Sermon on the Mount, by contrasting the teaching of the Jewish Schools with that of the Divine Master, is one of the most forcible in the whole work.

'The teaching of their scribes was narrow, dogmatic, material. It was cold in manner, frivolous in matter, second-hand, and iterative in its very essence; with no freshness in it, no force, no fire; servile to all authority, opposed to all independence; at once reconciliant and foolish; at once contemptuous and mean; never passing a hair's breadth beyond the carefully watched boundary line of commentary and precedent; full of balanced inference and orthodox hesitancy and impossible literalism; intricate with legal pettiness and labyrinthine system; elevating mere memory above genius and repetition above originality.'—vol. i. 266.

Lest the picture should seem overdrawn, Dr. Farrar suggests a fair and simple test by which the ordinary reader may, if he please, form his own judgment upon the subject. We have applied the test; we have waded through several *Perakim* of the French *Berachôth*, and thus far emphatically add our testimony to the truth of the above passage. What might have been accomplished by the magic wand which now, alas! lies buried with its owner in the cemetery of Alexandria, it is not for us to surmise; but it is our belief that poetry has done all that it could to invest the Talmud with a living value, and that research can do no more.

And now for the contrast :—

'This teaching of Jesus was wholly different in its character, and as much grander as the temple of the blue heaven under which it was uttered was grander than stifling synagogue or crowded school. It was preached as each occasion rose, on the hill side, or by the lake, or on the roads, or in the house of the Pharisee, or at the banquet of the Publican; nor was it any sweeter or loftier when it was addressed in the royal portico to the Masters of Israel, than when its only hearers were the ignorant people whom the haughty Pharisees

held to be accursed. And there was no reserve in its administration. It flowed forth as sweetly and as lavishly to single listeners as to enraptured crowds; and some of its very richest revelations were vouchsafed neither to rulers nor to multitudes, but to the persecuted outcast of the Jewish synagogue, to the timid inquirer in the lonely midnight, and the frail woman by the noonday well. And it dealt not with scrupulous tithes and ceremonial cleansings, but with the human soul, and human duties and human life—with hope, and charity, and faith. There were no definitions in it, or explanations, or 'scholastic systems,' or philosophic theorising, or implicated mazes of difficult and dubious discussion, but a swift intuitive insight into the very depths of the human heart—even a supreme and daring paradox that, without being fenced round with exceptions or limitations, appealed to the conscience with its irresistible simplicity, and with an absolute mastery stirred and dominated over the heart. Springing from the depths of holy emotions, it thrilled the being of every listener as with an electric flame. In a word, its authority was the authority of the Divine Incarnate; it was a voice of God speaking in the utterance of man; its austere purity was yet pervaded with tenderest sympathy, and its awful severity with unutterable love. It is, to borrow the image of the wisest of the Latin fathers, a great sea whose smiling surface breaks into refreshing ripples at the feet of our little ones, but into whose unfathomable depths the wisest may gaze with the shudder of amazement and the thrill of love.'—vol. i. 268.

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to do justice to what we feel to be the most valuable element of Dr. Farrar's work—the art, namely, with which he places us in the presence of the Great Teacher, and enables us not merely to follow the trains of His thought, but often to detect their subtle source, or trace them in their secret working upon the minds of friendly or hostile listeners. The chapter entitled 'Teachings of the Journey' (vol. ii. chap. xlv.) will give perhaps a better idea than any other of his expository power; nor would we exclude from our commendation the fine rhetorical close of the chapter, which is both in keeping with the subject—the eschatological discourse of Matt. xxiv., Mark xiv., Luke xvii.—and in our author's most impressive manner.

From what has been already said, it will be seen that we are not of the number of those who were disposed to regard a new Life of Christ as a *desideratum* in our theological literature. The very fact that the present volumes have 'not been written with any direct and special reference to the attacks of sceptical criticism' must preclude the author from claiming for them the sort

of value which attaches to more or less similar works, such, for instance, as those of Milman, Neander, and M. de Pressensé, while at the same time it prepares the reader to discover in them an absence of that special motive which gives to each of these constructive efforts a more than ordinary interest. Dean Milman was writing the volume with which his 'History of Christianity' commences at a time when the faith of Germany was staggering under the rationalism of Paulus and his school. Before its publication Strauss had applied a more formidable solvent to the framework of Christianity in the mythical theory of his 'Leben Jesu.' And this, a few years later,\* called forth the counterwork of Neander. In more recent times an effort has been made to dissolve the Gospel history by the aid, not of philosophic theory, but of romantic hypothesis; and to the captivating brilliancy of M. Renan's 'Vie de Jésus' M. de Pressensé has replied with all the eloquence of French Protestantism. Widely different in character as these three biographies are, it is not difficult to trace in each the influence of a religious crisis. Thus the work of the English historian exhibits the calm readjustment of faith and reason in a mind that was singularly in advance of its generation. That of the German divine is throughout introspective—a cry wrung from the depths of Christian consciousness by the sacrilegious encroachments of intellectual arrogance. The volume of the French writer is the protest of an enthusiastic but intelligent faith against the suggestions of a refined but shallow sentimentality. It is hardly to be regretted that Dr. Farrar's labours were prompted by no such direct incentive as that which produced either of the works to which we have alluded. He draws unmistakeable inspiration from the fervour of his own belief, from the wide field of his knowledge, from the memory of the scenes he has visited to such good purpose, but he never quite allows us to forget that he is writing, not in fulfilment of a mission, but of a commission. When we have read his own account of the object for which his task was undertaken, we are prepared to find that whatever there is of plan will be subordinate to the details. And such is the case. His 'Life of Christ' is a series of pictures elaborated with conscientious attention to every minute particular, and presenting effects of colour that are generally striking, and often gorgeous; the connection of which, however, depends rather upon the fact that each represents

the same central figure under different circumstances, than that all contribute to the ultimate interpretation of it. The pages of the work are a valuable repertory of all that is known, and of many things that were new, at least to us, in regard to the 'human surroundings' of Him who is the subject of them. They supply a useful commentary upon individual incidents of His life and detached portions of His teaching; but they seldom raise us to a higher sense of what He was in idea, or help us to fathom the depths of that mysterious Sonship which He came to reveal. They are full, in short, of eloquent preaching, but we miss in them the voice of the prophet.

To illustrate the view we have expressed, we will refer as briefly as possible in the space that remains to us to Dr. Farrar's treatment of those most significant crises in our Lord's history: the Temptation, the Transfiguration, and the Passion.

The chapter in which the Temptation is dealt with is full of varied interest. Striking lights are thrown from all sides upon the well-known details of the narrative. History, poetry, and mythology are each in turn laid under contribution. Writers are quoted as widely apart as Tacitus and Bunyan, Shakespeare and Bishop Andrewes. The text is interspersed with animating thoughts and weighty practical lessons. The notes teem with the fruits of study. And yet there is an absence of grasp in the handling of the subject, a want of insight into its real meaning, which disappoints us the more we are dazzled by the beauty of the language. Whatever view he entertained of the nature of that moral struggle which intervened between the baptism of Christ and His first public ministry—and we are surprised that Dr. Farrar should regard the question of its objective or subjective reality as 'a mere matter of exegesis'—it is obvious that throughout our Lord's career there must have been present to His mind that same consciousness of power to divest Himself of the limitations of humanity which on more than one occasion, towards the close, found utterance in words. The question then arises as to the period in His human development at which we may conceive the free and conscious decision to have been made, of which His self-abnegating ministry was the outcome. And in the story of the Temptation—presenting as it does so consummate an analysis of the motives which determine the creative will, so perfect a clue to the sacrifice of His own will by the representative Son of Man—we cannot doubt that we possess, adapted to the limited understanding of His followers

\* In 1837.

by the lips of the Truth itself, an account of that inward struggle with the spirit of the world through which he must have passed from the passive consciousness of Messiahship to the fulfilment of His redemptive mission. The sojourn in the wilderness marks, in our view, the historical commencement of that series of conflicts in which the Son of Man is subsequently found opposed to the 'Prince of this world.' We need conceive of no greater interval between the moments of temptation and the moments of self-conquest than we find between the '*If it be possible,*' and the '*Nevertheless,*' of the last Agony; but it is clear to our mind that the recital is meant to disclose, in concrete form, the principles which underlie the succeeding history. The determination once made by Jesus to throw in His lot with the weakness and wants of human flesh is the necessary prelude to His life of poverty and privation. The resolution once taken neither to court danger in reliance upon superhuman power, nor to free Himself from it by its casual exercise, is the key to many a passage in the sequel, as, for instance, Matt. xxiii. 16, where St. Peter's remonstrance, 'Ἰλεῶς σοι Κύριε' οὐ μὴ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο, is treated as a suggestion of the same spirit which had been silenced for the first time in the wilderness. And lastly, the rejection of a false Messiahship in accordance with the hopes, and based upon obedience to the worldly spirit of Judaism, in favour of an inward kingdom to be developed gradually out of apparent failure by the power of the Divine Spirit, admits us to the secret of the entire afterplan—from the refusal to satisfy the craving for signs, to the Cross itself, which was the final answer to the Tempter. In treating this great subject, Dr. Farrar makes a passing allusion to the wide diversity of views entertained by its numerous expositors; but he does not make it clear in what light he regards the narrative himself, whether as history, or as parable, or as the objective presentment of an inward struggle. We are not sure, indeed, whether he recognises any distinction between the two last, seeing that he attributes to Olshausen, Neander, and Ullmann,\* an extreme view which is disclaimed by each of these eminent divines. The ambiguity in which we are left as to the author's own opinion is a misfortune inseparable, perhaps, from the

too literal treatment of a history which belongs in so great a degree to the sphere of the ideal. But it is necessary to point out that the result of such literal treatment in the present instance has been to reduce the Temptation of our Lord to a single incident in a series, mainly important in its infinite practical bearings upon human life, instead of to represent it as an introductory preface to that series, by means of which a glimpse is afforded us into the inner workings of divine self-sacrifice.

The same inadequacy of treatment is noticeable in Dr. Farrar's account of the Transfiguration. Here, again, we are left in doubt as to whether he conceives himself to be describing objective fact or subjective vision. It may very well be that the ambiguity arises from the uncertainty of his own mind upon the subject, but at any rate we should have expected a more decisive effort to penetrate to the permanent idea which the narrative enshrines. As it is, at the very climax of the 'splendid vision' we are put off with a fine burst of rhetoric from Ruskin's 'Modern Painters,' and the least important part of a note from Alford's 'Greek Testament,'\* which barely satisfy the mind that yearns to get beneath the surface. Like the three witnesses, whose astonishment Dr. Farrar paints so graphically, we 'awake from the shock,' and 'gaze suddenly all around' us; but 'all is over. The bright cloud has vanished. The lightning-like gleams of shining countenances and dazzling robes have passed away.' We are 'alone with Jesus, and only the stars rain their quiet lustre on the mountain slopes.' But is this all?—all that eighteen centuries of thought have been able to discover in this ecstasy of Christ with the shadows of death compassing Him round? We believe that Dr. Farrar would have found help to unlock the mystery in words he quotes elsewhere: 'God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets,' speaks here, amidst the solitudes of Lebanon, as once before He had spoken at the waters of Jordan, 'by a Son'†—His well-beloved, the image of perfect life in union with Himself. The revelation was sealed to the eyes of the three chosen instruments who witnessed its outward splendour; but we, the recipients of their testimony, have the light of all religious history by which to interpret it: and for us it is no 'splendid vision' merely, but a living idea; for in the person of Jesus, as 'He talked of His decease which He should accomplish at Jerusalem,' humanity itself is

\* Vol. i. p. 123, n.: but cf. Olshausen, 'Bibl. Comment.' vol. i. p. 169 (Clark's For. Theol. Lib.); Neander, 'Life of Jesus,' Part II. ch. i. (Bohn's Transl.); Ullmann, 'Sinlessness of Jesus,' Supplement II., ch. ii. (Clark's For. Theol. Lib.).

\* Vol. ii. 27.

† Heb. i. 1.

seen transfigured with the glory of self-devotion.

When we arrive at the last great crisis of the Sacred Life, in dealing with which Dr. Farrar's peculiar genius is more strikingly displayed than in any other portion of his work, we become still more conscious of the want of an interpreting idea. As each scene of the awful drama is unfolded before us with a realism that constantly reminds us of Ober-Ammergau, the mind is swayed by successive impulses of admiration, pity, and horror, but fails through the external representation to obtain real insight into the meaning of the great sacrifice. Dogmatical definition is not what we desiderate: our author steers happily clear of the doctrinal rocks which lie in his path, and no doubt the general acceptability of his work is due in large measure to his careful avoidance of the shibboleths of party. But what we miss, or rather what we feel to be obscured by the intensity of light he throws upon the human form of the Sufferer, is the grandeur of that divine idea which transfigures the Cross, and, through it, the whole sphere of moral and religious conflict. It is in the passion of the Son of Man that the revelation of the Son of God is consummated. From the first prayer of filial obedience in Gethsemane to the last utterance of filial trust upon the cross, this thought is never absent from the evangelic narratives. It is this which pervades the teaching of St. Paul, and that of the Epistle to the Hebrews,\* opening up the mystery of atonement for sin, and supplying the criterion by which all doctrines, whether of sacrifice, satisfaction, or substitution, must ultimately be tested. View the Cross from what point we may, the expression of the individual faith merges in the universal conviction *ἀλλθως υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἦν οὗτος*:† for it is through participation in this ideal Sonship, interpret it how we will, that obedience unto death has become possible to sinful man. But the thought is not grasped in Dr. Farrar's powerful pages. Its introduction from time to time adds a touching grace to the words of the Divine Sufferer: it is not made, as we could wish that it had been, an index to the meaning of His passion. Take, for instance, the following words, true as far as they go, but insufficient as an interpretation of the great *Consummatum est* of the Ideal Life.

'In the words of the sweet Psalmist of Israel, but adding to them that title of trustful love which, through Him, is permitted to all

mankind, "Father," he said, "into Thy hands I commend my spirit." Then, with one more great effort, He uttered the last cry—the one victorious word—"*τετέλεσται*," "It is finished." It may be that that great cry ruptured some of the vessels of His heart; for no sooner had it been uttered than He bowed His head upon His breast, and yielded His life, a "ransom for many"—a willing sacrifice to His Heavenly Father. "Finished was His holy life; with His life His struggle; with His struggle His work; with His work His redemption; with the redemption the foundation of the new world."—vol. ii. p. 418.

Lange, who is here quoted, with a truer insight into the spiritual significance of the words, represents our Lord's cry, '*It is finished*,' as preceding the commendation of His Spirit to the Father. We cannot surrender the thought which is suggested by this order. He who from His earliest years had been occupied *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς*\*—whose life-long sustenance had been *ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με καὶ τελειώσω αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον*,† claims the Father's recognition now that His work is done; and in this claim is rooted the confidence of Faith, that to him who can even stammer the divine *τετέλεσται*, death, even under circumstances of extreme horror, is but the surrender of life into the hands of a loving Father.

Dr. Farrar dwells with much eloquence here, as in his Hulsean Lectures, upon the historical effects of the work of Christ; where we think he fails, is in drawing out the leading idea which gives to that work its unity, and its power over the hearts of men. We close his narrative of the Passion with a far clearer apprehension than before of the hideous tragedy which was enacted in Judea eighteen centuries ago, but the effect of this upon the mind is the reverse of that which he intended. His vivid delineation of the physical suffering tends to remove the Cross to a distance from our own experience. So much we have felt it necessary to say in detraction from the merits of a really noble composition: and in justice to the author we must now point out how very ably he has treated the last scenes of the life of Jesus historically. Allowing for the faults of a style, which here as elsewhere we could wish less ornate and less vehement, we do not believe that there is anywhere to be found a more lucid and reasonable exposition of that most intricate subject, the trial and condemnation of Christ, than is contained in these pages. Here where the Sacred Life is brought into immediate contact with profane history, and its incidents are

\* Compare Col. i. 12-20 with Heb. v. 8 ff.

† Matt. xxvii. 54.

\* Luke ii. 49.

† John iv. 34.

recorded with increased minuteness of detail, the harmonist of the Gospels treads on surer ground; and when Dr. Farrar tells us that, 'after repeated study, he declares, quite fearlessly, that though the slight variations are numerous—though the lesser particulars cannot in every instance be rigidly and minutely accurate—though no one of the narratives taken singly would give us an adequate impression—yet so far from there being in this part of the Gospel story any irremediable contradiction, it is perfectly possible to discover how one Evangelist supplements the details furnished by another, and perfectly possible to understand the true sequence of the incidents; \* we follow him with less of critical jealousy than before, and we are certainly not disappointed in the result of his investigation. For his able treatment of the whole subject we refer the reader to the work itself; a few points however deserve special notice. Dr. Farrar is particularly suggestive in respect to the relation of the family of Hanan, and of the Sadducees generally, to the conspiracy against Jesus.† He traces the almost unaccountable fury of the Chief Priests under this 'alien and intriguing hierarch' to our Lord's words and acts concerning that House of God which they regarded as their exclusive domain, and above all, to His 'second cleansing of the Temple.' It was these leaders of the Sanhedrin who had founded the Chanujôth, or shops for the sale of sacrificial victims upon Olivet; and there can be little doubt that it was the profitableness of the trade which had caused its extension to the Temple courts. Hence their extreme animosity is traced to revenge for the interference of Jesus with their sacrilegious gains; and it must be owned that the suggestion derives incidental confirmation from the singular withdrawal of the Pharisaic, or ritualistic party, who must in their hearts have approved our Lord's zeal for the sanctity of the Temple, from all active co-operation in the steps which accompanied his actual condemnation and execution.‡ The theory is worked out with much ingenuity; and it is interesting to find that our author's Talmudic studies should have led him independently to a conclusion, for which the minds of many of his readers will have been prepared, by the dramatic use made of the cleansing of the Temple in the Bavarian Passion Play of 1871. Dr. Farrar's treatment of the 'sixfold trial' which results in his view from a harmony of the Gospel accounts, is full of subtle insight into

the probable motives of the chief actors in the iniquity. We may specially refer to his portrayal of the character of Pilate, though we think he goes too far in attributing the exclamation, '*Behold your King!*' to 'a genuine flash of conviction.' We must also acknowledge the power with which he paints the Crucifixion, though the knowledge and the love of art which he displays in these volumes might, we think, have suggested more reticence in the description of it. The disuse of ages has consigned the horrors of the cross to oblivion; and nothing is gained by disturbing that ideal sanctity with which the progressive reverence of mankind has invested the remembrance of them. Much that he tells us in relation to the last scenes of the Saviour's life we could have wished had been left in the learned articles contributed by him, some years ago, to Dr. Smith's '*Dictionary of the Bible.*' The life and movement of the scene are capable of being represented—witness Tintoretto's '*Crucifixion*'—apart from the naked presentment of its brutalities; and the admission of the latter into the pages of a *Life of Christ* is no less foreign to the true taste of realistic conception, than their reproduction upon the painter's canvas.

We must express our regret, too, that Dr. Farrar should have given any countenance to that invention of degraded art which has found its ultimate expression in the '*Stations of the Cross.*' The Evangelists preserve a remarkable silence as to the cause which led to the compulsion of Simon the Cyrenian; and, to add to the dignified statement of St. John, *καὶ βαστάζων αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐξῆλθεν*,\* a supplement of 'tottering footsteps, if not actual falls,' is not only to encourage belief in a tradition for which there is no foundation, but to sacrifice the ideal aspect of the narrative through which 'the bearing of the Cross' has become 'one of the most solemn, and, for daily example, the most necessary of types.† In the absence of any explanation, we cling to what seems to us the truer sentiment, namely, that Jesus never quitted His hold of the cross. The stricter interpretation of St. John's words points to this: St. Luke's expression, *ἐπέθηκαν αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν φέρειν ὀπισθεν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, is perfectly consistent with the idea, and the use of *ἀνω* (lift) by St. Matthew and St. Mark, instead of St. John's word *βαστάζω* (carry), to describe the assistance rendered by Simon, would seem, if anything, to favour it.

\* Vol. ii. 328.

† Ch. lviii.

‡ Vol. ii. 332.

\* John xix. 17; Luke xxiii. 26.

† Mrs. Jameson, '*History of Our Lord in Art.*' Vol. ii. 115.

In the final chapter of Dr. Farrar's work, there are evident traces of the pressure under which it was completed. How, indeed, amidst the arduous duties of a headmaster's life, time was found to write such a book at all, may well excite astonishment; but after studying his elaborate chapters upon the Passion we cannot but be sensible of an anticlimax in his treatment of the Resurrection. We are not clear as to the sense he intends us to put upon the sentence of Tertullian with which he heads the chapter; but it does not seem to us that the writer of a new Life of Christ can afford to dismiss in 'a few words,' a subject upon which the faith of those for whom he writes has of late been so rudely assailed. It may be that 'the *lacunæ*, the compressions, the variations, the actual differences, the subjectivity of the narrators as affected by spiritual revelations, render all harmonies at the best uncertain;\*' but this, though a good reason for not attempting a harmony, makes it all the more important for the orthodox writer to explain as distinctly as lies in his power, why he accepts the Resurrection as a fact notwithstanding, and what he conceives to be the value of the post-resurrection narratives as evidence of its truth. It must necessarily be that one whose object it has been all along to give objective reality to our conceptions of the Lord's life on earth should find the ground suddenly fail him here. Beside the open grave he is met by a '*Noli me tangere*,' which should direct his investigation to a higher unity than is perceptible by sense. The phenomena presented by the Gospels are not 'exactly such as we should expect,' nor is their peculiar character to be accounted for by the uncertainties of 'oral tradition,' or the laxity of the period at which they were written in regard to 'minute circumstantial accuracy.' Such explanations are but futile attempts after all to recall within the grasp of history a revelation which has been conveyed through history, but which transcends it, and nowhere more evidently so than in its commencement and its close. We could wish, then, that Dr. Farrar had set himself to trace something of that higher harmony which binds these 'broken lights' of the Resurrection together, and forces upon the spiritual mind a conviction of their truth, stronger than any suspicion of falsity which may be suggested by their external incoherence. As it is, he has placed them side by side like the fragments of some beautiful mosaic of which the original design is lost, instead of leaving upon the minds of his readers that final im-

pression of their unity which springs from contemplating them—to borrow the words of one of his favourite authorities—'as distinct images of the signs and results of Christ's victory,' as 'lessons of divine truth embodied in representative facts.'\*

We have said enough—perhaps more than enough—to indicate what we feel to be the gravest defect of the work before us. Had Dr. Farrar not been writing 'as a believer to believers,' he might have claimed exemption from all obligation to deal with the history in its theological aspects; but his attempt to represent the Life of Christ in its 'human surroundings,' apart from those ideas which are the basis of its unity, seems to us a mistaken effort. The Jesus of Dr. Farrar's life is He who played, a sinless child, among the flowers of Nazareth; the saintly teacher whom Galilean fishermen adored in the simplicity of their ignorant literalism; the holy martyr in whom his Roman executioner recognised a veritable Son of God; it is seldom He in whom humanity beholds itself ideally portrayed. The subject of his narrative moves before us like one of ourselves; save that at times He is withdrawn into a region of mystery, or works wonders that are beyond our faculties to explain. It is a beautiful and a striking picture—the picture, notwithstanding Dr. Farrar's efforts to the contrary, of a superhuman man, painted, so far as was possible, in the colours of our own and of past experience. But the Christ of the Gospels is no superhuman man. Through these fragmentary media we catch glimpses of a Divine radiance that is obscured in the endeavour to piece them together. 'I write the Life of Christ?—I?' said Lavater, 'Never; the Evangelists have written it as it can and ought to be written.' And his instinct was true. The Life that is itself the keystone in the arch of history, binding two worlds together, the present and the past, has nothing to gain by reconstruction. To enable mankind to realise its meaning, this is a legitimate, nay, the highest aim of the individual, be he critic, artist, antiquarian, or theologian: but to recast the Life itself—to translate the inspired poetry of its origin into the prose of common day, to represent its ideal progression in the chronological sequence of history, to bring the divine mystery of its close within the grasp of finite sense—this is to attempt the impossible, and in so far as he has made the attempt Dr. Farrar has failed.

But not 'finally' or 'wholly.' Often as we proceeded in our study of his pages we were reminded of that crumbling wall in the

\* Vol. ii. 432, n.

\* Westcott, 'Introduction to the Study of the Gospels,' ch. vi. p. 807.

refectory of Sta. Maria delle Grazie at Milan, on which may still be traced, in spite of the ravages of time, in spite of misguided restoration, and even wanton violence, the incomparable shadow of Da Vinci's Christ. To some minds the ruin of the *Cena* speaks with more power than the most exquisite engraving, or the best authenticated copy. The outline may be marred, and the colours blurred, but the skilled eye interprets for itself each attitude of the surrounding group more effectually through the expression of that spectral form than by the help of modern reproduction. Not so the generality. Baffled and disappointed by the dimness of the original, we turn, most of us, with gratitude to the easel of the copyist; and though the figures on his canvas be slightly sensational, and the colours somewhat garish, if he have treated his theme with reverent care and an enthusiastic love, we return to the masterpiece with clearer notions of what to seek for, and minds better prepared to feel the inspired beauty of the painter's conception. And such as this, if we are right in our interpretation of his Preface, has been our author's highest aim. 'To fill the minds of those who read his pages with solemn and not ignoble thoughts, "to add sunlight to daylight by making the happy happier," to encourage the toiler, to console the sorrowful, to point the weak to the one true source of moral strength' \*—these are the high ends to which he desires that his work may be blest, and we may safely promise him that he will not be disappointed.

ART. VI.—*Reports of the Royal Commission on Friendly and Benefit Building Societies, 1872-4.*

SOME years ago practical men in most parts of England began to be shocked at the terrible sufferings inflicted on their poorer neighbours by the failure of the Friendly Societies on which they had relied. But public opinion was hardly at first aroused. It was not until Mr. Tidd Pratt, the late Registrar of Friendly Societies, made the famous statement in one of his Reports, that out of some 23,000 such societies in England and Wales he could not satisfy himself of the solvency of twenty, that the necessity for inquiry became apparent. And yet he was speaking only of societies certified by the Registrar, probably outnumbered by

those which are unrecognised by the law, and almost all based on unsound principles. This statement, and the general feeling of insecurity produced by it, backed by the energetic advocacy of a few individuals, procured the appointment of the Royal Commission, whose labours have just terminated. Their inquiry has been as searching as the nature of their authority admitted (a Bill to confer on them extended powers having failed in the House of Commons), and we welcome these Reports, with their bulky appendices,\* as the best attainable information on a somewhat abstruse subject.

It has been roughly estimated that the Benefit Societies spread through England and Wales now number no less than 32,000, and include four million members, who, with their families, represent eight millions of the population. They are most varied in their character, and distributed in a most perplexing manner. Why, for instance, should Burial Societies thrive especially in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Kent; and Deposit Societies in Hampshire and Surrey? For an exhaustive description of the seventeen various classes of societies, we refer our readers to the very interesting pages of the Fourth Report of the Commissioners, contenting ourselves with a short account of the more important classes only.

The objects aimed at by a working-man in joining these societies are principally an allowance during sickness and 'burial money' to clear off standing scores, pay funeral expenses, and assist a widow and children through the first days of bereavement. In order to attain these objects it is necessary that men should combine together in sufficient numbers to secure the average results, and that the affairs of the societies should be strictly administered according to a sound system of rules. The earliest attempts at such combinations, the local village clubs, failed in all these requirements. As we pointed out on the last occasion of calling attention to the subject, they attempted to combine conviviality with business to an excessive degree. They not only relied upon eating and drinking, and upon the annual feast as their grand advertisement (as, indeed, it was), but they were constantly promoted by rival publicans to attract custom to their houses. Founded originally with insufficient rates, they struggled on until their members grew old, or until the rivalry of newly-started clubs attracted the younger men, and compelled the older clubs to enter

\* The Reports and Evidence are contained in no less than ten volumes. The Commissioners themselves asked 29,000 questions, besides those asked by the four Assistant Commissioners.

into competition for new members, and by lowering their rates or increasing their benefits to keep themselves alive for a few years longer. Then at length came the crash; the younger men joined new clubs, but the older were left to rely upon their virtual superannuation fund, the Poor Rate, which it had been from the first their principal object to avoid.

The number of clubs found competing against each other in a single village is very remarkable. At Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire, there are,

'besides two lodges of the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows, lodges of Shepherds and Shepherdesses of the Wisbeach Unity, a branch of the Cambridge Town and County Club, promoted by the clergyman, a club at the British school, composed of old men attempting by the help and advice of an active resident medical gentleman to carry on an old club recently broken up, a gathering of Ancient Patriarchs, with agent, belonging to the London society of that name, and two ordinary public house clubs; nine in all. Only one of them had more than 100 members.'—*Sir G. Young's Report*, p. 17.

The average was under 56.

In many other villages, he says,—

'I found three, four, or five clubs; the rivalry of the beershops being the originating cause, far more than any jealousies among the men themselves.'

The effect is this: Club A admits members up to the age of 35; in order to counteract that, Club B fixes the age of 40. Club A has to answer that, and thereupon offers full sickness pay for 26 weeks instead of 20. Club B is determined not to be behindhand, and it gives 6*l.* for funeral money instead of 5*l.*, and pays the expenses of the anniversary dinner out of the box. So that a competition is kept up which must inevitably end in the breaking up of both societies. The general impression appears to be, that there is always room for another club, where the population is large enough to supply a good number of lads to reach the age of admission every year. Many of these village clubs are therefore so small, that their failure is inevitable. In the Poor Law Union of Banbury, no less than 25 clubs out of the 54 had less than 40 members.\*

\* The societies in this union afford a very good picture of the condition of many country districts. Out of a population of 31,208, no less than 10,384 belong to Friendly Societies. There are five branches of the great orders (averaging 75 members and 5*l.* per member), and 49 other clubs (averaging 51 members and 3*l.* per member); 19 are unregistered. The funds per member are much swollen from the largest club, of 140 members, having nearly 12*l.* per member. 'One thing that has caused a deal of dissatisfac-

Even in the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows no less than 311 branches, and in the order of Foresters 520 branches, had less than 30 members each in 1870.

The tendency of many of these village clubs is to depend a great deal too much upon honorary subscriptions. They have, perhaps, been originally started by an energetic clergyman, who has persuaded a few neighbouring squires and farmers to give a handsome contribution. As years go on, and they die off, their successors cease to feel an interest in the club, or (seeing that it is badly managed) withdraw their assistance. The club struggles on for a year, and then breaks up.\* Nothing is more clear than that a local club ought to be self-supporting as regards all the benefits which it promises, and to rely upon the subscriptions of honorary members only for diminishing the necessary levy for management, or for increasing the attractions of the annual feast.

In many districts the old 'sharing-out clubs' have nearly died out; in all (except, perhaps, West Lancashire) they have greatly diminished in number. Our readers need scarcely be told that the principle of these societies is to divide the funds among the members every year, or after a fixed number of years, and to make a fresh start. Sometimes each member leaves a certain sum in the box. Of course, when a man gets old, or by constant sickness causes an excessive drain upon the funds, he is quietly dropped out of the club at the division. 'In all these clubs the old men invariably leave and look to the parish.' The Rev. J. Y. Stratton, of Ditton, whose great experience has enabled him to supply most valuable information upon this subject, remarks of these, that they impede the work of an ordinary Friendly Society, lead to direct evil, and pauperise the population (Q. 8539, &c.). Sir George Young calls their decline one of the most satisfactory circumstances observable in the recent history of Friendly Societies, and he attributes it to

tion in this neighbourhood is that when Mr. Tidd Pratt enrolled the rules, he erased the rule providing for an annual dinner. When the payment for the dinner ceased to be compulsory, many members ceased to attend; thus their interest in the club went out, and the societies have in many cases broken up.'

\* In Dudley there are registered 12 societies, popularly known as the Tory Clubs. They were started after the Reform Bill of 1832, and were largely supported by the aristocracy of the town. 'But as the subscriptions of the honorary members fell off, so did the zeal of the other members grow cold; and whereas there used to be a dozen, with some 60 or 70 members each, now there are only four left.'—*Mr. Stanley's Report*, p. 190.

the state of the law, which forbids such societies to be registered. We are at a loss to imagine why, in the face of such evidence, the Royal Commission recommends that these societies should in future be recognised by the law.

The fact is, that a sound club in a small village, standing by itself, is almost an impossibility. The only way to obtain financial security, especially in the case of payment for old age and at death, is to be found in an extension of area; and two agencies, with this object in view, have of late years been at work in the country.

The first is that of the Patronised Societies. The numerous failures which have taken place throughout the country, and the widespread distress which they have occasioned, induced many of the landowners and clergy to establish what are known as the 'County Friendly Societies.' The most successful of these are

	Number of Members.	Funds.
		£
The Essex Provident . . .	9315	76,000
The Wiltshire Friendly . .	7130	31,500
The Hampshire Friendly . .	6322	46,500
The Dorset Friendly . . .	2732	11,750
The Kent Friendly . . .	850	25,500

But the total number of these patronised societies is small, including probably only some 40,000 members, although a considerable number of other localised societies, confined to one district or group of parishes, are of exactly a similar type.

The principle upon which these societies are founded is that of management by the honorary members. There is no doubt that in the country districts at any rate it is extremely difficult to find men really capable of conducting the affairs of a benefit club, and that the only means of checking the almost irresistible temptation to compete with other clubs, and of securing an adherence to sound principles, is to place the real power entirely in the hands of a central executive deriving no benefit from the funds. Their branch committees are generally mere shadows, and often consist 'in reality of the paid agent alone.' This safeguard has not, however, proved universally successful. The Essex Provident, the largest of all, was unfortunately founded with insufficient rates, and for more than twenty-five years the society has been struggling under the weight of a gigantic deficit, which in 1872 amounted to no less than 79,000*l*.

Nor have the societies themselves generally proved to be attractive. Very little attempt

is made to 'push' them in country districts, and they are deficient in the attractions which boozing at the monthly meetings and the annual feast hold out in other cases. To this the Hampshire County is an exception:—

'By means of what we call festivals (that is to say a jollification promoted in each parish where we have a branch) a vast amount of information is distributed, good fellowship and good understanding are promoted between different classes, and a vast social improvement has been carried on.'—*Right Hon. T. H. Sotheron-Estcourt*, Q. 661.

As an instance of the small support given by the working-class to what we have called 'patronised societies,' even where their financial success is assumed, we may quote the case of the Hitchin Friendly Institution, nearly fifty years old, the whole expenditure of which (including claims) is always paid out of interest received from money judiciously invested. And yet the number of members is diminishing, which the secretary attributes to the attraction of conviviality at public-houses offered by the other clubs, but which we cannot help believing to be especially due to the fact that the honorary members constitute a majority of the board of management. Patronage and any form of interference with their concerns is looked upon with jealousy by the classes for whom these societies are formed; and in the present unhappy state of the relations between employer and employed in the agricultural districts, and the increased hold which combination under their own management has gained upon the labourers, it seems hardly likely that this class of society will make any considerable advance.

Another class of societies maintained by patronage consists of those among railway servants, miners, and colliers. In some cases membership is made compulsory, and the contributions are deducted from their weekly wages. In return for this a liberal subsidy is contributed by the employers. Whether any false confidence has arisen out of this subsidy, or general laxity of administration has been produced out of mere carelessness, these societies are generally unsound. And

'we say little,' write the Royal Commissioners, 'when we point out that they who exert pressure on their servants to become members of any given Friendly Society, take on themselves a grave responsibility, and should at least be entirely confident that the principles and management of the particular society are in every way sound and certain to work out their promised results; but even if these points were satisfactorily assured, it remains to be

observed that compulsory membership and the making of membership to cease or be less beneficial, if and when the employment ceases, necessitates undue dependence of the employed on the employer, and fetters the free action of the former.\*—*Fourth Report*, p. 292.

The second agency to which we have alluded as exercising of recent years an important influence over the old local clubs is that of the 'Affiliated orders,'† the clubs of highest organisation among those invented by working men to suit their own wants, and at the present moment greatly surpassing all others in popularity. 'Everywhere that I have been,' says Sir G. Young, 'I have heard the same story from the members of the smaller local clubs, "We cannot stand against the great orders."'

The two principal orders, the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows, and the Ancient Order of Foresters, are well known. Each fully developed order consists, first, of the primary branches or lodges; then of the 'districts,' comprising groups of branches associated together in order to secure a larger area for certain forms of insurance; and lastly of the central executive, composed of delegates from the various branches. The development of this system reflects the greatest credit upon the working classes of this country, and has spread throughout England more satisfactory ideas of friendly society management. The Odd Fellows, in particular, have set a noble example, espe-

cially in the successive steps which they have taken towards the attainment of financial security, and in their efficient and inexpensive management. The Foresters are, in most respects, 'half a generation behind them,' but very greatly excel in their turn all the smaller orders.†

The great cause of their success has been the popularity of their management. Local interest is stimulated, and many men very much prefer entering a society of which they may not unreasonably look forward to becoming the responsible managers. This love of office has, however, in many cases a tendency to the undue multiplication of orders. The founder of a new order is a man of mark, and if he is able to announce his adherence to some popular rule or custom, which the original order is endeavouring to reform, he is almost assured of success. It is in this way that the wholesome reforms of the Manchester Unity have from time to time led to very large secessions from that order.

But these great affiliated orders, popular as they are in the country districts, have not as yet admitted many members of the agricultural labouring class.§ Here and there a lodge is to be found which has fixed its rates of insurance in proportion to the agricultural wages of the district. More often they are framed rather for the artisan class, and the members consider themselves to be in a superior position in the social scale to

\* 'There is much complaint of these compulsory clubs in Staffordshire and Worcestershire. Near Dudley the contribution is stopped out of the men's wages, although the men do not approve of it. The men have no voice in the management, although the masters give no subscriptions. There is no balance-sheet, and no audit of the accounts.'—*Mr. Stanley's Report*, p. 172.

† The following table shows the condition of all the principal orders. The total number of the members is stated at 1,325,000:—

	Lodges or Courts.	Approximate Number of Members.
Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity of <sup>1</sup> ... ..	4008	470,000
Foresters, Ancient Order of <sup>2</sup> ... ..	4080	422,000
Odd Fellows, Grand United Order of ... ..	...	63,400
Druids, Order of ... ..	988	57,000
Shepherds, Loyal Order of Ancient (Ashton Unity) ... ..	1539	45,500
Odd Fellows, Nottingham Order of ... ..	574 (?)	40,000
Odd Fellows, National Independent Order of ... ..	...	34,600
Free Gardeners, United Order of ... ..	546	33,000
Odd Fellows, United Order of (Bolton Unity) ... ..	370	22,000
Druids, Ancient Order of ... ..	285	19,300
True Ivorites, St. David's Unity of ... ..	272	18,000

<sup>1</sup> Of these, 452 lodges, with 33,125 members, are in the colonies, and no less than 139 lodges in the colony of Victoria alone.

<sup>2</sup> Of these, 342 lodges, with 21,700 members, are in the colonies and abroad, and no less than 112 lodges in Victoria.

† Speaking of the two great affiliated orders, Mr. Neilson says their expense of management will compare most favourably with that of any similar organisation.

§ Only 7½ per cent. of the members of the Manchester Unity are classed as labourers in rural districts, and this description includes many artisans.

the ordinary farm labourer. But the extension of these organisations to that class would be at any rate a vast improvement upon the existing state of things.

The last class of societies which it will be necessary to notice are the Burial Societies, either *local* or *general*, the latter being in reality only 'insurance offices, conducted principally for the benefit of the office holders, and only incidentally for that of the assured.'

The local Burial societies have had their origin in the desire existing among workmen, on the decease of one of their fellows, to collect a small sum for his funeral and for his widow. They exist in almost every large town in England, and in some have attained an extraordinary development. No less than 550,000 persons in England and Wales are members of this class of society. In the town of Preston alone, the various burial societies contain no less than 108,000 members, although the population of the town is only 86,000. Allowing for a great deal of double insurance, it is clear that every man, woman, and child in the town, is connected with some society.

These local societies ought to be, and very often are, cheaply managed, but they lay no claim to solvency in the sense which an actuary would attach to it. They very seldom retain in hand more than a few shillings per member, but they rely upon what was the original principle of such societies, the power of levying a certain sum per head to meet the annual payments. They are somewhat tainted by drinking habits, from the fact of their generally meeting at public-houses. Where these societies employ collectors, they to some extent exhibit the same abuses as the larger class which we are about to describe.

The General Burial or Collecting Socie-

ties\* have their head-quarters in some large town, in most cases Liverpool, but their ramifications extend over the whole country. The actual number of members belonging to them in the United Kingdom is nearly a million and a half; but owing to the deductions which must be made for double insurance and for the large number of infants, the adult members of these societies are believed not to exceed from 550,000 to 600,000, representing 'generally the least intelligent portion of the class insured in Friendly Societies.' These insurance offices are established by 'persons receiving large salaries as treasurers, secretaries, directors, and committee-men, having agents and collectors, also well paid, in all the principal towns.' A short account of the largest of them will illustrate the system employed. In the Royal Liver, a board of management, composed mainly of persons originally collectors, exercise the whole authority. The treasurer receives £24l. a year, two committee-men, 800l. a year (Q. 22,422), and six others, 520l. Five of these in addition have collecting books, with the usual profits (Q. 22,406). There are 300 agents; a number of collectors estimated by one member of the committee at 1000, and by another at 1500 to 2000; and lastly, travelling agents or inspectors. The collectors are men 'educated only to a certain point, just to the standard of the poor people' (Q. 22,385), 'not the best adapted for understanding figures, or making additions, so that more or less there are deficiencies in almost every collecting book' (Q. 22,383). Their remuneration consists of 25 per cent. on collections and other perquisites, the amount of which must depend on the energy and perseverance of the individual. The solicitor to the society had heard of collecting books realising as much as 30l. per week, or 400l. a year.

\* The following list comprises the principal of the General Burial Societies:—

	Head-quarters.	Members.	Funds.	Funds per Member.
			£	s. d.
Royal Liver Friendly .. .. .	Liverpool	550,000	284,795	9 7
Liverpool Victoria Legal .. .. .	"	200,000	49,159	4 11
United Assurance (St. Patrick's) .. .. .	"	140,000	15,311	2 2
Royal Oak .. .. .	"	50,000	12,370	5 0
Loyal Philanthropic .. .. .	"	45,800	18,378	8 0
Liverpool Protection .. .. .	"	48,132	16,978	7 1
St. Anne's Catholic .. .. .	"	Under 20,000	1,477	1 6
Scottish Legal .. .. .	Glasgow	216,343	54,982	5 1
City of Glasgow .. .. .	"	24,000	7,571	6 3
Integrity Life .. .. .	London	42,000	2,675	1 3
Royal London .. .. .	"	25,000	4,964	4 0
Swansea Royal .. .. .	Swansea	17,600	428	0 6
In 20 such Societies .. .. .	..	1,426,073	461,605	6 6

The rules contain no provision for the election of the committee. They are nominally subject to the annual general meeting, but such 'meetings are a mere farce' (Q. 23, 380). The collectors attend the meetings, are not permitted to interfere either directly or indirectly, to speak or make any proposition, but they vote, procure the attendance of members, and are expected to support the management. The meetings take place in Liverpool, in which town only a small proportion of the members reside.

Here is a description of a general meeting of a similar society, the Scottish Legal, at Glasgow. 'Q. 11,544. Have you ever heard of the collectors having had their travelling expenses paid to come up to meetings?—Yes; I have heard it from themselves. Q. 11,535. Was that done frequently?—Frequently; not only for them but for their friends, and for any persons whether members or not whom they could influence to attend those meetings, whether through the prospect of a trip to Glasgow or in any other way; . . . each of those collectors who had his party with him took his seat beside his own party, and he would hold up a white handkerchief, and if they did not vote the way he indicated, they had to find their own way back to the locality they came from themselves, and even to look out to pay their own lodgings for the night. Q. 11,546. But if they voted right, they got their travelling expenses and their lodgings?—Yes, and generally a free table.' It is clear that in these cases the committee is practically permanent and absolute, and that the members have no check whatever on their proceedings. All that an ordinary member knows of the society is that the collector, who has induced him to enter it, gives him a card upon which his weekly payments are entered, calls upon him week by week to receive them, and generally never leaves him alone till he has entered also the names of his family.

But another result of the proprietary rights which are allowed to each collector is that sometimes the owner of the book is a widow or an old man entirely incapacitated from acting. In such cases the real collection is made by a man at fixed wages, who has no interest in the society, and who, finding that new members, with their entrance fees, pay him better than old ones (Fourth Report, 500), often performs his duty in a careless and unsatisfactory manner. Many poor persons are entirely dropped out of the society, especially if they are doubtful members, and some are actually allowed to lose their rights, without any fault of their own, owing to the omission of the collector to

call upon them. That this is a real and not an imaginary grievance is shown by the fact that the secretary to the Royal London Friendly Society calculates that 'at least *two-thirds* of the people who become insured in an office and in similar institutions' (the secretary to the Integrity puts the proportion as high as *two-thirds or three-fifths*) 'allow *their policies to lapse*, and consequently deprive themselves of benefit.' A society of this sort may, therefore, be said to live by its lapses, 'or, in other words, by confiscation of the premiums of its members' (Fourth Report, 505).

But we are obliged to add that in some of these societies there is not only mismanagement, but also fraud. The Society of St. Patrick's, now called the United Assurance Friendly, which contains 140,000 members, is perhaps the most audacious instance of both; and 'though there is nothing going on now equal to what used to be in the days of the former secretary,' yet our readers will find in Mr. Stanley's account a good idea of what has gone on and is still going on unchecked in a large society of this type:—

'In the time of Mr. Treacy (the late secretary), the society was concentrated into him alone. There was never a committee meeting nor an audit, and he did what seemed good in his own eyes. The natural result of this was that claims were unpaid and disputed on frivolous pretexts, and that Mr. Treacy made away with the property of the society to the extent of at least 7000*l.* or 8000*l.* The society in those days had a Roman Catholic character; it worked among the Irish, and was under the patronage of the Roman Catholic clergy. As the scandal grew more and more notorious, an attempt was made by some of the Liverpool priests to introduce a reform, and Mr. Hugh Caraher was put on the committee. When he tried to make his office a reality, he found that such a course did not at all fall in with Mr. Treacy's views; and in the struggle which ensued, Mr. Caraher, backed by some of the independent members of the society, fought Mr. Treacy and the officials in public meetings and in the law courts for years. But Mr. Treacy, aided by congenial lawyers, and disposing of all the funds, held Mr. Caraher at bay for a long time; and when at length a barren judgment was obtained against him, and he disappeared from public view to avoid attachment, he still held his office and drew his salary till his death some months after. Meantime his adherents held the principal offices, and on his death they brought in the present secretary and appointed him to his office, after stipulating with him that he should pay an annuity to the widow of Treacy, who up to the sitting of the Commission in Liverpool occupied a house bought for her with the funds of the society. Not only were all the costs of Mr. Treacy paid out of the funds of the society, but when this gang had wearied out those who sought to reform the

management, they celebrated their victory by a banquet of the collectors, and Mr. Norden, the attorney who had defended Treacy; and wound up the proceedings by presenting him with a gold watch, costing 40*l.*, also bought from the society's funds, and bearing a complimentary inscription. As might be expected, Mr. Norden is still the consulting solicitor of the society. Their present practices may be seen in detail in the evidence; but though the society is guilty even yet of such minor offences as cooked balance-sheets, fictitious entries of capital, and the embezzlement by committee-men of sums exceeding 70*l.*, which defalcations have extended unchecked over years, yet there is nothing now worth noticing compared with the grandiose villany of former years.—*Mr. Stanley's Report*, p. 30.

Another fact deserving serious attention in connection with these societies is that, consisting as they do to an enormous extent of very young children, they hold out a terrible temptation to unprincipled persons to insure their children, and then to allow them to die. A large proportion of these children are insured in several different societies, so that the sum paid at the death of a child is far more than sufficient to provide a decent burial. In one case a child was insured in 'eight societies, which would have produced 30*l.* at death' (*Mr. Stanley's Report*, p. 68). Then we find that some of the large burial societies do experience an excessive rate of infant mortality. In the Blackburn Philanthropic it was 1080 under ten years of age out of a total of 2017; in the Chorley Family and the Stalybridge Good Intent it was 40 per cent. under two years of age; and in Macclesfield it has been especially observed that the means adopted in that town to check re-insurance have had a remarkable effect in checking infant mortality (*Fourth Report*, 574-5).

We do not wish to attach undue importance to these facts. The Commissioners themselves, owing to the unfortunate limitation of their powers, were unable to examine this question thoroughly; but the evidence which they have obtained will justify us in saying that (whether there is any foundation for this terrible suggestion or not) there is strong ground for removing the temptation to such practices by legislative interference. In the Bill introduced by the present Government, during the past session, it was proposed to limit the amount for which any infant may be insured to such a sum as will suffice to defray the actual cost of burial, and to take measures to prevent re-insurance; and thus to check the evil without discouraging the laudable desire on the part of the working-classes to save themselves from the

degradation of seeing their children buried by the parish.

Other proposals in the Government Bill were directed at the radical vice of the system—collection, without any control by the members. Every enrolled member was to have a policy given to him, and was not to be allowed to be struck off the list without due notice; and provisions were inserted to prevent the collectors from being, as at present, the real managers of these societies.

The most melancholy reflection suggested by the above review of the Friendly Societies of this country is, that the allegation of general unsoundness is fully borne out by the facts. '*Very few*,' says Mr. Neison, the well-known actuary, 'of the whole number are sound' (*Q.* 1160). Mr. Pattenon, an actuary, and one of the Royal Commissioners, speaks of the great majority as 'to a very large extent insolvent' (*Q.* 28,521).

Amongst the village clubs the process of breaking up through insolvency is said to 'be going on every day.' 'There is hardly a village or a hamlet of twenty houses and a beershop that has not had its club. There are hardly anywhere one or more clubs that have not failed at need, and disappointed their members, within the memory of persons now living.' (*Sir G. Young's Report*, p. 16.)

The county societies, with about 40,000 members, appear, on the other hand (with the exception of the Essex Provident), to be generally solvent, 'owing to the high rates which, under actuarial advice,' they think it necessary to exact.

Of the affiliated orders the Commissioners say—

'Rough as is the test of capital per head, and totally inapplicable to some classes of societies, and indeed to all new and rapidly increasing bodies, it is probably sufficient to show that the average funds of the great bulk of the branches of the affiliated orders are inadequate to their liabilities' (*Fourth Report*, 122). 'It is fair, however, to add that the spirit of improvement may be said to be abroad, however different may be their rate of progress. The Manchester Unity may be said to have taken every step towards security, except the final one of enforcing means to meet an ascertained deficiency' (*Fourth Report*, 157) 'of 1,343,000*l.*.'—*Fourth Report*, 140.

\* It is sometimes said that they are insolvent only in the remote actuarial sense, and the observation is not devoid of truth, especially as a society composed entirely of an enormous number of men earning their own living, is in a position to meet its financial difficulties by way of levy or increased contributions. But it must be remembered that, so far as regards sick pay, the lodges are all separate societies, standing entirely

The other orders are in a still less satisfactory position. In the Order of Druids, with 57,000 members, 'it is probable that nine-tenths of the lodges, at least, are insolvent, and a large majority of them hopelessly so. But *habitual repudiation* of their liabilities, by closing the box for a time, or reducing the rate of sick-pay, enable them to pull through' (Mr. Stanley's Report, p. 12). But the General Order is strictly forbidden by the rules to take any cognizance of the financial state of the lodges.

Speaking of ordinary large societies, the Commissioners say that, in point of solvency, 'the verdict must be against them' (Sir G. Young's Report, p. 6); of railway societies, that 'there is good reason to believe that the financial condition of all these societies is unsound' (Fourth Report, 288); of the general burial societies, with one million members, and an amount of funds per member of about 6s. 8d. (*Id.*, 470), that 'untrustworthy accounts are audited in an equally unsatisfactory manner' (*Id.*, 521).

We need scarcely say that we do not dwell on these points in order to disparage the efforts made by the working-classes to make provision for themselves. No one can fail to recognise the difficulties they have had to contend with in the want of protection against fraud afforded them by the law, and in the injudicious administration, in many cases, of Poor Law Relief; or to admire the gallant struggle now being made by many of their number to overtake their liabilities. It is because we desire to point out the necessity of judicious legislation to assist them in those difficulties, and strengthen the hands of those amongst their number who really desire wholesome reform in their administration, that we do not hesitate to set before our readers the magnitude of the task involved.

On the other hand, it is extremely gratifying to record the gradual diminution of the practice of devoting a portion of the funds intended for other purposes, to drink and feasting. Most of the well-conducted societies have entirely repudiated the practice. In some counties, as in Lincolnshire, it is almost entirely unknown. Lancashire alone enjoys an unenviable notoriety in this

respect. This is what takes place in the Salford Funeral Friendly:—

'17,768. Then in fact more than 25 per cent. of the money which is paid out, is paid out for liquor; the total amount paid out is 446*l.* and 120*l.* is of course more than 25 per cent.—It looks like it.

'17,769. Does the society pay to the publican any sum for rent of rooms occupied in conducting the business?—Not a fraction.

'17,770. This remuneration is derived then solely from the profit upon the liquor consumed in the house?—That is it.

'17,771. If you have to pay 5*l.* for a funeral, do you pay it all in money, or do you pay part of the 5*l.* by a liquor cheque?'

The witness, Mr. Noden, answers that a shilling in the pound of the funeral benefit is paid in liquor; and the examination goes on—

'17,786. Do I correctly understand you to say that the late treasurer bribed the members with a cask of ale in order to get votes at the meeting to retain the meetings at his house?—Yes. And he was successful?—Yes.'

At Ashton-under-Lyne we read—

'17,854. Can you tell me how much is spent in liquor in the course of the year?—In that report it is 114*l.* . . .

'17,855. Is that under the item of yearly accommodation?—Yes.'

The town of Oldham, which contains 230 Friendly Societies, appears to enjoy an especial notoriety in this respect. Two hundred or more of the societies meet at public houses, and the very large majority of these spend from 1*d.* to 3*d.* a member per meeting-night in liquor; they also, many of them, spend sums out of their funds on the annual dinner. The Rose of Oldham Club has the credit of having invented a new opportunity of drinking on the nights when the degrees and the symbolism of the Order of Odd Fellows are explained. This is called 'lecture liquor.' In one club it is stated that 4*l.* is spent in drink at every quarterly meeting; 3*l.* worth of whiskey was served in half-gallons, and drunk in one hour and twenty minutes by 100 members. These facts were elicited at an inquest upon one of their number, who died from the effects of it. We refrain from multiplying such instances, feeling satisfied that such cases are exceptional only.

One very remarkable fact which is disclosed by this investigation is that to an ordinary working-man the desire of effecting an insurance either against sickness or death is not sufficient to induce him to walk a quarter of a mile down the street to do so; or if he can be prevailed upon to make this exertion, the subsequent trouble of making

on their own basis. Only 3168 lodges have been valued, and of these only 26 per cent. have a surplus, and the average deficiency amounts to 3*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* per member (or in Lancashire, 5*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*). 'At this rate the county of Lancaster should have about double its present capital in order to be able to meet its liabilities; and this does not represent the full amount of the deficiency, for in the case of some of the lodges the liability has been reduced by partial repudiation and by bankruptcy.'—*Mr. Stanley's Report*, p. 79.

a monthly payment is far too great for him. This is the reason of the enormous success attained by the large burial societies, which send their collectors from door to door; and it is a plan which must be in some way imitated by the Post Office, if the various forms of insurance which it offers are ever to become popular among the working-classes.

Another striking fact is that, in spite of the great spread of education, the members themselves appear to be ignorant or careless as to the first principles of management. All authorities agree that the only way to ascertain the real financial position of any society is to submit its affairs at stated intervals to the inspection of a skilled actuary, or person really qualified to form an opinion concerning them. Now it is a common practice on the part of both managers and members to assume that their few hundreds of capital necessarily means *surplus* capital. The future liabilities are not taken into account at all. An actuary would tell them whether they are in a state of hopeless insolvency, or of insolvency which by prudence and increased contributions might be retrieved. Mr. Neison gives an instance from an actual valuation within his experience of a society which had funds in hand *per member* of 13*l.*, and yet when all prospective liabilities were reckoned up, was declared to be insolvent to the extent of 2940*l.*; and of another, with funds in hand of 5*l.*, which was declared by him to have a real surplus of 2138*l.* It is in fact proved beyond any doubt, that periodical valuation is the only way of ascertaining the real position of a society. Nevertheless, out of the whole number of Friendly Societies, 'there are perhaps 100 that consult an actuary properly, that is regularly' (Nieson, Q. 1092). Many of the largest societies do not. The 550,000 members of the Royal Liver have never had this safeguard. The assets of the Liverpool Protective, with 50,000; the Blackburn Philanthropic, with 130,000, and many others equally large, have never been valued. Even the Foresters, as a whole, have not. So that the importance of this step—the very foundation of soundness and the only test of honest management—does not appear to be appreciated by the members. It cannot be said that the cost would present any serious obstacle, for it would rarely exceed 1*s.* per member; but in most cases it is simply because the managers are afraid of the result, knowing that it will disclose a state of affairs disheartening to the members, and discouraging to any persons who may be desirous of joining the society. But then it is just what an intending subscriber ought to know before he risks his money. Good societies

need not fear such a regulation; they would come out of it with a fresh advertisement of their merits, while bad societies would be exposed. And yet those which do adopt this practice, and publish it to the world, are not at all more appreciated in consequence.

Another point of the most vital importance is that the rates of contribution should be adequate, because upon this the whole welfare of the society must eventually depend. But in many clubs they are framed merely by rule of thumb, without reference to any actuary, and without any real certainty of their being adequate. Even in the Order of Foresters, each court is permitted to exercise its own judgment upon this subject; and the result is, that different rates are adopted in the various courts: that is to say, that although their experience would enable them to imitate the Order of Odd Fellows, and frame rates suitable to all their lodges, and perfectly adequate, they allow some of them to shelter themselves under the reputation which deservedly attaches to the name of Foresters, and yet to use tables which any one of experience could at once pronounce to be unsafe.

Again, it would seem no very difficult task, after having adopted a good set of rules, to require the managers to adhere most strictly to them. But that is just what the members of many of these societies do not do. Take, for instance, the rule that the management expenses shall form a separate fund. This regulation is, for obvious reasons, a most important one; and yet we find that some of the largest societies have allowed it to be neglected for years, without a word of remonstrance. The Royal London Friendly Society, established ten years ago, has never enforced its rule to this effect. Nor have the Royal Oak, the United Assurance, the Integrity Assurance, and many others. Of course the reason for the violation of this rule is generally that the management expenses have been excessive.\* But it ought to be easily detected, and, indeed, very often has been. It would be easy to give instances where such abuses exist; where they have been exposed in the Press, in police courts, and at general meetings; where they have been denounced by local reformers or by the Registrar himself, and yet the hundreds of thousands of members sit still and do nothing.

\* Not long ago, in the Leeds district of the Royal Liver Society, the expenses of management were 57 per cent. That is, out of every 1*l.* scraped up by a working-man for insurance, he only got the real benefit of 8*s.* 5*d.* In the whole society it is now 37 per cent.; in the Liverpool Protective, 32; in the Scottish Legal, 33½; in the United Reform, 40; in the United Assurance, 46; in the Royal Oak, 50.

The last instance of defective management to which we would call attention is the utter absence in many cases of an independent audit of the accounts. One instance of the manner in which this may be conducted is so instructive, that we are tempted to extract it from the Report before us.

'The evidence of Mr. Mingaud, the auditor to the United Assurance Society, discloses a state of things which is of course highly exceptional, but which shows what may possibly be done when the auditor is careless, and the committee are unscrupulous. Mr. Mingaud states that the printer of the society's accounts has in his office a form set up, with the words "Audited and found correct, Edward Mingaud," which he sometimes appends to the accounts before Mr. Mingaud himself has examined them. The balance sheet for 1870-1 is printed with this formula attached to it, yet Mr. Mingaud informed us that he had never signed it. That balance sheet was shown to contain a serious error in addition, and an item of 144*l.* had been added by "somebody" without the knowledge of the auditor, in order to meet that error on the other side of the account.'—*Fourth Report*, p. 895.

The foregoing picture of the condition of Friendly Societies throughout the country appears to us to point to the conclusion that the time has come for the State to decide upon its future relations towards them. It cannot stand still in this matter. It must either recede from the position it has taken up—which meets with general condemnation—or it must interfere far more extensively.

Hitherto, as we have already pointed out, certain privileges have been conferred by law upon all societies which send up their rules to the Registrar to be certified, as being 'in conformity with the law.' And that is all he is required to say. His certificate conveys no other guarantee whatever. But as a matter of fact, it has been ignorantly interpreted all over the country to mean that the State thereby gives a sort of official sanction to the club, and an assurance that every one will be safe in joining it. This peeps out over and over again in the letters published in some of Mr. Tidd Pratt's Reports.

"We put our money into the society, a government officer had certified it, and we thought it was all right." Of course the certificate did not give the slightest assurance that the society was founded upon sound principles, that, for instance, the payments demanded were sufficient to meet the benefits promised. It did not give any assurance as to the solvency or respectability of the parties concerned, or as to the fitness of the rules to give effect to the objects of the society. All those things were matters of importance to

the poor man, and far more important than whether there was some rule which might possibly collide or conflict with the Act; but they were left for the person himself to inquire into.'

Every one will be disposed to agree with Mr. Lowe, from whose evidence the above extract is taken, that the State, so far from giving an advantage to the persons whom it intended to benefit, is misleading them; and that it ought either to go a great deal further, or to do nothing at all. Intending to encourage providence, it has done much to discourage it. With the best intentions in the world, we have given to certain societies privileges which have induced many to confide in them; and we have taken no steps to discover for ourselves whether they are in any respect deserving of that confidence.\*

The most complete form of interference with Friendly Societies would be for the State to enter into competition with them by setting up a Friendly Society of its own. And, indeed, the proposal that the Post Office should undertake all forms of insurance in the same manner as it now conducts several branches of it (although without the monopoly which the law secures to it in the case of the carriage of letters and of telegrams), avoids so many of the difficulties of the subject, and is so plausible and attractive, that we cannot be surprised at the space which the consideration of the subject occupies in the Report before us.

It is known, but among the classes for whose benefit it is intended most insufficiently known, that any one by going to the nearest money-office can insure himself for a sum payable at death, not less than 20*l.*, or by undertaking a monthly payment, obtain what is called a deferred annuity, that is, an annuity of so many pounds a year payable at the expiration of any number of years. This form of insurance has never been very popular among the working-classes, probably because few men care to look so far ahead, or know that it can be effected upon Government security. 'I can safely say,' states one witness, 'that half the clergy and owners of property are not aware of it, and scarcely any of the labourers know anything about it.' But by this concession, which was made by the Govern-

\* The law, though little enforced, now requires all registered societies to send in quinquennial returns. It will scarcely be believed that after giving these societies the expense and trouble of preparing these returns, they have for the last nineteen years been allowed to lie in the office without any use being made of them.

ment Annuities Act in 1864, the principle that this is a fit subject for Government interference appears to have been established. As it was explained by Mr. Gladstone himself it amounts simply to this—

‘that by the interference of the Government you enjoin nothing, and you prohibit nothing, but you offer to such members of the community as may be disposed to avail themselves of your proposal certain facilities for self-help. All that is requisite in such a case is to show that what the Government proposes to do it can do *safely*, and likewise that what it proposes to do, it can do *justly*.’

It must, however, be remembered that any collision with the Friendly Societies of the working-classes was distinctly guarded against by the introduction of a clause into the Act of 1864, providing that insurances under the Act should not be effected for a less sum than 20*l.*, the result of this limitation and of the neglect of the Post Office to make known in any public manner the boons which it was enabled by law to grant being that Post Office insurance has as yet made little way. But it has gradually been recognised that if the State undertakes insurance at death at all, it should undoubtedly extend the advantage to the particular class who are least able to look after themselves, and suffer most from the failure and frauds of their Burial Clubs. We are glad to find that this view has been adopted by the Commissioners, and one of their most important recommendations is that these forms of insurance should be offered through the medium of the Post Office. Recognising the fact that Friendly Societies exist for the benefit of the people, and not the people for the benefit of managers of societies, they do not shrink from advising that the State should take the bold course of entering into competition with the existing Burial Societies. Mr. Scudamore, in his evidence, undertakes that for the future active measures shall be taken to make the advantages of Post Office insurance known to the public. For some years past a small society, called the Provident Knowledge Society, has been working with this object by sending lecturers round the country. This will now become the business of the Post Office.

‘We must make arrangements,’ says Mr. Scudamore, ‘for lecturers to go about the country to impress upon the poor the advantages of life insurance, and to get them to insure in the first instance; and then we must have a system of collectors who should keep them up to their payments from week to week, or month to month, as the case may be.’—*Q.* 27,775.

Not only will the security be absolute, but there is some reason to hope that it may be attained at a cheaper rate than is asked by the existing societies. Mr. Tidd Pratt pointed out in 1868 that the monthly payments usually required by Burial Societies would give to parties insuring with the Post Office a larger sum (with *Government* security), than such societies promise to pay. For 1*d.* per week, or 4*s.* 4*d.* per year, the following sums are stated to be payable at death, according to the tables of premiums published by the—

Age.	Post Office (In Monthly Payments).	Royal Liver.	Victoria Legal.	Legal Philanthropic.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
30	8 6 8	6 0 0	7 0 0	8 0 0
40	6 3 2	5 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0
50	4 5 6	3 5 0	4 0 0	4 0 0
60	2 15 2	1 7 6	2 5 0	2 10 0

We are persuaded that this change, which has received the approval of Government, will be of the greatest advantage.

This concession, however, will not by any means satisfy those who think that all forms of insurance for the working-classes ought to rest on the same footing, and to be undertaken by the State. It is urged, and with great force, that insurance in time of sickness is, after all, the greatest need for the poor, and that if in this respect they are still left to the mercy of their rotten village clubs, or unsound large societies, little will have been done for them. The State will have absorbed all the more easily managed and calculated forms of insurance, and left that about which information is most deficient to the care of the most ignorant class. It would not be difficult, it is said, to find in every large village postmasters able, and (if adequately remunerated) willing to undertake it. Every man would have the place for payment of his monthly contributions close at hand. And if he wished to move from one part of England to another, his insurance could simply be transferred from one post-office to the other. If he belonged to the class most free from sickness—the agricultural labouring class—he would be able to insure upon a table based upon the experience gathered from that class only. And lastly, he would be encouraged to make the effort from the knowledge that the security was indisputable, and unlikely to be affected by anything short of a great national convulsion.

The above considerations, but especially (as we fancy) the guarantee of soundness

which is given to the insurance, have induced a very large number of influential gentlemen, especially those connected with country districts, to affix their names to a memorial, praying the Commissioners to take Post Office insurance for sickness into their favourable consideration. No more powerful testimony to the bad working of the present system could possibly have been given.

To this proposal, however, the great weight of authority appears to be at present opposed. Mr. Scudamore says that

'postmasters could not undertake it. They are stationary, they must be at their offices; they could not go round to see whether a man who said that he was sick, was so or not. . . . That objection seemed to me to be so very strong, and weighed with me so much, that I did not look about for any others at all. I myself think that the objection is insuperable.'—Q. 27,893.

Much might, in our opinion, be said in answer to this objection, but it is clearly impossible for the State to undertake such a responsibility in the face of such opposition from the department which would be charged with carrying out the work; and public opinion will undoubtedly go with the Royal Commissioners in wishing to see Government insurance limited for the present in the manner which they have recommended:—

'It would be difficult, if not impossible,' they say, 'at present to organise any system of government sick insurance which would not carry with it something of the appearance of a relief system; and we believe that, while this would render it distasteful to many most deserving classes, it would rather tend to familiarise another class with the idea of looking to the State for support, in time of need, and thus to break down the barrier of honourable pride which now deters many from claiming assistance from the poor rates. The objection does not apply to the case of insurance against death, or even for old age. Here the insurer pays his price, and as soon as the simple fact of death, or of the attainment of a certain age is proved, the Government officers have only to pay what they have contracted to pay.'—*Fourth Report*, p. 848.

There still remains, however, the very important question of what is to be the future action of the State towards existing Friendly Societies, for the purpose of their regulation. Is it really possible for the State to stand aloof altogether from the friendly societies of the poor, while it exercises supervision over the insurance offices of the rich? Suppose that some one in the upper classes wishes to insure his life. He, who

has much better means of information than a poor man can have, is not left to choose at random among the societies which come under his notice. For his security the Government compels all insurance offices to publish their accounts annually in a particular form, so that he can without much difficulty judge of their comparative state, and decide between them. Hardly any one ventures to say that the State ought not to do at least as much as this for Friendly Societies. Even Mr. Lowe, with his peculiar hatred of paternal government, does not venture to go this length. Indeed, he believes it possible for Parliament to lay down a legal minimum of payments for insurance, to which all registered societies should be compelled to conform; a suggestion which the extraordinary variation in the rates of sickness and mortality in different towns and in different occupations seems to us to render it quite impossible to carry out.

The great danger to be guarded against in imposing restrictions upon existing societies is, that if they are too severe (or thought to be so by a class which is specially distrustful of Government interference), the societies may be induced to cut themselves off altogether from registration, and to remain outside the law. No such objection can, we think, be urged against the very moderate proposals of the Government, which were embodied in the Friendly Societies Bill of the past session. Hitherto it has been absolutely impossible for one Registrar even to attempt to enforce the law in the 23,000 societies scattered throughout England. The returns even now required by law are in most instances never made at all, and in almost all are irregular, incomplete, and incorrect. The first step, therefore, which is imperatively required is the establishment of an adequate machinery to work out the system. For this purpose the system of registration is to be simplified (the present certificate being abolished), the central office is to be strengthened, and the duties of local registration are to be imposed upon the Clerks of the Peace in the different counties. Accurate tables of sickness and mortality, and suitable forms of accounts, will be prepared, but societies will not be compelled to adopt them. They will, however, be bound to have their accounts regularly audited, to publish them to their members, and to submit their affairs to valuation every five years. Many other provisions of great value are contained in the Bill, of which perhaps the most important is the appointment of public auditors and valuers, and the power given to the Registrar to direct a special examination into the

affairs of any society on the application of a certain proportion of its members.

The most important difference of opinion among the Commissioners arose upon the question whether the State should attempt to draw a line between some societies and others, according as they do or do not come up to a certain standard of excellence. We ourselves lean to the opinion that such responsibility should be in every way repudiated, and that by the addition of distinct words to the certificate of the Registrar, and possibly even by printing a similar statement on the back of every policy or card of membership, it should be explained to the members, beyond any possibility of doubt, that they, and not the Government, are responsible for the soundness of their society. The Government may advise, may even enforce adherence to such rules as experience may dictate to be necessary; but to go further would be to make the Government give a guarantee (which the poor and ignorant will certainly regard as an absolute one) to societies of whose actual condition it really does not and cannot know enough to enable it to say that they are reliable. And how is it possible to act, without complaints of injustice, towards cases on the 'border line' between soundness and unsoundness, unless the State is prepared also to overlook the management, and to insist on the adherence of the society in every particular to a thoroughly satisfactory system? Far more wise will it be to recognise that local energy which has been the parent of these institutions, to guide it in the right direction, and to develop further the spirit of independence and self-reliance which has been the chief characteristic of the English people.

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ART. VII.—1. *Reports of the Judicature Commission.*

2. *The Supreme Court of Judicature Act, 1873.*

3. *Rules of Court under the Supreme Court of Judicature Act, 1873.*

THE saying that people concern themselves least about what concerns them most, is too paradoxical to be of universal application; but there is a class of subjects as to which it is unfortunately only too true. The three traditional faculties of Divinity, Medicine, and Law, were long ago regarded as including in themselves almost the whole range of serviceable knowledge. All studies that lay outside of these specialised departments

came under the category of general culture, and were counted among the ornaments rather than among the utilities of life. Almost as a necessary consequence each of the three faculties became relegated to a professional class, and, as a further consequence, the unprofessional laity ceased in great measure to think on topics upon which they had professional experts to think for them. There is a mixture of good sense in this tendency. Every man his own lawyer, is a maxim repudiated by proverbial wisdom. Every man his own quack, would be generally acknowledged as a still more fatal absurdity. Every man his own priest, is a doctrine which to the minds of one school savours of destruction, while many of those who have accepted it in theory are continually drifting back into the opposite belief, and, consciously or unconsciously, setting up priests and popes of their own selection. The explanation of this temper of mind is simple enough. In all matters which touch the practical side of life it is impossible to dispense with a professional class, and whenever a professional class exists, its superior technical knowledge enables it to dominate the ideas of society. Outsiders feel their weakness and seldom venture to enter the lists against professional dogmatism; but their submission, for the most part, is the submission of sullen rebels rather than of reverent disciples. This is emphatically the case as regards law. The public in this and other countries is profoundly convinced that the administration of the law is not what it should be or what it might be. The law's delays have always been counted among the special curses of civilised life. The cost of law is accepted as an inevitable tribute paid to a grasping profession. The glorious uncertainty of law is recognised at once as an evil which might be remedied if lawyers chose, and as a fate against which it is hopeless for the lay world to struggle. This despairing tone of public opinion has always been the most serious obstacle to the improvement of judicial machinery. Not very long ago an eminent law-officer, since translated to the Bench, was soundly taken to task in the press for having said that the great difficulty in reforming the law arose less from professional prejudice than from public apathy. And yet nothing more true was ever said. The interest taken in such subjects seldom rises beyond vague discontent with things as they are, and it scarcely ever seems to occur to thinking men outside of the profession that although they are—and indeed because they are—without the pale, they have something to teach as well as something to learn. Instead of striv-

ing to force the technicalities of legal procedure into the mould of common sense, they are content to accept without a thought what lawyers offer them by way of remedy, consoling themselves with the reflection that if professional projects of reform may do little good they cannot do much harm to what they believe to be a system of ingenious pitfalls.

This prevailing state of opinion and feeling is a grave misfortune, for no construction or reconstruction of a system of law or legal procedure can ever be a real success without the co-operation of minds free from the trammels of professional habits of thought. We do not say this from any disposition to revive the vulgar calumny which still perhaps finds favour in some cynical minds, that professional men, whether priests, doctors, or lawyers, must needs be tempted to frame rules with more regard for their own order than for the interests of the public whom they serve. This is not the way in which professional bias works. We may assume that in these days lawyers are not consciously governed by corrupt motives, but they are not the less ingrained with traditional habits of thought which lead them into errors curiously like those which self-interest would foster. The root of the mischief lies apart from selfish greed. A professional class (as a class) never is and never can be philosophical, because it always is, and always must be, the slave of custom. If the administration of justice is ever to be based upon a sound philosophy, the impulse must be given in the main by a strong and sustained blast of lay common sense.

No one, we hope, will suspect us of meaning that the technical experience of lawyers is to be superseded by the broad but crude philosophy of unprofessional thinkers. Each class has its own function, and it is not difficult to define the appropriate boundaries of the province of lay thought. The errors of men who are not familiar with the practical working of legal institutions will be errors of detail. The vice of professional opinion is the neglect of first principles. The practice of an art is apt to obliterate from the mind the science on which its philosophy is grounded, and it is in recalling and enforcing the larger doctrines which the actual business of life overlays, that the influence of unprofessional minds will be most beneficially exerted. Guided by this ruling idea, it may be useful to consider what it is that the lay mind can contribute to the problem of judicial administration. And first let us fix our thoughts upon the end and object of every practical system of law. To make such a system perfect these conditions

must be satisfied:—First. The law must be just. Secondly. The law must be certain. Thirdly. The law must be living and growing, in order that it may accommodate itself to the growing wants of a living society, always tending by the universal rule of evolution to become more complex as time goes on. Fourthly. The law must be applied to every particular case with the minimum of error. Fifthly. The law should work with the minimum of delay, and, sixthly, with the minimum of expense.

With the first three of these conditions we do not propose to deal at length on the present occasion. They involve many questions of very grave importance which have divided legal reformers into different schools. How far the development of law should be entrusted to Judges, and to what extent it should be guided by the less elastic process of legislative amendment; what measure of respect should be paid to recorded decisions; whether digests or codes can be so framed as to secure at once precision and simplicity: these, and other analogous questions, deserve a far larger amount of consideration than they have yet received. Still it is not here that the most serious defects of English law present themselves. Our law is approximately just; it is more certain, probably, than the law of any other country, and, in spite of a multitude of anomalies, it has adapted itself with reasonable facility to the growing needs of society.

Where our judicial institutions have most signally failed is in their administrative machinery. We have not succeeded in minimising error, delay, and expense. A law may be fairly just and certain, and yet by far the most fruitful root of error may send forth shoots and branches in rank luxuriance. For one miscarriage of justice, which is due to error of law, there are fifty which spring from error in fact. When once the truth is accurately ascertained, the judgment of such Courts as we enjoy will, in the great majority of cases, be correct. Here and there a new question of legal principle arises—yet oftener a difficulty occurs in applying recognised rules to novel circumstances; but cases of this kind are not nearly so numerous as the exceptional prominence which they acquire would lead one to suppose. The problem which really tries Judges in their daily work is the investigation of facts, and the difficulty is very largely due to the imperfection of the methods which have been elaborated for the purpose.

At first sight it may seem that if there were any department of legal reform which might be safely left to professional experience, it would be this very matter of

forensic procedure. What, it may be asked, can any one but a lawyer know of such things? How can the untrained mind of the wisest philosopher, unaccustomed to the atmosphere of Courts of Justice, offer any suggestion of value on the construction of judicial machinery? And yet it is precisely on this side of the problem that the necessity for lay assistance is most keenly felt. There are principles of procedure no less than principles of law; and no one, perhaps, is more in danger of losing sight of sound methods of investigating truth than the lawyer, who has spent his life in investigating it by one—and that perhaps a very defective—method. The skilled advocate is prone to forget the real end of judicial procedure, while he is constantly increasing his power of dealing successfully with the procedure which he finds in operation. English experience affords a singular illustration of this propensity, which can be matched in no other country. We have for some centuries lived under the jurisdiction of two sets of tribunals, working with two methods of procedure about as widely sundered as can possibly be conceived. Each, as may be supposed, has its strong and its weak points, and yet, such is the force of professional prejudice, it is quite an exception to find a lawyer who can see anything worthy of imitation in the method of the tribunals before which he has not practised. Each man seems conscientiously to believe that what he has been accustomed to is dictated by the eternal fitness of things, and he never dreams of going back to first principles, and asking himself what are the avowed objects of every system of procedure, and how far his favourite machinery adapts itself to the great end in view—the judicial investigation of truth.

In this chaos of professional opinion the true appeal lies to the non-professional mind. Leaving minute details aside, an intelligent man ought to feel no great difficulty in laying down the broad principles by which any inquiry as to facts should be governed. Everyone acts upon such principles in some fashion every day of his existence. In scientific research, in historical inquiry, in the actual business of life, each hour brings with it the necessity of forming an opinion as to facts on more or less imperfect materials. This is precisely what a Judge has to do in every contested case that comes before him; and the same broad principles which determine the methods of the man of science, the historian, and the merchant, must equally lie at the root of judicial investigation.

Let us consider a little what those broad

principles must be, carefully eschewing all reference to the technical machinery which lawyers and those who legislate for lawyers will find it necessary to engraft upon them. Keeping ourselves strictly within what we have defined as the province of lay thought, let us inquire whether the philosophy of common sense will not supply a few landmarks which even the most experienced lawyers may wisely take note of.

The first remark that the subject suggests is that a law-suit is not a game of whist. This may seem too obvious to be worthy of special mention; but no one can go far in the inquiry we have in hand without discovering that the ideas of lawyers are almost invariably built, however unconsciously, upon the opposite assumption.

A few words are needed to explain this singular phenomenon. The object kept in view by those who frame laws for whist, is to make victory depend not simply on the strength of the hands that may be dealt, but in as great a measure as possible upon the skill of the players. If this were not done, the interest of the game would be lost. The rules are consequently framed with this express object, and one of the most essential is that each player shall be at liberty to conceal his hand from his opponents. If the cards were displayed, it would be easy in almost every case to count the honours and the tricks in each hand, and no scope would be given for retrieving a weak hand by superior play.

The object in view in framing the laws of forensic procedure is, or ought to be, exactly the reverse. Whatever the parties may wish, the desire of the Court must be that the side with the stronger hand—that is the side on which the merits preponderate—should invariably win. The primary aim must consequently be to eliminate as far as practicable the influence of professional skill, and to insure the verdict for the right side, however superior the tactics of the adversary may be. Probably no advocate, however much he may enjoy forensic triumphs, would in terms assert that the rules of law, like the rules of whist, should reward professional skill by making victory largely dependent upon it. But certainly there is no advocate of any eminence who could not tell how in unnumbered cases he had been successful, because his pleadings were better framed, his evidence more judiciously marshalled, his cross-examination more effectively conducted, or his arguments better adapted to the mind of the Judge, or the prejudices of the Jury, than those of his adversary. Under any system superior skill will inevitably tend to influence the result

of a legal contest; but it makes all the difference in the world whether this is regarded as an evil to be brought down to the smallest possible dimensions, or as a legitimate incident of the game on which the issue may rightfully be made to depend. Lawyers as a class (whatever their individual reputation may be) have never been special favourites with the public. But probably no one would charge them with anything so heartless as purposely perverting the course of procedure for the sake of turning a solemn judicial quest after the truth into an exciting game for themselves with unhappy clients for counters. To do this of malice prepense would be simply diabolical. But, barring the malice prepense, something very like this has been done in times past, and the fruit of it is reaped in the present day. Rules of procedure have been framed for the purpose, no doubt, of getting at the truth and securing victory to the right side; but always on the assumption that every suitor would find a pleader and an advocate of adequate skill to cope with the ingenuity of the opposite side. This assumption broke down so flagrantly at one period of our judicial history that in a vast number of cases the judgment depended at least as much on the craft of the pleader as on the merits of the client. This result was originally due to the perverse subtlety of the mediæval mind, and it would be unfair to law reformers not to say that the whole tendency of modern legislation has been to mitigate this evil. But the course of these amendments has always been to patch new cloth upon the old garment. The mischief has not been eradicated, and cannot be eradicated until the entire system is reconstructed with a steady determination to insure, as far as may be, the success of the suitor who has the better case, irrespective of the capacities of the lawyers employed on either side. At the present moment the Judges are engaged upon the effort to achieve this end—the mind of the country has been stirred to some extent by legal measures of revolutionary magnitude, and the time seems opportune for considering whether some sort of philosophical basis may not be laid for the work which the lawyers have in hand.

Starting with the fundamental principle that the merits of the suitor ought, as far as possible, to be made to prevail over professional skill, some obvious corollaries suggest themselves at once. The analogy, or rather the contrast, of our game of whist supplies one of the most important.

Maxim 1. 'Every suitor should be compelled to show his hand at the earliest possible stage of the contest.'

It is impossible to exaggerate the value of this maxim. Any method of investigation which ignores it must be bad; any method based upon it is sure to be tolerably good. If faithfully observed, it will almost suffice in itself to abolish the traditional uncertainty and perplexity of the law. And its truth seems as obvious as its importance. And yet it is a maxim which the existing methods of our Courts of Law almost wholly disregard. Nay, we suspect that there are some able lawyers, swayed by the habits of their lives, who would even at this day contend that no such rule should be admitted as the foundation of our legal procedure. But casting aside for the moment, at any rate, the theories and the practice of lawyers, something may perhaps be learned by carrying our minds back to patriarchal times and picturing to ourselves the wise though simple procedure by which the chief of a clan or the king of a primitive nation would administer ready justice as he sat in the gate to redress the wrongs of his people. His first step would be, as the first step of every tribunal ought to be, to ascertain exactly what the real matter in dispute was. He would call upon the complainant to state his grievance, and would make the alleged wrong-doer say at once how much of the accusation he admitted to be true, how far he was able to contradict the charge, and in what way he proposed to justify his own conduct. The king at the gate would insist on each of the parties to the contest showing his hand fully, and it would fare ill with the man who tried to hoodwink the sovereign or baffle his opponent by inventing falsehoods on the chance of not being found out. How such a judge would deal with litigants who proceeded on the approved methods which lawyers have developed among civilised nations, may be best realised by imagining an actual dispute in which the parties (educated, let us suppose, some centuries in advance of their age) should adopt the devices which we are not ashamed to permit and to practise.

Let us suppose a people among whom flocks and herds are the principal currency: one herdsman, whom, in deference to modern phraseology, we will call the plaintiff, claims to be entitled, say to fifty sheep, which his neighbour (the defendant) has in his possession. The king calls upon the parties to state their cases. 'My case, Sire,' says the plaintiff, 'is, that this man has in his possession fifty sheep, which he has had and received for my use, or, if your Majesty does not understand these technical expressions, I will say, fifty sheep which, for some reason or other, he ought to give to me.'

'Nothing of the sort,' answers the defendant. 'The fact is, your Majesty, that I never had these sheep in my possession at all. Besides that, I gave them back to this fellow before he made his complaint; and I may add that when I took the sheep I took them for myself, and there is no reason whatever why I should give them to the plaintiff.' 'What is the meaning of this jargon?' interposes the King. 'Sir Plaintiff, don't tell me that for some reason or other you ought to have the sheep; but tell me, and tell the defendant, too, what has happened to give you any claim to them; and then he will be able in his turn to tell me why he considers that he has a right to keep them. And you, defendant, don't stand there insulting your King with falsehoods; but tell me, and tell the plaintiff truly, whether you ever did have the sheep—whether you have them now in your fold, and how you make out that the plaintiff ought not to have them. If, instead of telling a plain true story, either of you tries to mystify me with jargon and lies, he shall have the bastinado for his pains.'

Somewhat humbled and alarmed, plaintiff and defendant restate their cases. 'The truth is, my Lord,' says the plaintiff, 'that the defendant and I both had cows which we desired to exchange for sheep, and the defendant was about to travel into a far country where many sheep could be obtained in return for a cow. I trusted him with fifty of my cows to exchange for me, and for his trouble I promised that I would let him take for himself half the sheep he could get for them, if he would give me the other half. He bartered my cows for three hundred sheep, and has only given me one hundred; I claim fifty more. I crave pardon for not having stated this plainly at first, but I was afraid that if I did so this wicked defendant might deny everything that I was not able to confirm out of the mouths of our neighbours; and therefore I thought it better not to show my hand or to let him know what I was going to prove against him.' 'I understand you now,' says the King; 'but never again come before me with a complaint without telling me at once what it is that you complain of. And you, defendant, say honestly how much of this story is true.' 'May it please your Majesty, it is all true, except that I do not admit that the bargain was what the plaintiff says it was. When I said just now that I never had the sheep, I did not mean that that was really true; but the place where I received them was a long way off, and I thought the plaintiff could not find anyone who saw me take them, or if he

did, that he would have to reward him for coming here, and it seemed to me that I had a right to call upon the plaintiff to prove his case, and that if he could not do so I ought to escape.' 'Who has taught you these wicked tricks?' retorts the King; 'at your peril: never again palm falsehoods upon me, because you hope you will not be found out. But what do you say the bargain was?' 'Well, my liege, I would rather not say. To make things sure, we employed a scribe who wrote it down and kept it for us. He is far off, but send for him and he will show you what it was.' 'Why should I do that,' says the King, 'if I can settle the question by your own admissions? If I find that you say one thing and the plaintiff says another, I will send for the writing; but first tell me, and tell me truly, whether you do not know that the plaintiff's account of it is true.' 'If your Majesty insists upon it,' replies the defendant, 'I remember very well that I was to give him half, and I have only given him one-third; but a learned doctor has told me that not even the King himself ought to make me answer such a question as that. I humbly submit that you ought to send for the writing, although I own there is no dispute between us as to what it contains.' 'Nonsense,' concludes the King, 'the learned doctor shall be expelled from my dominions for not knowing the difference between discovery and evidence, and you, defendant, shall give up the sheep without forcing the plaintiff to produce a writing to prove a bargain which you can't and don't deny. If you had had any doubt about the terms, I would have sent for the writing; as it is, it would only be causing needless delay and expense. And you shall give the plaintiff, for the trouble you have caused him, ten sheep more than the fifty which he claimed.'

The seeming puerility of this fable may be pardoned if we say that every word which we have put into the mouths of the imaginary plaintiff and defendant, including the crowning absurdity of the learned doctor, would be pronounced by an English Court of Law to be sound and right, or, at any rate, in accordance with accepted practice, and that the lay common sense which we have attributed to the King on his judgment-seat is in flagrant violation of some of the most cherished rules of our legal procedure. The grave question is, Which is right—common sense or the law? With all deference to lawyers, we think common sense must have the verdict.

The real difficulty, however, of reforming such abuses as we have indicated is in inducing the world at large to believe that

such things can possibly be. Laymen know that a quarrel no sooner ripens into a law-suit than it becomes involved in a web of mystery which they think it hopeless to attempt to unravel; but it is very hard to get anyone out of the profession to believe the strange things which are daily done within it. Illustrations such as we have given are not unnaturally assumed to be exaggerations bearing no relation to actual facts, and the surprise which ought perhaps to ripen into indignation often subsides into incredulity and fails to excite a genuine demand for reform. And yet the fiction we have sketched may be matched, and more than matched, by recurring experience. Let us place side by side with our patriarchal law-suit a sketch, drawn from life, of a corresponding proceeding before an English tribunal.

We will suppose that the plaintiff has purchased goods which have been shipped from a foreign port, and is in possession of the bill of lading which entitles him to demand delivery of the goods. He presents the bill of lading, and for some reason, well or ill founded, delivery is refused. He brings his action for the wrong, and alleges that the bill of lading was duly presented and that the goods were nevertheless withheld. The real defence we will suppose to be, that the goods not being paid for, the seller claims the right to stop them in transitu, as it is called, which, under certain circumstances, the law allows him to do. The purchaser, however, denies that the circumstances of the case are such, in point of law, as would justify the stoppage, and the only question between the parties is, whether the stoppage was rightful or wrongful. The fact that the goods were stopped is known to both sides, and is in reality their common ground. In order to narrow the contest to the question really in dispute, the plaintiff calls upon the defendant to say on oath whether he denies or admits that the bill of lading was presented and that the goods were refused. If he admits it, there will be no occasion to incur the expense, and it may possibly be the difficulty, of proving what actually occurred. The defendant, like the herdsman in our patriarchal fable, objects to being called upon to give any answer at all, knowing that if he does answer he can do nothing but admit the truth of the plaintiff's statement. A solemn discussion then ensues before a Judge to determine the preliminary point whether the plaintiff is at liberty to ask such a question. The plaintiff urges that it would be idle to force him to prove—certainly with much delay, perhaps at great expense—a matter about which both parties know there is no doubt

at all. The defendant does not suggest that the allegation is untrue, but insists that it would be contrary to all rules of law to permit the plaintiff to put such a question as he proposes; and the Judge decides, and, according to the settled practice, cannot help deciding, that the defendant is right. The consequence is, that a jury is empanelled to try, and witnesses called to prove, what no one really questions, and all the cost and delay of a trial are incurred because there is a rule of law that in such a case a defendant must not be forced to admit what he knows to be true.

But why, it may be asked, does a Judge pronounce a decision which leads to such mischievous absurdity? The answer is, because he has no choice. He is bound to follow the settled practice, and to say to a plaintiff in such a case something of this kind: 'You ought not to attempt to ask such a question. True it may be that the defendant's admission would relieve you from the burden of a trial—no small matter; true it is that the defendant may be trusted not to prejudice himself by an admission if he feels a shadow of a doubt on the subject. You may be right in saying that no one could possibly be injured by allowing such a question to be put, and that you will certainly suffer if I refuse to permit it. But you ought to know that there is a rule of law which forbids you to ask whether the thing presented was a bill of lading. No one can say whether it was a bill of lading or not except from its contents, and it is a rule of law that no question can be put as to the contents of a written document. You might ask if a bit of paper was presented, but that would do you no good. What you must do is to produce and verify the bill of lading at the trial, and prove that it was presented, and then you will gain the verdict.' 'But,' remonstrates the plaintiff, 'why should I be put to all this trouble and expense? If the defendant and I were not agreed that this paper was not the bill of lading, I allow that the only satisfactory way of settling the dispute would be by producing the paper itself; but where is the necessity for all this, if we are agreed—and why may I not compel him to say whether we are agreed on the point or not?' 'There is a rule of law to the contrary' (the Judge is bound to reply), 'and your question must be disallowed.'

This is an example of English procedure which may be paralleled in scores of cases which happen every day. Rules of evidence (which may, to a certain extent, be justified as rules of evidence) are applied to the preliminary process of interrogation and

discovery, the object of which is to sift out the real subjects of dispute, by forcing each party to show his own hand, and to admit so much of his adversary's case as he knows to be true. The absurd result is that the whole object of this process of discovery is defeated in a large proportion of cases, and issues are solemnly tried, on the strictest principles of evidence, about which no one on either side has ever entertained a scintilla of doubt.

Instead of compelling litigants to show their hands at the earliest stage, so as to confine the costly process of trial to points which are really disputed, every possible facility is given to those who seek to baffle opponents, by raising false issues and keeping the adversary in the dark as to the evidence which he will have to meet.

One more example of the same character must be given to illustrate the extent to which, by crippling the preliminary process of discovery, English procedure tends to convert an action at law into a game of skill.

A man is in possession of an estate which he has enjoyed for many years. Suddenly he is served with a writ of ejectment. The plaintiff claims the estate as his own. The possessor desires to know what the meaning of the demand is. 'By what title,' he asks, 'do you insist on turning me out of my property?' 'You will hear in good time,' says the plaintiff. 'Only come into Court with all your deeds, and all your witnesses, to answer any case that I may set up, and if you have any right to remain in possession you will have a verdict in your favour.' 'But,' says the possessor, 'I do not know what your claim is based upon. Are you going to deny that I am my father's son, and must I be ready to prove that? Or do you say that the deed under which my father entered is a forgery? Or what other claim have you to my estate? I insist upon you telling me what story it is that you have trumped up, in order that, when you attempt to prove it, I may be ready with counter evidence, and I shall ask leave of the Judge to question you on the subject.' Leave accordingly is asked, and again the Judge is forced solemnly to reply, 'I cannot allow the question; what the plaintiff means or hopes to prove is his case, and there is a rule of law which says that you cannot compel a litigant to make such a discovery as you are asking of his own case until the time comes for going into evidence. You must prepare yourself to meet whatever he may prove, and you must not ask him to tell you beforehand what it is likely to be.' 'But it is a great hardship on

me,' says the possessor, 'to come into Court to fight against an enemy who shrouds himself in darkness.' 'That is so, no doubt,' the Judge must reply, 'but I cannot allow your question. There is a rule of law to the contrary. The plaintiff cannot be compelled to show his hand before the trial.'

We might multiply examples to the like effect, but we have probably said enough to show both that our maxim is sound, and that it has not yet met with the recognition it deserves.

The next question that suggests itself is this.—In what shape are the litigants to state their cases? The layman's maxim would naturally be this:—

Maxim 2. 'Let the plaintiff state the facts on which he grounds his complaint, and then let the defendant state the facts on which he relies for his defence, in plain concise English, unfettered by any technical rules.'

Most of our readers, we imagine, would regard this maxim as not less reasonable and obvious than that which we have already considered. But lawyers are even now scarcely agreed upon it, and there was a time when they would, with one voice, have laughed it to scorn. How the opposite view came first to be entertained, how the rules founded upon it gradually moulded themselves into a theoretically perfect system for ascertaining the precise points in dispute—how this theoretical system became in practice a game of skill, not less refined and difficult than whist or chess—how lawyers who played at it made blunders, while clients for whom it was played suffered the consequences—how the Legislature interposed to make the game a little easier, at the sacrifice of nearly all its beautiful precision, leaving it, in its present shape, just a little less hazardous and a great deal less exact than it was before—how at last it dawned upon the best class of legal minds that the whole contrivance was a highly subtle and ingenious mistake, and that it ought to be superseded by the simple maxim which we have enunciated—all this forms a very curious and interesting chapter of our legal history. The system we refer to is what is popularly known as 'special pleading,' while the method which our maxim formulates is called by lawyers 'open pleading.' The arguments which have been maintained for centuries between the advocates of these two methods are now so nearly concluded in favour of open pleading, and the successive phases of the controversy are so full of quaint technicality, that we dare not dwell upon them in these pages. And yet no one who knows how much

genuine, though misapplied, ingenuity went to the construction of the science of special pleading, and how elaborately perfect it once was from its own point of view, can see it consigned to oblivion without feeling that a work of genius is fading out of the world. A few words only we may venture on to indicate the train of thought which at one time recommended this subtle system to the minds of English lawyers. It was said, 'If you allow litigants to state their cases as they please, you will get nothing but rambling narratives, from which no Judge will be able to pick out the precise issues raised between them. It is necessary, therefore, to construct a system of alternate statements, the result of which will necessarily be to reduce the whole controversy to a series of specific allegations of fact or law, asserted on the one side and categorically denied on the other. These distinct issues can then be tried by the appropriate tribunal—a Court, or a Judge and Jury, as the case may be.' This was what the rules of special pleading professed to do, and at one time really did; but the inherent vice of the method lay in this:—in order to insure the automatic working out of definite issues or contradictions, it was essential to regulate the process by a very elaborate code of specific rules, prescribing the mode in which alone each successive pleading should be framed. To enforce obedience to these rules it was necessary to impose a penalty, and the penalty for a violation of the rules of pleading was that the litigant who made the blunder lost his cause. This was subject to some mitigation, in certain cases by amendment and the like, but the broad principle remained, that the man whose pleadings were so badly drawn as to be demurrable, was cast just as effectually as if the merits had been decided against him. In this way many a litigant was beaten, though on the facts he had the clearest right to succeed, just as a man who holds winning cards may lose a game at whist for want of skill in playing them. And the game of pleading was so difficult, that even the most skilful were not proof against occasional slips. The ghastly records of these sad failures of justice are to be found by hundreds in our law-books. The method of special pleading broke down because it needed intellectual giants to work it, and constantly visited the mistakes of pleaders upon the heads of unfortunate clients. Efforts made, from time to time, by the Legislature to mitigate the rigour of special pleading, were attended with partial, though only partial, success. But for centuries it never seems to have occurred either to

judges, or practitioners, or legislators, to ask themselves the simple question whether they could not do without this scientific system altogether, and whether the supposed difficulty of extracting the true issues from open pleading was sufficiently serious to necessitate a remedy which so often led to disaster and injustice. And yet during the whole time that the experiment of ameliorating special pleading was going on in Courts of Law, with rather sad results to suitors, there existed other tribunals which contented themselves with the simple and unscientific plan of letting the parties tell their stories as they pleased, and found in practice that the supposed difficulty of ascertaining the precise issues was almost imaginary, and that, rough as it seemed, the method was so far successful that law-suits really did get decided on the merits, and that one scarcely ever heard of a suitor, who ought to have succeeded, failing by reason of the unskilful manner in which his pleadings were framed. The rival methods of procedure went on side by side, however, from the days of Elizabeth to the days of Victoria, before the practical success of the one prevailed over the scientific collapse of the other, and even now the finishing blow, though imminent, has not yet been given to the singular system which has so dismally technicalised English law from mediæval times to our own.

The tenacity with which the ablest lawyers clung to their intricate system is intelligible enough. It sprang from a principle more deeply seated in human nature even than quips and quiddities. Special pleading has survived so long, not so much in spite of its complications, as in consequence of them. Strong men are apt to love the difficulties which they think they have mastered all the more because others are unable to cope with them. You may trace the influence of this feeling in every grade of society. Here is a true story, homely, but pertinent. There was once an Irish ploughman who prided himself on being able to drive a straighter furrow than any of his fellows, with the awkward implement which did duty in his country for a plough. His master imported from England a model plough of the most improved construction, and after the man had tried it, asked him how he liked it. 'Not at all, sir,' was the reply. 'Why not, Flanigan?' inquired the master. 'Sure any one could plough straight with such a machine as that,' said the ploughman triumphantly. So, if any one had invited the opinion of a skilful lawyer of the antique type upon the practice of untechnical pleading, the answer which would have come

up from the bottom of his heart would have been, 'Sure any one could plead straight with such machinery as that.' At any rate, whether it was from sentiment or from conviction, the fact remained, that lawyers held fast to their technicalities for centuries after experience had conclusively condemned them. At last, however, the fact is getting to be generally recognised that the supposed ambiguity of open pleading, to cure which special pleading was devised, is a merely theoretical defect, which does not in practice interpose any appreciable obstacle to the ascertainment of the real issues on which any litigation turns.

Taking these two principles of Full Discovery and Untechnical Pleading to be established, the next steps must be to inquire before what tribunals and by what methods disputed questions are to be tried. There are three kinds of tribunal with which we are familiar in England—a Court of several Judges, a single Judge, and a Judge and Jury. Whether one or other of these should be employed must depend, in great measure, on the character of the questions to be tried. Before we can choose our tribunal, we must know the nature of the issues raised. The theory of what we may now call the exploded system of special pleading, was very pretty on this subject. The method purported to sift out and separate the issues of fact and the issues of law; and the rule was to send the issues of law to be tried by a full Court of several Judges, and the issues of fact to be tried by a Judge and Jury. But in this, as in other respects, the method did not do in practice what in theory it was designed and assumed to do. The so-called issues of fact very often involved implicitly all sorts of questions of law. For example, a plaintiff alleged that a defendant was indebted to him for work done and for money received by the defendant for the use of the plaintiff. The defendant denied these allegations, and the issues were sent to a Judge and Jury to decide whether the defendant was so indebted or not. Whether he was so would depend, first, on the question of fact as to what had passed between the parties, and secondly, on the question of law, whether those circumstances created indebtedness or not. The finding of the jury was not on the issue of pure fact, but on the combined issue of fact and law. So that, if they either misunderstood the Judge's explanation of the law, or thought the case a hard one, and determined to disregard it, you practically had a legal question submitted to a jury, and decided by them, it might be in ignorance, or it might be in defiance of the law. Juries generally took their law from the Judge, but not always; and it is obvious

that on points of law the Judge's ruling ought to prevail, and that it was by no means certain to do so when filtered through the minds of a jury, and tainted by their liability to ignorant or wilful error. This was a defect which never could be wholly got over under the special pleading régime, though, as we shall see, it cures itself where open pleading is the rule. But there will be yet another difficulty, or apparent difficulty, to be dealt with when special pleading is abolished. The pleadings will never of themselves sort out the issues of fact from the issues of law, and if different tribunals are to be employed for the different kinds of questions, it follows that some new mode must be adopted for ascertaining what the issues are, and directing how they are to be tried. Practically there is not often much real difference between a plaintiff and a defendant as to what the issues are; and if a plaintiff picks out from the pleadings what he considers to be the points in dispute, the defendant will generally accept them as the true issues, though he may sometimes desire to have them expressed in different language. In all cases of difference, a Judge finds very little difficulty in settling how the issues of fact shall be stated. As for the issues of law, they require no specification, because the Court knows how to deal with them in its ultimate judgment. This method of settling the issues of fact, under the direction of the Court, is practised in certain classes of cases in the Court of Chancery, and an analogous practice is worked with facility in Scotland; it has the great superiority over the automatic method of special pleading, that the issues so settled are really issues of fact alone—like the questions upon which juries are sometimes called to give special verdicts—and are never allowed to be mixed issues, involving both fact and law. We may, therefore, thus formulate our

Maxim 3. 'When issues of fact have to be extracted from the pleadings, they should be agreed by the parties, or, in case of difference, settled by the Court.'

Thus far, we are provided with an efficient machinery for determining what are the questions in dispute, and for casting them, when necessary, into the form of specific issues. It remains to consider to what tribunal the decision should be referred; and this brings us to considerations on which a great divergence of opinion exists. The time may come when the inquiry whether, in any but criminal cases, justice is promoted by trial by jury may be usefully discussed. The main purpose which the institution once served—to check the despotic

tendency of the Bench—has long since become obsolete; but traditional feeling always survives the occasion which called it forth, and opinion is not yet ripe for the proposal to substitute in all civil causes the decision of one or more Judges for the verdict of a jury. The gravest charge against the institution of trial by jury, is the great uncertainty which it introduces into litigation. A suitor who is anxious to learn the probable result of a trial by jury can seldom extract from his advisers anything more definite than an assurance that his case looks promising, qualified by the common form observations, that it is impossible to say what view a jury may take of it, and that no one can foresee what may result from the chances of *Nisi Prius*. If the case has to be tried before a Judge, it is practicable, in a great proportion of cases, to predict with considerable confidence what the judgment will be. This power of forecasting the result of litigation is the last and best product of a good system of law and practice. Of course it is important to decide quarrels when they have arisen: but this is not the sole or the chief end of law. That law is incomparably the best which most frequently enables a man in doubt or difficulty to learn with certainty from his advisers what he may safely do, what he may rightfully claim, what he may prudently refuse. The existence of the jury system unquestionably diminishes the number of such cases. The veil which is cast over the deliberations of jurymen is probably the one thing which saves the 'Palladium of English liberty' from immediate abolition. If it were possible to obtain a verbatim report of what was said and done in jury-rooms within the compass of a single week, the ancient institution would perhaps be doomed for ever; and yet there is much to be said on the other side of the question.

It is important not only that judgments should be right, but that they should not shake the general confidence in the administration of justice; and the one great advantage of trial by jury is, that a suitor who is dissatisfied with the result of a trial does not go away with the idea that he has been unfairly treated by the law. If the Judge has put the case, as Judges almost always do, impartially and clearly to the Jury, the unsuccessful suitor accepts the most erroneous verdict as he would the decrees of destiny, without doubting for a moment that he has had a fair trial; whereas, if the same decision had come from a Judge, he would be filled with indignation at the miscarriage of justice. In all cases, therefore, where there are no certain data on which a judg-

ment can be based, there is a real utility in trial by jury, even though it be assumed, as it probably may be, that juries will more often go astray than Judges would do without what is called their assistance. As examples of the class of cases to which these considerations specially apply, we may instance the estimation of damages for moral or physical injuries, and the decision of questions on which opposite witnesses are in direct contradiction. The ablest Judge cannot assess much better than an ordinary man, the pecuniary equivalent of an insult or a broken limb, nor can he always be sure that he is not giving credence to the wrong witness. Yet a grocer might be very angry if his leg were valued at only half as much as the baker's arm, and a man who had sworn truly would be fiercely indignant with a Judge who preferred to believe his opponent's contradiction, though he would not respect the law one whit the less on account of a similar error committed by a jury. It was once said by a great man, now no more, who was equally eminent for his learning and his humour, that there were lawsuits in which there was nothing to be done but to toss up, and that it was more seemly that a jury should toss up than a Judge. We are not prepared to say that this dictum indicates the only class of issues which ought to be tried with the aid of a jury, but will content ourselves with the safer conclusion that there are some cases, which, in the present state of opinion, at any rate, ought to be sent to a jury.

Not less emphatically, however, may it be asserted that there are other cases which ought not to be so tried. There are prejudices of class, prejudices of sex, and prejudices of all kinds, which on some subjects render a jury a most unsatisfactory tribunal. There are questions of fact so closely associated with considerations of law, that a jury is not always to be trusted to decide them: questions so intricate as to baffle any but the most highly trained minds: and many questions upon which the twelve men in a box are sorely tempted to give a twist to their finding upon facts in order to checkmate what they may consider—perhaps rightly, perhaps wrongly—to be an objectionable rule of law. Then there are cases where the costly apparatus of a trial by jury is wholly unnecessary for the purpose of determining issues which, from their nature, scarcely admit of conflicting testimony. Add to all these the cases in which both parties are willing to dispense with a jury, and you have abundant grounds to justify the conclusion which we venture to state as

Maxim 4. 'The Court should decide in

each particular case whether issues of fact should be tried before a Judge and a Jury, or a Judge alone.'

This is a rule for which a successful precedent may be found in the practice of the Divorce Court, where, subject to one special exception, it is left to the Judge's discretion to say whether a jury shall be employed or not.

When the tribunal is thus determined the question still remains, how the proof of the issues is to be given. It is easy enough to describe the ideal method which would most certainly lead to the discovery of truth. Let all the witnesses who have any knowledge of the matter be present, without any previous concert, discussion, or communication with either of the parties, and let them then and there state what they know, and the truth will be pretty certain to come out. Occasionally evidence might be given on which witnesses or documents not at the moment forthcoming would be likely to throw light; but, even when that occurred, an adjournment for further investigation would almost surely set the matter right.

But such a procedure is simply impracticable, and the only question is, how nearly it can be approached with a reasonable regard to the limitations which time and cost must ordinarily impose. In real life, a trial at Nisi Prius is very different from the sort of investigation which we have pictured. In many cases the principal witnesses are the parties themselves and persons who, from their position, are warm partisans of one side or the other. Such witnesses, of course, never come into the box unbiassed or unprepared. But even indifferent witnesses are seldom caught by the Court in what we may call their unsophisticated purity. Almost every witness is sought out beforehand by the legal advisers of one side or the other, and, as they call it in Scotland, is carefully precognosced. His knowledge is tested, his pulse is felt, so to speak, and a statement—the witness's proof, as it is termed—is taken down from his mouth, containing what he considers himself able to swear to. The proof, in short, is prepared very much as an affidavit is prepared, and is subject to the same liability of taking colour from the mind of the transcriber, however honestly he may desire to work, and he does very often desire to work honestly. This done, the witness, thoroughly conscious of what he has said to the attorney, is put into the box and examined by an advocate who has been furnished with a copy of the proof. It is an absolute rule—loyally adhered to for the most part—that the questions put shall not suggest the ans-

wers desired, or in the technical phrase, that the witness shall not be led. But, without any apparent leading at all, the questions, if judiciously framed, bring back the old train of thought, and the witness unconsciously leads himself into answers very much in the form which they assumed in his proof. If there are any points as to which the proof shows the witness to be shaky, these are omitted or skilfully glided over with a light hand by the examining counsel. In this way the examination in chief, even of the most honest witness, gives a picture coloured in favour of the side that calls him, not quite to the same extent as in a prepared affidavit, but very much in the same sort of way. The favourable lights are all sharply accentuated, while the adverse shadows, if not wholly omitted, are indicated only in the vaguest way. This is a very grave defect, but one absolutely unavoidable. Its existence, as a general rule, is so fully recognised, that all the rules which govern the examination of witnesses in Court are based upon the *prima facie* assumption that every witness is a partisan bent upon making the best case he can for the side that calls him. Accordingly, while leading is strictly forbidden in the examination in chief, the utmost licence is allowed to the counsel for the other side when he rises to cross-examine. Not only may he lead by palpable suggestions, but he may coax, drive, tease, taunt, frighten, sneer at, bully, worry, provoke, insult, and in every conceivable way cajole and coerce the witness into saying what he desires to have said. No high-minded advocate strains this privilege unless he really believes that he has a corrupt witness to deal with, and that the interests of his client demand a stringent cross-examination. Advocates who are not high-minded practise cross-examination of the severest type, as a habit, upon almost every witness they take in hand. If the subject of the operation is nervous, irascible, or muddle-headed, there is no limit to the contradictions and confusion which may thus be imported into his evidence. To a great extent blundering statements thus extorted from a witness are set right on re-examination, and a wise Judge can do very much to rectify, by a few judicious questions, the distorted narrative which is produced by a savage cross-examination working upon the mental or physical weakness of a feeble witness. But the upshot of the testimony in any case depends, at last, almost as much upon the temperament of the witness and the adroitness with which he is handled as upon the truth of the story which he tries to tell.

All this, of course, introduces an element

of chance and an element of skill into the process which largely interfere with its accuracy as a means of eliciting truth. Still the wit of man has not been able to devise a better method of taking testimony than the *Nisi Prius* practice which we have described, and there can be no doubt that in all cases where there is a substantial conflict of evidence it must (subject to some modifications in detail) be maintained. Perhaps the worst feature of it is, that it is just when a witness is deliberately telling an unexpected tale concocted for the occasion that cross-examination is least effective. If a witness gives evidence based upon the truth, but perverted exactly where the interests of his party require it, it is very often practicable to land him in contradictions which discredit his veracity altogether; but where his evidence is pure invention, either as to one material point or as to the whole narrative, there are often no data on which the cross-examining counsel can work. It is not a very uncommon thing for witnesses called to prove an *alibi* to tell a story perfectly true in everything except date, and in such cases cross-examination is generally powerless. The notorious story of the convict Luie in the Tichborne trial was absolutely unshaken by cross-examination, although by the wise though exceptional course of adjourning the trial an opportunity was given for proving it to have been false from beginning to end. With all its defects, however, the *Nisi Prius* procedure must be mournfully accepted as the best available machinery for extracting the truth from the mouths of conflicting witnesses. It compares, at any rate, very advantageously with the method which has been largely used in the Court of Chancery, of taking evidence by affidavit without cross-examination, or, what is only one grade better, with cross-examination taken down in writing before examiners out of Court.

But though the *Nisi Prius* method must be accepted as the normal rule, it ought to be qualified by a much freer exercise of the power of adjournment to obviate the effect of surprise than has hitherto been usual, and there are besides large classes of cases in which it would be folly to employ it. To keep witnesses, collected perhaps from all corners of the land, waiting till their attendance is required, is an extremely costly process, especially if it is desired to have them in a kindly frame of mind at the hearing; so that a single witness examined  *viva voce* often costs more than a score of affidavits. It commonly happens that the testimony to be given is merely formal, or of such a character as to preclude the suspicion

of misrepresentation, and in all such cases it is a great boon to the suitor to be able to adduce it without incurring extravagant expense. An illustration of this is afforded in the administrative and in some parts of the litigious business of the Court of Chancery, in which millions of pounds are annually disbursed on affidavit evidence with scarcely a serious error occurring in a century. Judges can generally discern, even when litigant parties are not willing to acknowledge it, whether an issue does or does not need to be sifted by oral evidence in Court. Between the two methods, however, there is no room for a compromise, and the miserable expedient of cross-examination in the absence of the Judge who tries the case ought to be abolished for ever. It was invented only to avoid the necessity of increasing the judicial staff, which the extension of the *Nisi Prius* practice into all our Courts would have involved, and the petty saving of a few judicial salaries affords no justification for a practice which taints the administration of justice. It is a wretched policy to stint judicial strength. The practical result to which we are led may, therefore, be embodied thus:—

Maxim 5. 'Questions of fact should be tried either by the *Nisi Prius* method, or by affidavit, as the Court may direct in each particular case.'

One step only remains to complete the process—the decision of issues of law, including the final judgment; and the only question of principle involved is, whether a Court of several Judges, or a single Judge, ought to be employed. The idea on which the practice of referring every question of law, however minute, to a full Court was originally based, was probably a mistake. It was imagined that the chances of error were very much greater in dealing with legal points than in rightly deciding, or, what is quite as difficult, rightly presenting to a jury disputed questions of fact. The truth, in these days at any rate, is conspicuously the other way; and if single Judges were in all original hearings substituted for full Courts, it is not likely that the judgments given would be often different from what they are now. There is settled law and growing law, and a very large percentage of the questions which come before a Court of First Instance are essentially settled law—settled law, that is, in the mind of a Judge imbued with legal principles, though not perhaps covered by the four corners of any reported decision. In all such cases one good Judge is as good as a score. In the small percentage of cases remaining, questions of serious legal novelty and difficulty

may no doubt arise; but then nearly all of these are certain to be carried to a Court of Appeal, whatever the first decision may be, if only a cheap and ready process of appeal is provided. The number of cases, therefore, in which the final result would be affected by limiting the first tribunal to a single Judge would be very small, and for the most part unimportant. If there were no intermediate hearing between the first decision and the decree of the Irreversible Court, it would be of the highest importance to strengthen to the utmost the original tribunal; but the feeling in favour of introducing an intermediate appeal, not merely in cases of difference in the Court below, but in all cases, into the machinery of the Judicature Act, was so strongly marked in the discussions of last Session, that the opposite theory may be regarded as definitively withdrawn. Assuming, therefore, the existence of a strong Court of Intermediate Appeal, there are very cogent reasons why a Court of three or four Judges should no longer be occupied with a number of petty little points which any one of them would decide as well as and more rapidly than the full Court. It is almost as great a mistake to waste as to stint judicial strength. Judges such as are needed to maintain the standard of excellence to which Englishmen are accustomed are not to be picked up by hundreds at the street corners. It is needful, therefore, to economise our means and never to multiply Judges on the same bench, unless there is reasonable ground for believing that there is a knot to be untied worthy of the forces brought to bear upon it. Moreover, rapidity in a Court of First Instance is almost as important as extreme accuracy is in a Court of Appeal, and one Judge can work much faster than four. A Judge of First Instance who decided, say fifty cases, rightly, and went wrong in two, which were forthwith corrected by a Court of Appeal, would really have done better service than a Court which, in the same time, gave thirty decisions with only one error; so that it might well be possible to set three out of four Judges free for other and higher duties and get out of the remaining one as good work as before, or even better. And observe what setting free several Judges out of each Court means. It means that, without extravagantly increasing the aggregate judicial staff, adequate judicial power shall be forthcoming when it is really wanted. It means that we shall then never more hear of cases which require oral evidence being tried by affidavit, or of examinations which the Judge ought to hear being taken by deputy, because the work

could not be got through if witnesses were heard in Court. It means that we shall never again hear of appeal cases being hurried because there is a press of business and there are not Judges enough to hear them all with the grave deliberation which always distinguished the House of Lords and did so much to build up its honourable reputation. If *Sat bene si sat cito* may sometimes be admissible as the motto of a primary Judge, *Sat cito si sat bene* should always be the principle of a Court of Appeal. Therefore for such a Court we ask to have many Judges—not overwhelmed with work and driven into hasty decision; and in order that we may have such Courts it is essential that judicial strength should be economised, where it can be well spared, by reducing every tribunal of First Instance to a single seat. Thus we are guided to the principle which we venture to embody as follows:—

Maxim 6. 'Legal questions should be decided by a single Judge of First Instance, subject to appeal to a Court of many Judges, with a further appeal to the Ultimate Tribunal.'

We have nearly traversed the whole range of our inquiry into the primary principles which should govern the procedure of Courts of Justice. But we must add one more—a warning rather than a principle—a negative rather than a positive rule.

These are days of subterfuges—times when men greet principles with one hand and strangle them with the other; and it is, above all, needful now to insist on what we may call the principle of loyalty. Let there be no shams. Let us not affect to constitute tribunals with Judges of the class that we have been accustomed to rate as Judges, and then covertly allow half their proper work to be done by men who are not Judges—who have not the qualifications of Judges—who are not even called Judges—who are termed Registrars, Deputy-Registrars, Clerks, Referees, Arbitrators, it matters not what—but to whom judicial duties are delegated by wholesale to avoid the necessity of providing adequate judicial strength to do the work of the country. Every Court needs a staff of subordinate officers to do subordinate work, but the danger that always threatens from this quarter—which has already developed into formidable dimensions and is daily growing greater—which has eaten into the very heart of the Bankruptcy administration—which is undermining the efficacy of the Court of Chancery—which, under the name of compulsory arbitration, is abstracting the work of Common Law Judges and handing

it over to men who are not Judges, is, that the standard of the judicial bench is in reality lowered, when the real Judges who do half the judging work of the country are men who have not been promoted, and many of whom no one would dare to promote to the judicial bench. Nothing is gained by maintaining the highest standard for those who are nominally the only Judges of the land, if they are allowed to depute their work to men who are not Judges and are not fit to be so. Therefore let us complete our code of principles with this final dogma:—

Maxim 7. 'No Judge should be allowed to delegate to inferior officers any portion of his strictly judicial duties.'

With this principle we must close our investigation; but there is a question to be considered which has probably suggested itself to the minds of our readers again and again while travelling with us over the ground we have surveyed.

Are not all these principles too clear to be disputed? Do they need to be dwelt upon at this day? Can we not trace them in the Reports of Judicature Commissions? Are they not recognised and enforced in Lord Selborne's great work the Judicature Act, and in the Code of Rules which has been framed to give effect to its provisions?

Our answer to the last question will, in effect, answer all. And we answer, Yes and No. Every one of the maxims we have laid down is recognised both in the Act and in the Rules. Not one of them is thoroughly and practically enforced. Let it not be supposed that we speak otherwise than with respect and with hope of the Judicature Act and the Rules which have been framed under its provisions. Taken together they give promise of the grandest legal reform that has been seen in England in this, or indeed in any other, generation. But as yet the blessing rests in promise only. It was a gigantic work to get sound principles established, even in name, as the foundation of our future forensic machinery; and it is not surprising that the one session which laid the foundation was not long enough to complete in workmanlike fashion the superstructure for which it was prepared. The postponement of the operation of the Act will, however, afford an opportunity of harmonising and completing what as yet is an unfinished and, in some respects, a crude and inconsistent design. It would not be difficult to point out the numerous modifications required to bring this new Magna Charta of the Courts into consistency and working order. But to do so would lead us beyond the limits which we have imposed

upon ourselves, and carry us into the province of professional lawyers. On a few points only—rather by way of illustration than of exhaustive discussion—we may perhaps be permitted to indicate what we mean by the incompleteness which seems to us to mar this great work of reform in its present state.

The most casual glance at the Schedule to the Act and the Rules which have been subsequently framed, will suffice to disclose ambiguities and omissions innumerable. The mere circumstance that the new code of practice is to be picked out of two instruments instead of being scientifically defined with orderly arrangement in a single one, threatens to produce a vast amount of obscurity. If the Schedule contained all the general principles and the Rules all the working details, the separation would still be mischievous and embarrassing enough; but this is not so. On some topics the Schedule descends to the minutest particulars, while in others it leaves the broadest maxims to be enunciated for the first time in the Supplementary Rules. Then again the Schedule and the Rules together do not nearly cover the whole ground. The general scheme of the Act is to substitute one uniform procedure for the conflicting methods at present in use in Courts of Common Law and Equity; but the very first words of the Rules are a confession that it has been found impracticable within the time available for the purpose to do anything of the kind. Accordingly, the whole code of practice is prefaced by this declaration: 'Where no other provision is made by the Act or these Rules, the present procedure and practice remain in force.' There is no definition of what is meant by 'the present procedure and practice,' and it will in practice mean one thing in one division of the Court and a different thing in another—one thing to the mind of a Common Law Judge, and another to the mind of a Judge trained in the Court of Chancery. From the first, therefore, we should have under this system a revival of the discordant practices of Courts of Law and Equity, which it was one of the primary objects of the Act to extirpate. Much that was good, as well as much that was bad, is swept away for the sake of uniformity, and when all is done we are very little nearer uniformity than before. The division of the New Code of practice into two documents, and the incompleteness of each and of both together, were made inevitable by the hurry of last year's work. The Schedule was hastily drawn, and is sometimes obscurely expressed; and though it shows,

with some exceptions, a masterly grasp of first principles, it does not purport to be more than a sketch of the future procedure. Its clauses were forced through the House of Commons at a pace which the period of the session necessitated, but which left no scope for careful amendment. Its phraseology is such as repeatedly to assume the continued existence of fragments of the old procedures, without ever making it clear how much is supposed to be extinguished and how much is intended to survive. The Rules, drawn necessarily in subordination to the Schedule, have reproduced many of its defects of omission, ambiguity, and phraseology, from which it would be most desirable to free the future code of practice. It will be remembered that, while these Rules were undergoing the final process of settlement by the Judges, pressure was continually being applied in Parliament, by which the period of deliberation was confined within limits very narrow indeed, whether we consider the complicated nature of the task, the limited leisure of the Judges, or the widely different standpoints from which many of them must have approached the subject. The result is that what, but for the subsequent postponement, would have been the final code has in many respects the aspect of a first draft. All this can be easily mended now; and if the Rules and the Schedule were consolidated into a revised Schedule to the supplementary Act which must be passed, the work may be made as complete in detail as it is sound in principle.

It may be assumed that these grave defects of form will be remedied now that time is secured for consolidation and completion, but there are errors of principle which call for revision even more urgently than defects of form.

We cannot better explain our meaning than by taking some of our leading doctrines, and noting how they are at the same time recognised in theory and neglected in practice.

The manner in which the first of our maxims has been handled in the Act and the Rules is a typical specimen. Of the principle itself we hope no one can entertain a doubt. Full discovery is of the essence of justice, as light is of the essence of investigation; and, as we have said, the Act accepts the doctrine. But if we are asked whether full scope would be given to it under the Statute and the Rules as they stand at present, we are bound to answer in the negative.

The operation of the Rules, upon this principle, can scarcely be made intelligible without a brief statement of the law and

practice of discovery as it is now administered in our different Courts. Prior to the great reform of legal procedure, which was enacted more than twenty years ago, discovery—in the large sense in which we use the term, as applying both to the production of documents and the admission of facts—was a thing practically unknown in Courts of Law. In the Court of Chancery it had been for ages a familiar and efficient process, though the detailed regulations by which it was governed required then, as they require now, some important amendments. Under the orders of Court at present in force in the Court of Chancery, a plaintiff may at any time and a defendant may after a certain stage in the suit is reached, obtain from his adversary,—1. An answer on oath to any relevant interrogatories which he chooses to put in writing; 2. An affidavit containing a statement (followed by production) of all relevant documents which the deponent has or had in his possession. These privileges are subject to certain exceptions, which occasionally come into operation, and to which we will presently refer; but in general, each party is entitled to extract from the other side a full discovery both of facts and documents relating to the matters in dispute. The value of this privilege cannot be over-estimated, but the machinery of the Court of Chancery is somewhat defective in one or two respects.

In the first place, the discovery is on oath; but if, as sometimes happens, the answer as to facts, or the affidavit as to documents, is untrue or ambiguous, the process for making the discovery complete is very cumbersome and ineffective. It is an easy matter to give an evasive answer to an inconvenient interrogatory, or carelessly, or even wilfully, to omit a document from the list sworn to; and the obvious remedy in such cases would be to bring the party personally before an officer of the Court, and then and there cross-examine him on the subject. But this is not allowed, either in a case of a defective answer or of a suspected affidavit of documents. Different processes are in these two cases substituted for the efficient method of immediate cross-examination.

If an answer is insufficient, the first step is to obtain from the Court a declaration that it is so, and an order for a further answer. If the second answer is also insufficient, the application has to be renewed, and so on until the fourth application, when for the first time a personal cross-examination of the defaulter may be obtained. This is a needlessly tedious and expensive process, and is scarcely ever pushed through to its final stage. This inadequacy of the remedy

furnished for evasion has indirectly led to a very mischievous practice. In order to guard as much as possible against evasive answers, the interrogatories administered are commonly twisted, and repeated, and varied, and interlaced, in a manner which is an absolute insult to the English language; and in the simplest case, where perhaps only half-a-dozen short questions need to be answered the written interrogatories sometimes make up a good-sized pamphlet of jargon, and are responded to by an answer of the dimensions of a respectable volume. This is a great abuse and leads to much discreditable expense. An attempt was made in 1852 to cure the evil by an order that interrogatories should follow a certain short form given as a model; but it was soon found to be the easiest thing in the world to evade such questions, and the old abuse revived in all its vigour. The remedy, in short, was the wrong remedy. The only way to get rid of tautology in interrogatories is to make evasion an unprofitable game, and this can be done by no other method than by subjecting the offender to instant cross-examination. But it was contrary to the genius of the Court of Chancery to resort to this expedient, and it has preferred to rest under the obloquy which its ponderous interrogatories and answers have justly brought upon it.

The remedy for an insufficient affidavit of documents is even more unsatisfactory. You may know as well as possible that your adversary is in possession of an important document, which he has deliberately omitted from the list he has sworn to; but you are not allowed to prove its existence, or even to ask him to swear specially whether he has that particular document or not. All you can do is to apply for an order for a further and better affidavit, which is always refused, unless by some slip your opponent has allowed the existence of some such document to appear incidentally on the face of his own affidavit or answer. This, of course, seldom happens; and if a defendant is only dishonest and discreet enough, he can always baffle the demand for production of the most material documents, or at least indefinitely delay the process, until the plaintiff, by a circuitous process of amendment, has put himself in a position to interrogate afresh. Immediate cross-examination would, of course, furnish a complete remedy; but, for some odd reason or other, this is not allowed.

There is a defect common to all our Courts, which largely detracts from the efficiency of discovery. Besides professional privilege, which entitles a client to keep se-

cret what has passed between himself and his advisers, and which may perhaps be justifiable, there is another exception for which nothing can be said. If a litigant can so far sever the facts and documents which are to constitute his case from those advanced by the other side as to be able to say that they do not prove or tend to prove the opponent's case, but relate only to his own (a distinction which it sometimes requires a robust conscience to insist on), he is allowed to keep them back until he thinks fit to use them. The action of ejection which we instanced was an example of this character, and it may be paralleled as well in Courts of Equity as in Courts of Law. It is easy to see that this exception grafted on to the practice of discovery is a relic of the time when a lawsuit was regarded as a game in which either side might make the best use he could of his own weapons—play his cards, in short, as and when he thought best, and keep his adversary as long as possible in the dark. The practice has partially survived, and indeed survives still in the proposed new Rules, though the principle is, we hope we may say, exploded.

In order, therefore, to give full effect to the principle of discovery, what is wanted is, first, to abolish the exception we have mentioned; secondly, to extend the wholesome practice of cross-examining on defective answers and affidavits to all our Courts; thirdly, to give the benefit of discovery equally to plaintiff and defendant from the very outset of the proceedings, and, lastly and chiefly, to take from the Court the power of disallowing questions because they offend against pedantic rules of evidence or for any except well-founded reasons to be distinctly specified in the Rules of Court. No one can read the Schedule to the Judicature Act without seeing indications of a desire to remedy the evils which we have pointed out. But on this, as on a great many other points, neither the Schedule nor the Rules have yet assumed the perfect shape which would have been given to them if more time had been available for deliberation.

When we examine the specific provisions as to discovery, we find that what the proposed Rules really do, is to leave to the Court the same discretionary power of disallowing questions, on any ground, which has hitherto been exercised at Common Law, although the form of the procedure is somewhat improved. The Schedule indeed provided that no relevant interrogatory should be disallowed, but in the teeth of this enactment the Rules restore the old arbitrary power of disallowance, which, in such instances as we have before given, has practically neutral-

ised the benefit of full discovery. We look in vain in the Rules for any clear direction that such petty objections as we have specified shall not prevail in the future as they have prevailed in the past, though there are vague indications that such a reform would be approved. The result may well be, that each division of the new Court will deem itself bound by its own previous practice (as indeed the Rules declare in general terms that it shall be), and that little or nothing substantial will be done to make discovery one whit more effective or less cumbersome than it has been in days gone by. The absence from the practice of the Court of Chancery of any working corrective for imperfect or evasive discovery seems to have attracted some attention, but the subject is dealt with only in the feeblest way. Power is given to a Judge to order a further answer either in writing or *visd voce*. This may work, but it would be incomparably better to give to the questioning party the absolute right to cross-examine the offender. The more stringent a rule of this kind is made, the less temptation will pleaders feel to recur to their inveterate vice of tautological interrogatories.

Another blot, still worse in principle, though likely to be less extensively mischievous in practice, is, that the Rules expressly recognise the old doctrine that a man shall not be compelled to make discovery of what in his view forms part of his own case; in other words, the pernicious notion that a lawsuit is a game in which each party may play his cards to the best advantage and keep them dark in the meantime, still finds a place in Rules which, in the main, are based upon the opposite maxim: so hard is it for lawyers to shake off the trammels of long-continued custom.

The same want of vigorous and explicit treatment may be traced in the application of our second and third maxims.

Nothing would have been easier than to preface the chapter on pleading with an express declaration abolishing all the rules of special pleading, and substituting untechnical or open pleading; but this is not done. Instead of it, a series of orders is given on the subject, out of harmony, it is true, with the old special pleading rules, but not at all incompatible with the maintenance of many of them. And when it is remembered that all these specific directions are overridden by the Note that, where no other provision is made by the Act or the Rules, the present procedure and practice of each division of the Court remain in force, it is far from certain that we have yet seen the last of technical pleading.

So in the regulations which provide for settling the form of issues to be tried, the Rules provide no definite machinery for bringing the question under the consideration of the Judge, and, what is much more serious, no provision to put an end to the mischievous practice of submitting mixed issues of fact and law to the decision of juries. Such faults as these can easily be remedied; but it is not the less important that the remedy should be applied at the outset, instead of waiting until it is evolved out of a chaos of, perhaps, conflicting decisions. A rule of practice which might be settled by a stroke of the pen, sometimes takes years to define itself by the costly process of judicial evolution.

Our fourth maxim—that the mode of trial should be left to the discretion of the Judge—appears in the Rules in a form so mutilated as scarcely to be recognisable.

The discretion given to the Judge is modified in two ways. In the first place he has the power to remit the cause to a deputy, called a Referee (a subject to which we will recur presently), and in the next he is deprived of the power of directing a trial without a jury, if a defendant desires a jury. No such absolute right appears to be given to a plaintiff, and it is by no means obvious why either party should be able to override the opinion of the Court upon the matter, or if so, why the defendant should be specially favoured in this respect. Experience seems to point to a very different rule. Whether a particular litigant, if allowed the choice, will prefer a Jury to an unassisted or unimpeded Judge, depends in general a good deal upon his previous habits and experience. But there are certain classes of cases in which a jury would always be preferred, and these are, for the most part, just the cases in which it ought not to be allowed. Thus a plaintiff in an action against a Railway Company would, we imagine, always prefer a jury. The woman, whether plaintiff or defendant, in a breach of promise case, would certainly do so. A shopkeeper, suing for the price of goods supplied to a minor, would invariably make the same choice. A defendant in a tangled case, who knows that he is wrong, and is defending merely because he does not like to pay, will rather take the chance of getting a blundering jury, than leave himself in the hands of an intelligent Judge. And, in general, the man with a bad case will desire a jury. There seems no reason why such a desire, whether on the part of a plaintiff or a defendant, should be indulged; and the Rules which deprive a plaintiff of the privilege of a jury, unless the Judge

thinks fit to grant it, might very well mete out like measure to a defendant also.

This is no doubt one of those matters on which it may have been thought desirable to make some concession to what is or is supposed to be a popular prejudice, but whatever form the rules are to assume in this respect, they should at least have no ambiguity on so important a point. And they are by no means free from ambiguity. Thus we find in them a provision empowering a Judge to direct a trial without a jury "in any cause or matter, which before the Act could, without consent of the parties, be tried without a jury." It is almost impossible to say what this means. Two suits involving precisely similar questions may be instituted, even now, one in a Common Law Court, and the other in the Court of Chancery, for there is a large area of concurrent jurisdiction. In one of these there will be an absolute right to a jury; in the other, no such right at all. When universal jurisdiction is given to all the Divisions, how is it to be determined whether a cause of this description is or is not one in which a jury can be dispensed with without consent? Is the meaning this—that in one division of the High Court a jury may be insisted on, and that under circumstances precisely similar it may be refused in another? If so, an intention so startling ought to be much more clearly expressed. And if this obscurity were removed it would still be difficult to reconcile the provision of the Schedule, that a defendant shall always be entitled to a jury, with the apparently conflicting provision of the Rules, that in certain classes of cases the Judge shall have power to direct a trial without a jury.

Nor is this the only incongruity to be found in the regulations on the subject, for while the Schedule, as we have seen, jealously preserves the right of a defendant to insist on a trial by Judge and Jury in all cases, the Statute itself enables the Court, in a large and important class of cases, to substitute a trial before a referee for a trial by Judge and Jury. The singular result is that in many cases the Court is allowed to dispense with a jury, but only on the condition of also dispensing with the Judge. And yet to the lay mind it would seem that if a referee may be trusted, in all cases which the Court thinks suitable, to sit alone without a jury, a judge might be equally trusted to sit alone, in cases also thought suitable, where he does the work himself instead of sending it to a deputy.

Our fifth maxim as to the mode of taking evidence seems to be more cordially adopted by the Schedule and the Rules than

some of the other principles which we have considered. The Schedule in effect makes *viva voce* evidence the rule, but gives to the Court a discretion of allowing affidavit evidence where it is thought more convenient. It is, however, left in doubt whether the use of *viva voce* evidence is to extend to the large class of cases in which the pleadings will speak for themselves, so as to require no definite issues to be extracted. If it is to do so, the intention should be much more clearly expressed. If, on the other hand, affidavit evidence is still to be used in all such cases, the Rules must be credited with a deplorable concession in favour of the worst part of the practice of the Court of Chancery.

Another provision of the Rules empowers the Court, for sufficient cause, to allow evidence to be taken before a Commissioner or Examiner. If this is merely intended to adopt the Common Law practice of issuing Commissions to examine witnesses who are prevented by distance or ill health from appearing in Court, it is right enough. Even if it be meant to extend so far as to sanction the examination in chief, before an examiner, of a witness who refuses to make an affidavit in a case where affidavit evidence ought to be received, it is equally unobjectionable. But if it is meant as an adoption of the pernicious practice of the Court of Chancery, under which the evidence of conflicting witnesses is taken out of Court and used before a Judge who has no opportunity of seeing the demeanour of the witnesses, and judging of their credibility, it cannot be too energetically condemned. This abuse exists in the Court of Chancery only because the Legislature declined to supply a sufficient staff of Judges to do the most important part of their work themselves, and ought not to be tolerated for a day after the reconstruction of our whole judicial system. Ambiguity on a vital point like this is about the gravest fault with which a code of procedure could be charged.

Our sixth maxim is handled, both in the Act and in the Rules, with an amount of indecision which, if left unremedied, will be a lasting blot on this great measure of Forensic Reform. It is either right or wrong that, in the first instance, questions of law should go before a single Judge. It can scarcely be possible to assort such questions beforehand, and say that such and such a class shall be heard by a Full Court, and such and such another class by one Judge only; and this for the obvious reason that until the hearing the Court can do no more than guess at the degree of difficulty or importance of the points to be decided.

A preliminary hearing to decide such a matter might often be as tedious as the final argument itself, and no one, indeed, has suggested such a course as feasible. A rule that, in Division Number 1 of the Court, Judges shall sit singly to hear legal questions, and that in Divisions 2, 3, and 4, they shall sit in Courts of not less than three, is indefensible on the face of it; and if anything could make it more so, it would be the probability that the points brought before the First Division would be of greater difficulty and greater moment than those which a Full Court is to be employed to solve.

And yet this is the scheme of the Act and of the Rules. The Chancery Division which now deals with millions where the Common Law Divisions deal with hundreds or thousands, which embraces within its jurisdiction all the most refined and subtle equities which have hitherto been foreign to Common Law practice, is to work in the future, as in the past, with single-seated Judges, while the energies of Full Courts are to be occupied in the Common Law Divisions on every point of law which the advisers of the litigants may be ingenious enough to raise.

Such an arrangement is utterly irreconcilable not only with our principle but with any principle at all, and ought not to be suffered to deform the Statute when it comes into actual operation. And be it observed that this is an arrangement which no one defends. It is simply a relic of a bad past, which the Legislature has not had the courage to destroy, even when it was engaged in the task of revolutionary reform. The only excuse which has been put forward in its defence is, that it would be too costly to multiply Judges sufficiently to furnish full Courts in the Chancery Division, and that single Vice-Chancellors have been found by experience good enough Judges of First Instance. This is true, but the argument of economy is all the other way. Let Sittings in Banco be abolished in all the Divisions (except in certain rare cases to be specially provided for in Chancery and Common Law Divisions alike), and a vast saving of judicial power will be effected, which may be utilised, where it will be urgently called for, in a strong intermediate Court of Appeal. This will serve the purpose now served by Courts in Banco, and other important purposes, too. No one denies that this is the right thing to do, though Parliament has not yet shown the courage to do it.

When we seek in the Judicature Act and Rules for the reflection of our last maxim, we are oppressed by the sadness of the task.

In the most sweeping terms every Judge is empowered to delegate at discretion whatever he thinks fit of his judicial duties. It may be admitted that delegation of some kind ought to be sanctioned, and, indeed, in certain particulars, to an extent which is not permitted at present. It is not right that the time of a Judge should be occupied in adding up figures, and comparing vouchers, and doing a vast amount of analogous work, which must be done by some one in the course of a large proportion of the judicial investigations which came before the Courts. It is grievous waste of power to put upon such men as we have, and always hope to have, for Judges, tasks which may be equally well performed by inferior officials. But the power of delegation should be strictly confined to matters which do not require the highest efforts of the judicial mind; and to send causes by wholesale to be disposed of by referees, arbitrators, chief clerks, registrars, and deputy-registrars, is, in effect, to lower the standard of the acting Judiciary. The excuse for the unqualified power of delegation which it is proposed to create, is, we believe, that it is difficult to define beforehand the precise subjects which admit of so being dealt with, and that the Bench may be trusted to use the authority with discretion, and to impose a seemly limitation on themselves, even though the Legislature has not thought fit to impose it upon them. Experience, however, has taught us the unsoundness of this argument. It is quite true that no Judge will send to a delegate work which he feels ought to be done by himself—that is, if it is possible for him to do it. But every Judge must feel that it is better that causes should be tried by inferior officials than that they should not be tried at all, and when he finds himself overwhelmed with work, it becomes a necessity for him to delegate his functions, rather than leave the work undone. Illustrations of this will crowd upon the mind of every one who has seen anything of our existing procedure. In Chancery and on Circuit, chief clerks and arbitrators are employed to do work which properly belongs to Judges, and the whole of the business of the London Court of Bankruptcy is delegated to a body of registrars, who were not selected to do judicial work, and are not paid on the scale on which judicial work ought to be remunerated.

With such warnings before us let it not be said that unlimited licence to send causes to deputies can be conferred on overworked Judges without grave injury to the administration of justice.

We have said enough to explain why the projected code of practice seems to us to

need a thorough consolidation and revision, but before we part with it we are anxious to guard against two very natural misconceptions. We would not have it supposed on the one hand that our observations are put forth as an attempt at exhaustive criticism. The ground covered by the rules is so large that it would need ten times the space at our disposal to pass in review all the details of the scheme. The points we have dwelt upon have been selected from many more, as affording the best illustration of the kind of work which yet remains to be done. If the general principles for which we have contended are even approximately sound, the schedule and the rules ought to be consolidated into one complete code of procedure with no omissions to invite the resuscitation of conflicting practices in different branches of the one Supreme Court of Judicature, and no ambiguities to furnish material for years of technical and costly litigation. Such modifications should be introduced as will make the code of the future consistent throughout with itself and with the broad principles on which it purports to be based, and no pains should be spared to weed out imperfections of phraseology which seem sometimes to suggest the revival of the very procedure which is elsewhere abolished.

On the other hand, we should be still more grievously misconceived if it were supposed that we undervalue the work which we have ventured to criticise. It is an ungrateful but inevitable part of a critic's duty to give special prominence to that which he least approves, but it does not follow that the merits on which he is silent may not outweigh the faults which he exposes for the sake of inviting amendment. If we were called upon to make a declaration of faith on the subject, we should feel bound in the fullest sense to recognise the greatness of the design and the truth of the principles on which it has been framed. The errors, as they seem to us, are errors of detail only—not unimportant detail it is true, but precisely such defects as every great work must show for which adequate time has not been forthcoming. The Judicature of England could not be built on nobler lines than those which are traced in Lord Selborne's plan. When all the difficulties of the task are considered, the passing of the Judicature Act was a stupendous work, which no one less able and resolute than its author could have accomplished within the brief period of a single session. But the work is only half done until a superstructure is reared worthy of the foundations that have already been laid, and for this the country will look to Lord Cairns with a con-

fidence not less than that which it reposed in his predecessor.

It was a fortunate accident that political necessities compelled the Government to take another year for the completion of the great work they have in hand. It will not be found a day too much, and the delay will be compensated a hundredfold if the result should be, as we may well hope it will be, to make the Judicature Act and the Judicature Rules, in their final form, as perfect in execution as—in spite of all minor defects—they are grand in conception.

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ART. VIII.—*Discorsi del Sommo Pontefice Pio IX., pronunziati in Vaticano, ai Fedeli di Roma e dell' Orbe, dal principio della sua Prigione fino al presente.* Vol. I., Roma, Aurelj, 1872; Vol. II., Cuggiani, 1873.

As a general rule, the spirit of a system can nowhere be more fairly, more authentically learned, than from the language of its accredited authorities, especially of its acknowledged Head. The rule applies peculiarly to the case of the Papacy, and of the present Pope, from considerations connected both with the system and with the man. The system aims at passing its operative utterances through the lips of the Supreme Pontiff: and as no holder of the high office has ever more completely thrown his personality into his function, so no lips have ever delivered from the Papal Throne such masses of matter. Pope all over, and from head to foot, he has fed for eight-and-twenty years upon the moral diet which a too sycophantic following supplies, till every fibre of his nature is charged with it, and the simple-minded Bishop and Archbishop Mastai is hardly to be recognised under the Papal mantle.

It can hardly be policy, it must be a necessity of his nature, which prompts his incessant harangues. But they are evidently a true picture of the man; as the man is of the system, except in this that he, to use a homely phrase, blurts out, when he is left to himself, what it delivers in rather more comely phrases, overlaid with art.

Much interest therefore attaches to such a phenomenon as the published Speeches of the Pope; and besides what it teaches in itself, other and singular lessons are to be learned from the strange juxtaposition in which, for more than four years, his action has now been exhibited. Probably in no

place and at no period, through the whole history of the world, has there ever been presented to mankind, even in the agony of war or revolution, a more extraordinary spectacle than is now witnessed at Rome. In that city the Italian Government holds a perfectly peaceable, though originally forcible, possession of the residue of the States of the Church; and at the same time, the Pope, remaining on his ground, by a perpetual blast of fiery words, appeals to other lands and to future days, and thus makes his wordy, yet not wholly futile, war upon the Italian Government.

The mere extracts and specimens, which have from time to time appeared in the public journals, have stirred a momentary thrill, or sigh, or shrug, according to the temperaments and tendencies of readers. But they have been totally insufficient to convey an idea of the vigour with which this peculiar warfare is carried on; of the absolute, apparently the contemptuous, tolerance with which it is regarded by the Government ruling on the spot; or of the picture which is presented to us by the words and actions of the Pope, taken as a whole, and considered in connection with their possible significance to the future peace of Europe.

Between the 20th of October, 1870, and the 18th of September, 1873, this nonagenarian Pontiff (he is now aged, at least, eighty-two), besides bearing all the other cares of ecclesiastical government, and despite intervals of illness, pronounced two hundred and ninety Discourses, which are reported in the eleven hundred pages of the two Volumes now to be introduced to the notice of the reader. They are collected and published for the first time by the Rev. Don Pasquale de Francis; and, though they may be deemed highly incendiary documents, they are sold at the bookshop of the Propaganda, and are to be had in the ordinary way of trade, by virtue of that freedom of the press which the Papacy abhors and condemns.

The first question which a judicious reader will put is, whether we have reasonable assurance that this work really reports the Speeches of the Pontiff with accuracy. And on this point there appears to be no room for reasonable doubt. Some few of them are merely given as abstracts, or *sunti*; but by far the larger number *in extenso*, in the first person, with minutely careful notices of the incidents of the occasion, such as the smiles, the sobs, the tears \* of

the Pontiff on the auditory; the animated gestures of the one, the enthusiastic shoutings of the other, which cause the halls of the Vatican to ring again. In a detailed notice which, instead of introducing the first volume, is rather inconveniently appended to it at the close, the editor gives an account both of the opportunities he has enjoyed, and of the loving pains he took in the execution of his task. On nearly every occasion he seems to have been present and employed as a reporter (*raccoglitore*); once his absence is noticed as if an unusual, no less than unfortunate, circumstance (ii. 284). In a particular instance (ii. 299) he speaks of the Pope himself as personally giving judgment on what might or might not be published (*sarebbe stato pubblicato, se così fosse piaciuto a CHI potea volere altrimenti*). The whole assistance of the Papal press in Rome was freely given him (i. 505). Eyes and ears, he says, far superior to his own had revised and approved the entire publication (i. 506). The Preface to the Second Volume refers to the enthusiastic reception accorded to the First, and announces the whole work as that which is alone authentic and the most complete (ii. 14, 15). So that our footing is plainly sure enough; and we may reject absolutely the supposition which portions of the book might very well suggest, namely, that we were reading a scandalous Protestant forgery.

Certainly, if the spirit of true adoration will make a good reporter, Don Pasquale ought to be the best in the world. The Speeches he gives to the world are 'a treasure,' and that treasure is sublime, inspired, divine (i. 1, 2, 3). Not only do we quote these epithets textually, but they, and the like of them, are repeated everywhere, even to satiety, and perhaps something more than satiety. 'Receive, then, as from the hands of angels, this Divine Volume of the Angelic Pio Nono' (p. 4); 'the most glorious and venerated among all the Popes' (p. 3); 'the portentous Father of the nations' (p. 11). This is pretty well, but it is not all. He is 'the living Christ' (p. 9); he is the Voice of God. There is but one step more to take, and it is taken. He is (in the face of the Italian Government) Nature that protests: he is God, THAT CONDEMNS (p. 17).

the Papal side, is entitled to respect, and must awaken sympathy: but when he has to describe the tears and sobs which, as he states, accompanied the funeral procession of the ex-Minister Rattazzi (ii. 350), he asks, might not this be a Congress of Crocodiles (*non sembra questo un Congresso di Coccodrilli*)?

\* In the estimation of Don Pasquale, all emotion, if within the walls of the Vatican, and on

In a letter dated December 10, 1874, and addressed to a monthly magazine,\* Archbishop Manning, with his usual hardihood, says, 'for a writer who affirms that the Head of the Catholic Church claims to be the Incarnate and Visible Word of God I have really compassion.' Will this bold controversialist spare a little from his fund of pity for the Editor of these Speeches, who declares him to be the living Christ, and for the Pope under whose authority this declaration is published and sold?

Truly, some of the consequences of a 'free press' are rather startling. And those who are astonished at the strained and preternatural tension, the *surexcitation anormale*, to borrow a French phrase, the inflamed and inflaming tone of the language ordinarily used by the Pontiff, should carefully bear in mind that the fulsome and revolting strains, of which we have given a sample, exhibit to us the atmosphere which he habitually breathes.

Even those, however, who would most freely criticise, and, indeed, denounce the prevailing strain and too manifest upshot of these Speeches, may find pleasure, while they yield a passing tribute to the persevering tenacity, and, if we may be pardoned such a word, the pluck, which they display. It may be too true that the Pope has brought his misfortunes on his own head. But they are heavy, and they are aggravated by the weight of years: and the strong constitution, indicated by his deep chest and powerful voice, has had to struggle with various infirmities. Yet, by his mental resolution, all 'cold obstruction' is kept at arm's length: and he delivers himself from week to week or day to day, sometimes, indeed, more than once in the day, of his copious and highly explosive material, with a really marvellous fluency, versatility, ingenuity, energy, and, in fact, with every good quality, except that the absence of which, unhappily, spoils all the rest, namely, wisdom. And, odd to say, even the word wisdom (*saviezza*) seems to be almost the only one which in these Speeches does not constantly pass his lips.

Reversing the child's order with his plate at dinner, let us keep to the last that which is the worst, and also the heaviest, part of the task before us: and begin by noticing one or two discourses of the Holy Father to little children, which are full of charm and grace. For even very little children go to him on deputations, and, reciting after the Italian manner, discharge in manufactured verse their anti-revolutionary wrath. An

infant of five years old denounces before him the sacrilegious oppressor! (ii. 405.) Another *fanciulletta* declares the Pope to be the King of kings (ii. 465). These interviews were turned by the Pope to edification. He tells the children of their *peccatucci* (ii. 209)—how shall we try to give the graceful *tournure* of the phrase? 'darling little sins:' and certain orphans he again gently touches with the incomparable Italian diminutive on their *difettucci* and their *rabbiette*, and lovingly presents to them the example of their Saviour:—

'Now that the Church commemorates' (it was on Dec. 19) 'the birth of Jesus Christ the babe, do you cause Him to be re-born in your hearts. . . . beg Him to put there something that is good, namely, a good will to study, and to mind your work and all your other duties.'

And so he blesses them, and sends them away (ii. 119).

There are other examples not less pleasing, such as a discourse to some Penitents of the Roman Magdalen. After mentioning the case of Rahab, the Pontiff proceeds in a tone both Evangelical and fatherly (ii. 57):—

'You, too, my daughters, carry the red mark; you, too, carry a mark able to deliver you from the assaults, that the enemies of your souls will make. This red mark you have put upon you; and its meaning is, the most precious blood of Jesus Christ. Often meditate on this blood, which has merited for you the grace of your salvation and your conversion. At the feet of the crucified Jesus, even as once did the repentant Magdalen, meditate on the love that He has shown you, and you will triumph over all your enemies.'

There is, perhaps, not a word of this affectionate and simple address, which would not be acceptable even if it were delivered from a Nonconforming pulpit; so devoid is it of the specialities of the Roman Church. Nor is this the only discourse of which the same might be said (see, for instance, Disc. cxxii.). Nor must we very sharply complain if sometimes we find in these Discourses the religious ideas which we are wont to condemn as Popery. They are, perhaps, less frequent and flagrant than might have been expected. They assume prominence, however, in one passage particularly, where the Pope declares that the prayers of the Mother addressed to her Son have almost the character of commands (*hanno quasi ragion di comando*, ii. 394), and there is traceable in some of the Addresses a curious, sometimes an amusing, idea of the personal claim upon the Blessed Virgin Mary and others of the Saints, which he has established by his acts, especially constituting the Immaculate Conception a part of the Christian Faith. 'She owes you

\* 'Macmillan's Magazine' for January 1875.

the finest gem in her coronet,' says one deputation (ii. 325). 'If,' says another, 'it be certain that gratitude is more lively in heaven than on earth, let him' (here we are dealing with St. Louis, to whom the Pope had erected a monument), 'by way of payment, give you back your crown' (ii. 116). And again, with yet greater naïveté; 'and most holy Mary the Immaculate, on whom you conferred so great an honour, surely she will never allow herself to be outdone in generosity!' (ii. 26).

Next after the personal piety and geniality, which not even all the perversions of his policy can extinguish in the Pope, some sympathy remains due to his irrepressible sentiment of fun. To this even social rumour has done justice in some cases. For example, at the time of the Council, when his hospitality was so taxed by the presence of large numbers of very poor Bishops as to threaten him with an empty exchequer, he is commonly reported to have said, '*facendomi infallibile, mi faranno fallire*: while declaring me *un-failable*, they will cause me to *fail*.' In these volumes he explains to a group of children the prevailing redundancy of demoniacal action in Italy by recounting an observation then recently made to him, 'that all the devils had been let out from hell, except a porter, to receive new arrivals.' The preface shows he felt the ground to be tender, for he introduced the story by saying (i. 40): 'Here I should like to tell you an incident. Yet I am doubtful, as it might excite too much merriment; but come, I will give it you.'

This for children; but for Bishops also, newly-made Bishops, he has his comic anecdote, and in order that it may be suitable, he chooses it from the life of a Saint, though a modern one. Alphonso Liguori, now not only a Saint, but also lately promoted by the Pope to the rank of a Doctor of the Church, in his time, it seems, used to bore the Neapolitan Ministro Tannucci, and consequently sometimes found it hard to get within his doors. One day, having long to wait, the Bishop sat upon the steps and recited his 'corona;' and he recounts his weariness in one of his letters, with the comment which shall be given in the original tongue: '*questo benedetto ministro mi fa spulare un' ala di polmone*' (ii. 286).

The Pope's references to Holy Scripture are very frequent; and yet perhaps hardly such as to suggest that he has an accurate or familiar acquaintance with it. They are possibly picked piecemeal out of the services of the Church for the day. It is, for example, to say the least, a most singular method of reference to the difficult subject

of the Genealogies of our Lord to say (i. 127), 'we read at the commencement of *two* of the Gospels a long Genealogy of Him, which comes down from Princes and Kings.' Where, again, did the Pontiff learn that the Jews, as a nation, had some celebrity as smiths (*nell' arte fabbrile*, i. 169)? with which imaginary celebrity he oddly enough connects the mention of the antediluvian Tubal-cain in Gen. iv. 22. Nor can anything be more curious than his *exegesis* applied to the Parable of the Sower. He expounds it to a Roman Deputation (i. 335). The wayside represents the impious and unbelievers, and all who are possessed by the devil; those who received the seed among the thorns are those who rob their neighbour and plunder the Church; the stony places represent those who know, but do not act. 'And who are the good ground? You. The good ground is that which is found in all good Christians, in all those who belong to the numerous Catholic Clubs.' Now the Clubs on the other side are Clubs of Hell (ii. 420 *bis*); sanctity is thus (here and commonly elsewhere) identified with certain politics. Nor does it seem very easy to trace in detail the resemblance between the exposition of the Vicar and that given by the Principal (St. Matt. xiii. 18-23).

Indeed the Papal Exegesis appears somewhat frequently to bear marks of dormitation. Thus, placing King Solomon at a date of twenty-two or twenty-three centuries back (ii. 32), he makes that sovereign the contemporary either of Pericles, or of Alexander the Great. More important, because it is a specimen of the wilful interpretations so prevalent at Rome, is the mode in which he proves his right to be the Teacher-general of all States and all nations, because (ii. 456) Saint Peter was chosen, in the case of Cornelius, to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles.

Many, again, will read with misgiving the Pope's treatment of the text, St. Luke ii. 52: 'And Jesus increased in *wisdom* and stature.' 'This increase was only apparent, for in Him, the Son of God, was' (*i.e.*, was already) 'the fulness of all wisdom, as of every virtue' (i. 42). To resolve positive statements of Holy Scripture into mere seeming, is not a mode of exposition the most in favour with orthodox Christianity; and, if it is to be applied to statements affecting the Perfect Humanity of our Lord, to what point is it to be carried? The Commentary of Cornelius à Lapide, which will not be viewed with suspicion in Roman quarters, discusses at great length this most interesting text, and, after considering the

varied language of the Fathers, proceeds to lay it down that, besides growth in appearance and in the opinion of men, and besides the growth of what we term experience, 'tertiò et propriè, esto Christus non creverit sapientiâ et gratiâ habituali, crevit tamen actuali et practicâ; nam robur spiritûs et sapientiam cœlestem in animâ latentem, indies magis et magis exerebat etiam existens puer.' Those who desire a more modern statement may with advantage consult a beautiful passage in the commentary of Dean Alford *in loco*.

But what is really sad in the Scriptural references of the Pope is the incessant and violent application which is made of them to political incidents and circumstances, and the too daring appropriation to himself of passages, very exalted indeed, which relate to our Saviour.

As respects the former of these topics, we may take as an example, a short speech to a company of ladies engaged in the reclamation of girls who have lived a life of shame: 'With the same charity and zeal which you have employed in doing good to these girls, by reclaiming them from sin, be careful to pray the Almighty that your charity may also reach all the enemies of the Church.' What would be thought of the taste of any Protestant association of this country which should exhort the managers of the Magdalen never to forget praying God for the conversion of Papists? Tories and Liberals might in this way reciprocally do a stroke of business in politics while exercising their charity and piety. In truth, it might seem to the readers of these volumes as if the putting down of Italian liberalism and nationality (which are for the Pope one and the same thing) had constituted the one great purpose for which the Gospel had been sent into the world. Certainly no one can complain that the Pope's injunctions to pray are not sufficient either in number or in urgency. They are incessant. The Pope gives no countenance whatever to the theory of Professor Tyndall, or to that of Mr. Knight, who, as we understand, so cleverly settles the great Prayer-controversy by 'splitting the difference.' But of the almost innumerable exhortations to pray in these volumes, at least nineteen in twenty are directed to the establishment of sound Papal politics, and the conversion, or, failing this, the destruction of Liberals, as though they were the people of some new Sodom and Gomorrah, or Tyre and Sidon; to the triumph of the Church, and the restoration of what the Pope, with his peculiar ideas, is pleased to call 'peace.'

It appears, however, that the comparison,

which he draws indirectly between women living by the wages of sin and Liberals, admits of a yet more pungent application in the case of a class who are, in the Pope's eyes, even worse than Liberals. These are the bad Catholics, who have 'disdained the light of faith.' These will, he says (ii. 31), be judged more severely than women who live in shame, but who are far more likely to repent. 'The light of faith' is, we opine, that of the Vatican Council; and the 'bad Catholics' appear to be the eminent men who declined to affirm as immemorial truths the novelties and the historical falsehoods it imposed.

One touch remains to be added to this portion of the extraordinary picture. The prisoner not imprisoned, who is weekly visited by crowds or companies of lawbreakers, glorying in impunity, receives from them, and from the sycophants about him, an adulation not only excessive in its degree, but of a kind which, to an unbiassed mind, may seem to border on profanity. To compare him with the Scripture worthies generally is not enough. Claiming, under the new-fangled Roman religion, to possess in his single hands all the governing powers of the Redeemer over his Church, it is also in the sufferings of Christ alone that he and his worshippers, he with some little excuse, they with hardly any, find a fit standard of comparison for what he has to endure. Now as to his own sufferings, we have no doubt he must suffer much, when he looks abroad over the Christian world, and reckons up the results of what the most distinguished of our Roman Catholic laymen, in a lecture to the Roman Catholics of a midland town, recently and justly called the longest and most disastrous Pontificate on record. But the sufferings mentioned incessantly in this book are the sufferings pretended to be inflicted by the Italian Kingdom upon the so-called Prisoner of the Vatican. Let us see how, and with what daring misuse of Holy Scripture, they are illustrated in the authorised work before us. 'He and his august consort,' says Don Pasquale, speaking of the Count and Countess de Chambord, 'were profoundly moved at such great afflictions, which the *Lamb of the Vatican* (*L'Agnello del Vaticano*, ii. 545) has to endure.'

On the 23rd of March, 1873 (ii. 291) the Pope draws a picture of the Apostles, repairing to our Lord, and desired by Him to take their rest around Him. He proceeds:

'Even now there is a parallel to this; when from different parts of the Catholic world the Bishops and Missionaries repair to Rome that they may give account of their missions to the present most unworthy Vicar of Jesus Christ,

and find within the narrow limits of the Vatican an interval of rest from their labours.'

On the 3rd of July, 1871 (i. 131), the Pope reminds his ex-employés of the solemn words used by St. Thomas, when he proposed to accompany his Master to death, 'Let us also go, that we may die with him' (John xi. 16). 'You,' he says, 'are they who this morning resemble those faithful followers of Jesus Christ, in your visit to the foot of the Pontifical throne.' On the 5th of August, 1871, he is visited by the *Figlie di Maria*; and again, he compares their visit to the act of the Blessed Virgin and her companions, who stood by the Cross of Christ, (ii. 212). He adds: 'It is not, however, true that on my Calvary I suffer the pains which Jesus Christ suffered on His; and only in a certain sense can it be said that in me there is renewed in figure all that was in fact accomplished on the Divine person of the Redeemer.' Even so he quotes the inexpressibly solemn words of our Lord at the moment of His capture (John xviii. 9), 'I am the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and I have the right to employ the very words of Jesus Christ. My Father, those whom Thou hast given me I will not lose (*quos dedisti mihi, non perdam*).'

It is futile to attempt a defence of language such as this by alleging that, according to the beautiful observation of St. Augustine, Christ is relieved in His poor, and that according to the yet loftier teaching of St. Paul, the measure of His sufferings is filled up in His saints. Where St. Paul withheld his foot, Pius IX. does not fear to tread. Where St. Paul gave the catalogue of his sufferings, no less truthful than terrible (2 Cor. xi. 23-27), he did not call them his Calvary, as the Pope calls his voluntary sojourn within the walls of a noble Palace which is open to all the world, and which he can inhabit, leave, re-enter, when and as he pleases. When he recorded the good deeds of Priscilla and Aquila, who for his life had exposed their own (Rom. xvi. 3), he did not compare even these noble sacrifices with the ministries rendered in the Gospels, by her whom the Pope teaches us to deem the holiest of women, to the Son of God Himself. His sublimity is ever as simple, natural, and healthy, as the daring and stilted phrases of the modern Vatican are the reverse.

\* It is strange to observe that the words quoted by the Pope do not correspond with the Vulgate (Ed. Frankfort, 1826, with the approbation of Leo XII.), either in John xviii. 9, where it reads, *quos dedisti mihi, non perdidisti ex eis quemquam*, or in John xvii. 12, where the words are, *quos dedisti mihi, custodivi*.

If the Pope sees in his own official character such high personal titles and such nearness to Christ, it can be no wonder that he should raise those titles, which are official, to an extraordinary altitude. He does not, indeed, quite emulate in all points the astounding language of Don Pasquale, who always goes mad in white linen when the Pope goes mad in white satin.\* Yet he says (ii. 265), 'Keep, my Jesus, through the instrumentality of the successors of the Apostles, through the instrumentality of the clergy, this flock, that God has given to you and to me.'

No wonder then, as he is thus partner with Christ in a separate and transcendent sense, that he should give us as a rule for our Italian politics, whoever is for me, is for God (*chi è con me, è con Dio*). It may be thought that this is the assumption which all Christian men should make. But that is not his opinion. When similar manifestations of piety are hazarded on behalf of the Italian Government, mildly to consecrate their cause, which is after all the cause of a great nation, he executes summary justice (ii. 317) upon such pretences. 'Somebody has had the boldness to write, "God is not on the side of the Pope, but on the side of Italy."

'This assertion, somewhat impudent, is contrary to the facts. And first of all I shall say, that if Italy is with God, then assuredly she is with His Vicar.' It is all of a piece. Nothing but the superhuman is good enough for the Pope; and in the next edition of the Roman religion, probably even this will not do. We have already shown where Don Pasquale, an accomplished professor of flunkeyism in things spiritual, calls the Pope outright by the term 'inspired.' Again, in presenting his volumes to Count de Chambord (ii. 547), he has it thus:

'Nel gran volume, ove il Divin secondo Spirito, parlando Pio, suo verbo detta.'

Nor can it be said that the Pope himself, here at least, falls short of his obsequious editor, when we observe the view he takes of his own authority as matched with that of an inspired prophet: even of him whom God 'sent unto David,' and who professed

\* In speaking of the probable condition of Rattazzi in the other world (ii. 342) the Pope says he knows not what his fate may be, and is satisfied with calling him *questo infelice*. Don Pasquale, on the other hand (p. 348), says that the Pope being the Supreme Judge in the Church, was thereby entitled to pronounce a sentence far more definite and terrific on the unhappy Sectarian; but was pleased to hide his judgment under the inscrutable veil of the judgments of God.

to tell out to the King the very words which the Lord had given him (2 Sam. vii. 1-14). To the parishioners of two Roman parishes, he as 'their Sovereign,' explains the misconduct, and false position, not of Italy only, but of the Governments generally: he coolly, after his manner, appropriates to himself the words of our Lord, 'He that is not with me, is against me;' and then, apparently under some strange paroxysm of excitement, he proceeds (i. 365):

'You have, then, my beloved children, the few words which I desired to say to you. But I go farther. My wish is that all governments should know that I am speaking in this strain. I wish that they should know it, inasmuch as I do it for their good. And I have theright to speak, even more than Nathan the prophet to David the King (*anche più che Natan profeta al Re Davide*), and a great deal more than Ambrose had to Theodosius.'

The comparison with St. Ambrose and his memorable and noble proceedings, is pragmatical enough; but it is entirely eclipsed by the monstrous declaration by the Pope of his superiority to an inspired teacher. We spoke some pages back of sighs or shrugs as the signs of emotion, which the Papal utterances, reported in the public journals, have from time to time suggested. But if Christendom still believes in Christianity, this audacity, of which Exeter Hall will indeed exult to hear, is far beyond either sighs or shrugs: it more fitly may cause a shudder.

This daring assumption, however, is not an accident or a caprice; it is as it were a normal result of the Pope's habitual and morbid self-contemplation, of monstrous flattery perpetually administered, and, yet more, of that ecclesiastical system which is gradually (and, we must hope, without any distinct consciousness) raising the personal glorification of the Pope towards the region of a Divine worship, due from men to one who, in these volumes, is not only the official Vicar, but also, in some undefined way, the personal Representative of God on earth (see *e. g.* i. 430, ii. 165). Not only is his person sacred generally, but we have the sacred hand (i. 397), and the sacred foot (ii. 56, 192, 357), nay, even the *most* sacred foot (ii. 330). Well may Dr. Elvenich\* say there seems to be meditated a Pope-worship (Papstcult), to stand beside the God-worship. Of the things we are bringing to view, many are so strange that they can hardly at once be believed. In this instance, as in others, the true passes beyond the ordinary limits of the credible.

A subordinate part of this system is to

be found in the curious coquetry which the work exhibits to the world, with reference to the assumption of the title 'Pius the Great.' In dispersed places of the volumes, it is applied; as well it may be, to a Pope who is termed in them himself a prodigy and a miracle. These precedents carefully gathered, may hereafter form an important element in some *catena* demonstrative of a general *consensus* of mankind. But, moreover, it seems that the Marchese Cavalletti, a leading *Papalino*, made known to the Pope that good Catholics (a phrase which here means flaming Ultramontanes) desired to pay him two new honours. One of them was to adjoin to his name the title of *Il Grande* (ii. 484-87). We may, perhaps, refer to another scene, acted 1800 years ago not far from the Vatican, and recorded by Shakespeare.

'*Casca*. There was a crown offered him; and, being offered him, he put it by with the back of his hand, thus; and then the people fell a shouting. . . .

'*Brutus*. Was the crown offered him thrice?

'*Casca*. Aye, marry, was't; and he put it by thrice, every time gentler than other.'—*Julius Caesar*, ii. 2.

So the Pope gives three reasons, as they may be called, for declining, or rather for not accepting; 'every reason gentler than other.' The first is that our Saviour when called 'Good Master,' replied 'that God alone is good.' The second, that 'God is great and worthy to be praised.' The third admits that three truly great Pontiffs did receive this title, but only when they were dead and gone, and when the judgments of men were therefore more calm and clear. Rather a broad hint for the proper time when it arrives.

But it is time to turn, with whatever reluctance, to the truculent and wrathful aspect, which unhappily prevails over every other in these Discourses.

In order, however, fully to appreciate this portion of the case, it is necessary to bear in mind that the *cadres*, or at least the skeletons and relics, of the old Papal Government over the Roman States are elaborately and carefully maintained;\* and it appears to be one of the main purposes of the 'alms,' collected from the members of the Papal Church all over the world, as doubtless they are aware, to feed ex-customhouse

\* We have seen it stated from a good quarter that no less than three thousand persons, formerly in the Papal employ, now receive some pension or pittance from the Vatican. Doubtless they are expected to be forthcoming on all occasions of great deputations, as they may be wanted like the *supers* and dummies at the theatres.

\* 'Der unfehlbare Papst.' Breslau, 1874-5.

officers, ex-postmasters, and ex-policemen. All these in their turn, and the representatives of several other departments, have from time to time been received by the Pope in solemn deputation, and reap their full share of compliment if not as martyrs yet as confessors of the Church. The police, indeed, who in Italy have had but an unsavoury reputation, and in Rome were notoriously the scum of the earth, have, notwithstanding, been deemed worthy to lead the van (i. 46) on the 20th of January, 1871. The ex-functionaries of the Post Office follow on February 5 (p. 50), and are gravely assured by his Holiness that the Catholic public are everywhere in fond admiration of the conduct of the ex-employed, and that their noble conduct echoes through every portion of the world! With a force of imagination such as this, it never can be difficult to make a case into what one wishes it to be. The Register Office follows, with the Stamp Department, and alas! the Lottery, on the 9th of March (p. 71); and a very conspicuous place is given to the repeated military deputations (i. 69, 87, 99).

We must carefully bear it in mind that none of these appear at the Vatican as friends, as co-religionists, as receivers of the Pontiff's alms, or in any character which could be of doubtful interpretation. They appear as being actually and at the moment his subjects, and his military and civil servants respectively, although only in *disponibilità*, or (so to speak) on furlough; they are headed by the proper leading functionaries, and the Pope receives them as persons come for the purpose of doing homage to their Sovereign (pp. 88, 365). Thickly set among all these appear the deputations of the Roman aristocracy. True, its roll is not complete; for by far the most distinguished member of the body, the able, venerable, and highly-cultivated Duke of Sironeta is a loyal subject of the Italian kingdom. As to the residue (so to call them), they are those of whom Edmond About sarcastically said, *Hélas! les pauvres gens! ils n'ont pas même de vices!* They constitute, however, a mainstay of the Papal hope. It was to them he announced (i. 147-8) that Aristocracy and Clergy were the true props of thrones, that plebeian support was naught, and that Jesus Christ loved the aristocracy; and belonged to it. In a somewhat wide construction of the term, it must be owned.

But, if we are to accept the statements of this approved Reporter, the popular gatherings were frequent, and not more frequent than remarkable, in the halls of the Vatican. One or two parishes would yield

deputations said to consist of 1000 or 1500 persons. But the numbers assembled often, as we shall see, went far beyond this mark. Great masses of persons were and, we presume, still are encouraged to congregate in the Vatican for the purpose of presenting most seditious and rebellious Addresses; and of hearing highly sympathetic Replies.

We should have supposed it impossible that the language of treason against Italy could go beyond the licence of these volumes. In a few cases, however, our editor informs us that it has been thought right, once under the direct order of the highest personage concerned, to keep back from the press some portion of the language used (ii. 299). What has been published is certainly flagrant up to the highest degree of flagrancy yet known in the annals of the Popedom or the world; though it may be reserved for Pius IX. in this point, as in others, to surpass his predecessors, as they have surpassed the rest of men. The Discourses generally, and all the daring defiances of law which, with the Addresses, they contain, are ordinarily reproduced in the '*Osservatore Romano*;' and words spoken in the air, or taken from private manuscripts, are thus at once converted into the grossest offences against public order that a press can commit.

And all this is borne and allowed by the tyrannical Italian Government, which keeps the Pope a 'prisoner,' and under which, as the Pope declares, 'for good men and for Catholics liberty does not exist' (*questa libertà per gli uomini onesti e per Cattolici non esiste*, ii. 25).

We have already glanced at the nature of the audiences to which are addressed the speeches we are now about to describe, so far as samples can describe them. We turn to the speeches themselves. 'What boldness,' says the Prince Consort, speaking of the King of Prussia in 1847,\* 'in a king to speak extempore!' With his sagacious mind, had he seen what a Pope could do, he would have been tempted to double or treble his notes of admiration.

It is hardly possible to convey to the mind of the reader an adequate idea of the wealth of vituperative power possessed by this really pious Pontiff. But it is certainly expended with that liberality which is so strictly enjoined by the Gospel upon all the rich. The Italian Government and its followers, variously in their various colours, are wolves; perfidious (ii. 83); Pharisees (i. 254, 380); Philistines (ii. 322); thieves (ii. 34, 65); revolutionists (i. 365, and *passim*);

\* 'Life of the Prince Consort,' i. 407.

Jacobins (ii. 150, 190); sectarians (i. 334); liars (i. 365, ii. 156); hypocrites (i. 341, ii. 179); dropsical (ii. 66); impious (*passim*); children of Satan (ii. 263); of perdition, of sin (i. 375), and corruption (i. 342); enemies of God (i. 283, 332, 380); satellites of Satan in human flesh (ii. 326); monsters of hell, demons incarnate (i. 215, 332, ii. 404); stinking corpses (ii. 47); men issued from the pits of hell (i. 104, 176—these are the conductors of the national press); traitor (i. 198); Judas (*ibid.*); led by the spirit of hell (i. 311); teachers of iniquity (i. 340—these are evangelical ministers in their ‘diabolical’ halls); hell is unchained against him (ii. 387), even its deepest pits (i. 368, ii. 179). Nearly, if not quite, every one of these words is from the Pope’s own lips; and the catalogue is not exhaustive. Yet he invites children, and not children only, but even his old postmen and policemen, to keep a watch over their tongue! (*custodendo generosamente la lingua*, ii. 125). To call these flowers of speech is too much below the mark: nay, they are of themselves a flower-garden; nay, they are a *Flora*, fit to stock a continent afresh, if every existing species should be extinct. It may be thought that other illustrations may seem, after these, but flat and stale; nevertheless we must resume. What remains will be found worthy of what has preceded.

After what we have shown of the relation which the Pontiff imagines to subsist between himself and the person of Our Lord, it may seem to be a condescension on his part when he compares himself, or complacently allows himself to be compared, to such characters as David, or Tobias, or Job. Perhaps these are introduced to act by way of set-off to the representations of the unfortunate Victor Emmanuel, who in the mouth sometimes of the Pope and sometimes of those who address his delighted ear is *Holofernes*, as in ii. 143, or Absalom (in conduct, not in attractions), as in ii. 143, or Pilate, Herod, Caiaphas (i. 461), or Goliath (ii. 301), or Attila. But it may be thought our citations thus far have been mere phrases torn from the context; and the height, to which the inflammatory style of speech is capable of soaring, will be more justly understood if we quote one or two passages. Let us begin with vol. ii. p. 77.

‘Woe then to him, and to them, who have been the authors of so great scandal. The soil usurped will be as a volcano, that threatens to devour the usurpers in its flames. The petitions of millions of Catholics cry aloud before God, and are echoed by those of the protecting saints who sit near the throne of the Omnipotent himself, and point out to Him the

profanations, the impieties, the acts of injustice, and make their appeal to God’s remedies; but to those remedies, which proceed forth from the treasures of His infinite justice.’

The Papal thought shall be allowed to develop itself by degrees. Giving his blessing to a deputation of youths, he desires it may accompany them through life, and when they yield their souls to God.

‘The soul, too, will the impious yield; but will yield it, as Abraham said to the rich Glutton’ (Did he? Not in Luke xvi. 25, 6), ‘to pass into an eternity of suffering, amidst the din of the blasphemies of the devils, who bear that soul to hell.’—i. 430.

But who, it may be asked, are these ‘impious,’ whose breath has the stench of a putrid sepulchre (i. 341)? The answer is more easy than agreeable. They are simply the Liberals of Italy. This is the favourite word for them, and a phrase almost exclusively indeed appropriated to their use. One passage in particular fixes the meaning beyond doubt. The Holy Father says (i. 286): ‘In Rome, not only is it attempted to diffuse impiety all around, but men even dare to teach heresy, and to spread unbelief.’ Now as impiety proper is the last and worst result of heresy or unbelief, it is strange at first sight to find it placed on a lower grade in the scale of sins. But, when we remember that in these volumes it simply means Italian liberalism, the natural order of ideas is perfectly restored.

To a popular audience, from the parish of San Giovanni de’ Fiorentini, he says (i. 374):

‘At the top of the pyramid is One, who depends on a Council that rules him; the Council is not its own master, but depends on an Assembly that threatens it. The Assembly is not its own master, for it must render an account to a thousand devils who have chosen it, and who drive it along the road of iniquity; and the whole of them together, or at any rate the chief part, are bondmen, are slaves, are children of sin: the Angel of God follows them up, and with bared sword menaces those who pretend to be so much at their ease. The day will come when the destroying Angel will cause to be known the justice of God, and the effect of His mercies.’

What and for whom His mercies are will be seen shortly. To certain Clubs Pius IX. says (ii. 421, *bis*):

‘The Cross, appearing in that valley of final judgment, will crush, with the mere view of it, both Deputies and Ministers, and some one else (*altri*) set higher still; and all those who have abused the patience of the Eternal. At the sight of that Tree will tremble all the world, and the peoples bowed down to earth will implore the mercy of the divine Redeemer, and

will trust in Him; but *certain persons to whom I have alluded*, and that are now in power for the ruin of Church and people, will utter cries of despair and trouble, inasmuch as there will be no mercy for them.\*

The door of conversion and return indeed is not yet closed, and frequent prayers are offered for them; but the continued support of Liberalism and Italian nationality can only end in the manner of which the Pope has given so telling a description. Thus for example (i. 224):

'Ah! even upon these I invoke, yet again, the mercy of the Lord, that He may convert them, and they may live! But I say at the same time, if at all hazards they persist in refusing the light of Divine grace, well, may God at length accomplish that which in His justice He has resolved to do.'

A word in summing up this portion of our notice. It was not by words of scorn that Christ began the Sermon on the Mount. It is not by words of scorn that the Pope will revive the flagging and sinking life of Christian belief in Italy, or will put down the spirit of nationality now organised and consolidated, or will convert the world. It would be well if he would take to himself the words of a living English poet:

'For in those days

No knight of Arthur's noblest dealt in scorn;  
But if a man were halt or hunched, in him  
By those whom God had made full-limbed and tall

Scorn was allowed as part of his defect,  
And he was answered softly by the King  
And all his table.\*

As might be expected, the Addresses to the Pope are not tuned to a lower pitch than his replies. There are hardly any among them which do not contain the language, commonly the most burning language, of treason and of sedition. Manhood, womanhood, childhood, all sing in the same key. Innocence and sedition, as we have already observed, join hands. The little one, who has but just completed a single lustre, announces in the poem she recites (ii. 406) the restoration of the Temporal Power over Italy and the whole world:

'Poco tempo ancora, e Pro  
Regnerà sul mondo intero.'

The lips are the lips of infancy; but the tune has the true ring of the *Curia*. But there are important distinctions to be observed. Even distant observers may appreciate the wisdom with which the Government of Italy leaves to the Pope a perfect freedom to speak his mind on the laws, the throne, and the constituted order of the country. If such freedom exists we cannot well expect

it to be used in any way but one, though the use certainly might have well been restrained to less frequent occasions, and a more civilized range of language. However, let this pass; and let every allowance be made for Papal partisans among those once his subjects. But what are we to say of the sense of public propriety among foreigners, Englishmen we regret to say included in the number, who travel from distant countries, and abuse the immunity thus accorded to offer public and gross insult to the Italian Government, under whose protection and hospitality they are living? Perhaps the most inordinate example of this very indecent abuse is in the 'most noble Catholic deputation of all nations' which made its appearance in the Vatican on the 7th of March, 1873, and which was headed by Prince Alfred Lichtenstein (ii. 257). In their address they denounce 'the most ignoble violation of the law of nations' by the Italian Government; their 'execrable crime,' their 'hypocritical assurances,' and so forth. Not content even with this outrage, they proceed to denounce, of their own authority, all ideas of compromise or adjustment, for which the Government of Italy had always been seeking.

'With the enemies that rage against you, Holy Father, and against the religious orders, no reconciliation is possible. War, waged by such enemies, is not terrible: the only thing to be dreaded in this case is peace. (Bravo! bravo! bravo!) No doubt they would be right glad to conclude with you a perfidious compromise; they ardently desire it.'

And then with incomparable taste on the part of such Englishmen as were present, towards the King of Italy, the Ally of Her Majesty, 'No, no; Peter, alive in your person, will be ever admirable in his heroic resolution against Herod' (257-9).

After more slang of the same kind—from persons acting thus entirely beyond their right, this language deserves no better name—and a glowing eulogy on the Syllabus and the Encyclical, the Addressers give place to the addressed, who assures them that all they have said is true, though some of it severe (*ibid.* 261). Have any of these gentlemen, princes and others, considered what sort of protection their own Governments would be able to afford them if the Italian Government should think fit to take proceedings against them, or to expel them summarily, and rather ignominiously, from its territory, as enemies of the public peace?

It is now time to examine by such lights as we possess what is really the actual state of things in Rome, which furnishes the occasion for the violent and almost furious de-

\* Tennyson's 'Guinevere.'

nunciations of the Pope; and to inquire also what would be the state of things which he desires to have established in its stead.

The condition in which he thinks himself to be is, that he is a prisoner in the Vatican; while outside its walls are ruin, oppression, revolution, confusion, and unrestrained blasphemy and profligacy. And what he desires is simply the restoration of freedom and of peace. It will not be at all difficult to perceive what the Pope signifies by freedom and peace, or by what means they are to be attained; but first a word on the actual condition of Rome. It never had the name, under the Popes, of a very well-ordered city. The Pontiff, however, speaks of it as having been under his dominion holy; whereas now it is a sink of corruption, and devils walk through the streets of it. Now, except upon this authority of one who knows nothing except at second-hand, nothing except as he is prompted by the blindest partisans, it seems totally impossible to discover any evidence that Rome of 1874 is worse than Rome before the occupation, or worse than other large European cities. And this really is a question not of dogmatism or of declamation, but of testimony; and not of the testimony of prejudiced assertion, but of facts and figures. To this test the condition of every city can be brought, with more or less of approach to precision. Except, indeed, under a system like that of the Papal Government; when the press was enslaved, and the stint of public information was such, that even a copy of the Tariff of Customs Duties was not to be had in Rome (as happens to be within our knowledge) for love or money. Now these odious charges that a peculiar immorality and utter disorder prevail in Rome are launched by the Pope with such vagueness, that if they came from a less exalted personage they would at once be called scurrilous and scandalous, and it would be said, here is a common railer who, having no basis of fact for his statements, takes refuge in those cloudy generalities, under colour of which fact and figment are indistinguishable from each other. After taking some pains to make inquiry from impartial sources, we are able to state that the police of the national Rome is superior to that of Papal Rome, that order is well maintained, crime energetically dealt with.

It is known that at the time of the forcible occupation in 1870, a number of bad characters streamed into the city; but by energetic action on the part of the Government, ill-supported, we fear, by the clergy,

they were, by degrees, got rid of, and soon ceased to form a noticeable feature in the condition of the place. For ostensible morality the streets will compare favourably with the Boulevards of Paris, and for security they may generally challenge the thoroughfares of London. We cite a few words from a very recent and dispassionate account:—

‘The police of Rome is far better than the old Papal police; order is better kept, and outrages in the streets are of rare occurrence. Crime is promptly repressed. . . . The theatres are not much frequented, and are neither worse nor better than such places elsewhere. The city is clean and well kept. There are not half the number of priests or friars in the streets, and mendicancy is not a tenth part of what it was formerly.’

We are entitled, indeed, to waive entering upon any more minute particulars until the charges have been lodged, with some decent attention to presumptions of credibility. But it has been our care to obtain from Rome itself some figures, on which reliance may be placed. They indicate the comparative state of Roman crime in the two last full years of the Papal rule (1868, 1869), and the three full years (1871, 1872, 1873) of the Italian rule:—

	1868.	1869.	1871.	1872.	1873.
Highway robberies ..	236	123	103	85	96
Thefts .. .. .	802	714	785	859	696
Crimes of violence ..	938	886	973	861	603
Total .. .. .	1976	1723	1860	1805	1333

In 1870, which was a mixed year, and does not assist the comparison, and which was also a year of crisis, the total was 2118, and the crimes of violence (*reati di sangue*) were no less than 1175. It will be observed that these figures confute the statements of the Pope. The two first of the Italian years were affected by the cause to which we have referred; but still their average is lower than that of the last two years in which Rome was still the ‘holy’ city, and in which devils did not walk the streets of it. The average of the three years is 1665 against 1723 in the last Papal year. The year 1873, in which alone we may consider that the special cause of disturbance had ceased to operate, shows a reduction of 391, or more than 22 per cent., on the last year of the Pope. Yet more remarkable is the comparison if we strike out the category of thefts, the least serious of the three in kind.

We then obtain the following figures: for the last Papal year, 1869, 1009; for 1873, 634; or a diminution of nearly 40 per cent.

But while the accusations are thus shown to be utterly at variance with the facts, still they are intelligible. The cursing vocabulary, so to call it, which has been given, exhibits their character, though in a wild and wholly reckless manner. Where the passion shown is rather less overbearing, there is more of the daylight of ideas. And the idea everywhere conveyed is briefly this: that a state of violence prevails. There is no liberty for honest men or for Catholics (ii. 25): matters go from bad to worse. What is wanted is that God should liberate His Church, give her the triumph (this is the favourite phrase) which is her due, and re-establish public order (i. 44); it is to escape from this state of violence and oppression, which, in simple truth (*davvero*) is insupportable and impossible for human nature (ii. 54). As for the Pope himself, who does not know, so far as Ultramontane organs all over the world can convey knowledge, that he is a prisoner? Although, it must be confessed, that a new sense of the word has had to be invented to serve his turn: for, as he himself has explained, his prison is a prison with only moral walls and bars, since he admits there are neither locks nor keepers (i. 298). How, with his sense of humour, how, in making these statements, must he inwardly have smiled the smile of the Haruspex at the gross credulity of his hearers! He cannot go out; and he will not (i. 72). He would be insulted in the streets (i. 298); and here, fortunately, he has a case in point to adduce, for once upon a day it happened that a priest had actually been pelted; and somewhere else (i. 467) it appears that an urchin or two had been heard to shout '*morte ai preti*,' down with the priests: though in no instance does he show that, even if a stone was thrown, the public authority had refused or tampered with its duty to afford protection to layman and priest alike.

However, as we have seen, the Pope's allegations of oppression and violence are in terms very grave. But his own lips, and his own Volumes, unconsciously supply the confutation; and this in two ways. For first, it is clear, if we accept the statements of this curious and daring work, that the people of Rome are almost wholly on his side against the Government, not on the side of the Government and the nation against him. A careful computation of the editor (ii. 187) reckons, certainly to the full satisfaction of all Ultramontane readers, that seventy-one thousand of the inhabitants of

Rome (in a city of some two hundred thousand, old and young, men and women, all told) have given their names to addresses against the suppression of the religious orders (ii. 178), a certain sign of Papalism. But there is yet more conclusive evidence. On January 16, 1873, the whole College of the Parish Priests of Rome presented an address, in which they state that, notwithstanding the influence of intruded foreigners, almost the whole of their former parishioners (*nella quasi totalità*), whom they know by name, still keep the right faith, send their children to the right schools, and remain, subject to but few exceptions, 'with the Pope and for the Pope.' 'I thank Thee, my God, for the spirit that Thou impartest to this excellent People: I thank Thee for the constancy that Thou givest to the People of Rome' (i. 352, also 229). And yet an urchin, or perhaps two, or even three, cry, '*morte ai preti*,' and the Pope dare not go out of the Vatican, although he has seventy-one thousand Romans declared by their signatures, and 'almost the entire body of parishioners,' except the new-come foreigners, for his fast allies and loyal defenders! It is really idle to talk of dark ages. There never was, until the nineteenth century and the Council of the Vatican, an age so deeply plunged in darkness worthy of Erebus and Styx, as could alone render it a safe enterprise to palm statements like these on the credulity even of the most bleared-eyed partisanship.

But then, it may be said, in vain are the people with the Pope; a tyrannical government, supported by hordes of *stirri* and a brutal soldiery, represses the manifestations of their loyalty by intimidation. But this allegation is cut to pieces, and if possible rendered even more preposterous than the other, by the evidence of the volumes themselves. One exception there appears to have been to the good order of Rome: one single form, in which a kind of anarchy certainly has been permitted. This flagrant exception, however, has been made not against, but in favour of, the Pope. For, strange and almost incredible as it may appear, his partisans are allowed to gather in the face of day, and proceed to the Vatican for the purpose of presenting addresses to the Pontiff known to be almost invariably rife with the most flagrant sedition, and this in numbers not only of a few tens or even hundreds, but up to 1500, 2000 (i. 242, 258, 353), 2600 (i. 362, 411), 3000 (ii. 92), who shouted all at once, and even (ii. 94) 5000 persons; and again (i. 438), a crowd impossible to count. It may be asked with surprise, has the Pope

then at any rate a presentable train of five thousand adherents in Rome? Far be it from us to express an implicit belief in each of our friend Don Pasquale's figures, at the least until they are affirmed by a declaration *ex cathedra* or a Conciliary Decree. But in Rome, where the vast body of secular and regular clergy have held so large a proportion of the real property, where all the public establishments were closely associated with the clerical interest and class, where even the numerous functionaries of the civil departments, and where the aristocracy, including families of great wealth, have been, and continue to be, of the Papal party, a long train of dependents must necessarily be found on the same side, and, judging from what we have seen and known, we deem it quite possible that in the entire city a minority of Papalini numbering as many as, or even more than, five thousand might be reckoned, though of independent citizens we doubt whether there are five hundred. To these civic adherents would add themselves foreigners, whose zeal or curiosity may have carried them to Rome for the purpose. We have, indeed, learned from an authoritative source that on June 16, 1871, when there were no less than eight Deputations, the Pope received at the Vatican in all about 6200 persons. We find also that the total number of those who waited on him in 1871, on only fourteen separate days (which however certainly included all the occasions of crowded gatherings), were estimated carefully at 13,893; and in 1872, on the same number of occasions, at 17,477. In the two following years the numbers have been much less, namely, 8295 and 9129 respectively. It is quite plain that large crowds—crowds sufficient to give ample ground for interference on the score of order to any Government looking for or willing to use them—again and again have filled the vast halls of the Vatican, as Don Pasquale assures us. That they went there to stir up or prepare (as far as it depended upon them) war, either immediate or eventual, against the Italian Government, is established by every page of these volumes. Going in such numbers, and for such a purpose, it is not disputed that they have gone and returned freely, safely, boastfully, under the protection of the laws they were breaking, and of the Government they reviled.

It may perhaps seem strange that, while the Italian Government is treated as if the Pope were a Power in actual war with it, yet the *Curia* apparently can stoop to communicate with it for certain purposes, which it will be interesting to observe. We have, for instance, in the Appendix (ii. 419) a let-

ter of the Cardinal-Vicar to the Minister Lanza, complaining, as the Pope in his Speeches complains, of the immorality of the Roman theatres.

It complains also that the clerical orders are not spared in the exhibitions of the stage. This is a subject on which the *Curia* has always been very much in earnest; and some day it may be necessary to bring before the modern public the almost incredible, but yet indubitable, history of the negotiations and arrangements which were made by the State of Florence with the Sec of Rome in relation to the Decameron of Boccaccio. But for the present let us take only the point of immorality. The broadest accusations on this subject are lodged by the Cardinal-Vicar, without one single point or particular of places, pieces, persons, or times which would have enabled the Italian Government to put their justice to the proof. The Minister, in his reply, could not do more than he has actually done. He declares that the Italian censorship is remarkable for strictness; and that in Italy, and particularly in Rome, many pieces are prohibited which are permitted in France and in Belgium. And of this there is no denial. With a thorough shabbiness of spirit, the complaint is neither justified nor retracted, but is sent forth to the world with the full knowledge that the good (*i buoni*) will take it as a demonstration that the Italian Government is wholly indifferent to morals (vol. ii. 419-24).

Again, we have a complaint of the non-observance of Sundays and feast-days; but the effort of this kind which most deserves notice is one relating to blasphemy. It appears that the newspaper '*La Capitale*' had been publishing piecemeal a Life of our Lord, written in the Unitarian sense. The Cardinal-Vicar represented to the Procurator-General (ii. 520) that this ought to be prosecuted as blasphemous and heretical. It is not stated that he founded himself on the manner of the writer's argument, and therefore it may be presumed that the charge lay against his conclusions only. The Procurator-General replied that the law granted liberty of religious discussion, and that accordingly he could not interfere. The Advocate Caucino of Turin—whose Address to the Pope is almost the only one in the whole work that does not contain direct incentives to sedition (ii. 313)—gave a professional opinion to a contrary effect. He pointed out that the Roman Catholic religion was by the Constitutional Statute the religion of the State, and that other laws actually in force provided punishments for offences against religion. Consequently,

as he reasoned, these writings are illegal. Over nine hundred of the Italian lawyers have countersigned this opinion. One of his arguments is, to British eyes, somewhat curious. The laws, he says, declare the person of the Pontiff sacred and inviolable. 'But if you take away the Divinity of Jesus Christ, the Pontiff is reduced to a nonentity (*il Pontefice non è più nulla*).' It is difficult to avoid saying, one wishes that were the only consequence.

It would, perhaps, be uncharitable to suggest that this well-arranged endeavour was nothing else than a trap carefully laid for the Italian Government. But it certainly would have served the purpose of a trap. Had the denial of our Lord's Divinity been repressed by law, by reason of its contrariety to the religion of the State, the next step would of course have been to require the Government to proceed in like manner against anyone who denied the Infallibility of the Pope. Under the Vatican Decrees this is as essentially and imperatively a part of the Roman Creed as is the great Catholic doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. And the obligation to prohibit the promulgation of the adverse opinion would have been exactly the same. Nor is it easy to suppose that the *Curia* was not sharp enough to anticipate this consequence, and prepare the way for it.

Independently of such a plot, the paltry game of these representations is sufficiently intelligible. It seeks to place the King's Government in a dilemma. Either they enforce restriction in the supposed interest of religion, or they decline to enforce it. In the first case, they diminish the liberties of the people, and provoke discontent; in the second, they afford fresh proof of ungodliness, and fresh matter of complaint to be turned sedulously to account by the political piety of the Vatican. But let us pass on from this small trickery; *paullò majora canamus*.

Considering on the one hand the professedly pacific and unworldly character of the successors of the 'Fisherman,' and on the other the gravity of those moral and social evils which are indeed represented as insupportable (ii. 54), an unbiassed reader would expect to find in these pages constant indications of a desire on the part of the Pope and Court of Rome to effect, by the surrender of extreme claims, some at least tolerable adjustment. There was a time, within the memory of the last twenty years, when Pius IX. might have become the head of an Italian Federation. When that had passed, there was again a time, at which he might have retained, under an European guarantee, the *suzeraineté*, as distinguished from the di-

rect monarchy, of the entire States of the Church. When this, too, had been let slip, and after another contraction of the circle of possibilities, it was still probably open to him to retain the *suzeraineté* of the city of Rome itself, with free access to the sea; it was unquestionably within his choice, at any period down to 1870, to stipulate for the Leonine City, with a like guaranteed liberty of access, and with a permanent engagement that Rome never should become the seat of government or of Royal residence, so that there should not be two suns in one firmament. There was in truth nothing which the Pope might not have had assured to him, by every warranty that the friendliness of all Europe could command, except the luxury of forcing on the people of the Roman States a clerical government which they detested. The Pope preferred the game of 'double or quits.' And he now beholds and experiences the result.

But notwithstanding what he sees and feels, that game is too fascinating to be abandoned. Instead of opening the door to friendly compromise, this is the very thing for the treatment of which the furnace of his wrath is ever seven times heated. 'Yes, my sons,' he says in a 'stupendous' (i. 268) discourse, and himself 'resplendent with a grandeur more than human' (269) to an 'innumerable multitude of the faithful, Roman and foreign' (266), whom he has already congratulated (283) on their readiness to give all, even *their blood*, for him. 'Yes, my sons, draw into ever closer union, nor be arrested even for a moment, by lying reports of an impossible "reconciliation." It is futile to talk of reconciliation. The Church can never be reconciled with error, and the Pope cannot separate himself from the Church. . . . No; no reconciliation can ever be possible between Christ and Belial, between light and darkness, between truth and falsehood, between justice and the usurpation.'

This passage, by no means isolated, is, it must be admitted, rather 'superhuman.' The wrath of the aged Pontiff had in fact been stirred in a special way by some *abbominevoli immagini*,\* some execrable pic-

\* Even from the heart of the Order of Jesuits there sounds a voice of protestation against the insane policy of the Pope. It is that of Curci, a well-known champion, for many long years, of the Papal cause, against Gioberti and others. We learn from a pamphlet published on the part of the Italian Government in reply to a violent and loosely written attack by the Bishop of Orleans (on the merits of which, in other respects, we are not in a condition fully to pronounce), that Padre Curci says it is idle to make a bugbear of conciliation: that much as he laments

tures, which were for him most profane. The editor explains to us what they were. Such is the unheard-of audacity of Italian Liberalism, and such its hatred and persecution of the Pope, that (ii. 285) a certain Verzaschi, living in the Corso No. 135, had for several days exhibited to public view a picture, in which the Pope and the King of Italy were—we tremble as we write—embracing one another!

But if the Holy Father is thus decisive on the subject of visible representations which he conceives to be profane, we should greatly value his judgment, were there an opportunity of obtaining it, on another commodity of the same class, an Italian work, sold in Rome, and not a production of the hated Liberals. It is stamped 'Diritto di proprietà di Cleofe Ferrari,' with an address in Rome, of which the particulars cannot be clearly deciphered, but it is manifestly authentic.

It is a photograph of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and it represents a double scene, one in the heavens above, one on the earth below. Above, and receding from the foreground, is one of those figures of the Eternal Father, which we in England view with repugnance; but that is not the point. On the right-hand of that figure stands, towards the foreground, the Blessed Virgin Mary, with the moon under her feet (Rev. xii. 1); on the left-hand, and also towards the front, is Saint Peter, kneeling on one knee; but kneeling to the Virgin, not to God. In the scene below we have an elevated pedestal with a group of figures, nearer the eye, and filling the foreground. On the pedestal is Pope Pius IX., in a sitting posture, with his hands clasped, his crown, the *Tiara* on his head, and a stream of light falling upon him, from a dove forming part of the upper combination, and representing of course the Holy Spirit. The Pope's head is not turned towards the figure of the Almighty. Round the pedestal are four kneeling figures, apparently representing the four great quarters of the globe, whose corporal adoration is visibly directed towards the Pontiff, and not towards the opened heaven. We omit some other details not so easily understood; and indeed the reader will by this time have had a sickening sufficiency of this sort of

the departure of the mediæval ways (which perhaps he does not quite understand), they are gone; it is idle to suppose the past can be re-established in the Roman States, either by diplomatic mediation, political re-arrangement, 'or even foreign intervention.'—*Les Lois Ecclésiastiques de l'Italie*, p. 74. Paris, 1874. It seems, then, that there is at least one way in which a Jesuit can forfeit his title to be heard at Rome, and that is if he speaks good sense.

'abominable images.' We commend this most profane piece of adulation to the notice of the Cardinal-Vicar, as it will supply him with a very valuable topic in his next demand upon the Italian Government to prevent the public exhibition in Rome of what conveys an insult to religion.

The outburst we have quoted against all reconciliation is, as we have said, not an isolated one. Declarations essentially similar may be found in vol. i. 291 (Dec. 7, 1871), 498 (Letter to Cardinal Antonelli), ii. 279 (March 7, 1873, in an address of Bishops accepted and lauded by the Pope).

Out of these two hundred and ninety Speeches, about two hundred and eighty seem to be addressed to the great political purpose which is now the main aim of all Papal effort—that of the triumph and liberation of the Church in Rome itself, and the re-establishment of peace.

When the Pope speaks of the liberation of the Church, he means merely this, that it is to set its foot on the neck of every other power; and when he speaks of peace in Italy, he means the overthrow of the established order, if, by a reconversion of Italians to his way of thinking, well; but if not, then by the old and favourite Roman expedient, the introduction of foreign arms, invading the land to put down the national sentiment and to re-establish the temporal government of the clerical order.

Everywhere, when he refers to the times which preceded the annexations to Sardinia, and the eventual establishment of the Italian kingdom, he represents them as the happy period of which every good man should desire the return. Even at the moderate suggestions of practical reform which were recommended to Gregory XVI. in the early part of his reign by the Five Great Powers, including the Austria of Metternich, he scoffs; and he appears to think that they brought down upon several of the recommending Sovereigns the judgment due to impiety.

Thus on June 21, 1873, he says (ii. 356): 'Let us pray for all; let us pray for Italy, that we may see her set free from her enemies, and restored to her former repose and tranquillity.'

Now there can be no doubt what he means by calm and tranquillity. He explains it in a passage (ii. 23) when he has occasion to refer to the opening times and scenes of his ill-omened and ill-ordered reign: 'Those times were troublous, just as are the present; but notwithstanding they produced, after no long while, an era of tranquillity and quietude' (ii. 23).

The troubles, for troubles there were,

arose from the efforts of a people then without political experience to right themselves under the unskilful handling of a ruler, who prompted movements he had no strength to control, and made promises he had no ability to perform. The tranquillity and quietude were found in the invasion of the State by a French army; in the siege and capture of the city, which its inhabitants and a few Italian sympathisers in vain struggled under Garibaldi to defend; and in an armed occupation, which effectually kept down the people for seventeen and a half years; until there came, in 1866, a winter's morning, when at four o'clock the writer of these pages, by help of the struggling gaslights in the gloom, saw the picked regiments of France wheel round the street corners of the queenly city, in their admirable marching trim, on the way to the railway station, and bethought him that in that evacuation there lay the seed of great events.

To those, who have not carefully followed the fortunes of Italy and her rulers, it may seem strange that this last and worst extreme of tyranny, the maintenance of a Government, and that a clerical Government, by bayonets, and those foreign bayonets, should be spoken of by any man in his five senses, even though that man be a Pope, in any other terms than those of pain and shame, even if it were at the same time, as a supposed necessity, palliated or defended. But the Pope speaks of it with a coolness, an exultation (ii. 248), a yearning self-complacent desire, which would deserve no other name but that of a brutal inhumanity, were it not that he simply gives utterance to the inveterate tradition of the Roman *Curia*, and the tradition of a political party in Italy, which, as long as it had power, made foreign occupation an everyday occurrence, a standing remedy, a normal state.

In 1815, the Pope was brought back to Rome by foreign arms. But at that time it was by foreign arms that he had been kept out of his dominions. Cardinal Pacca, in his Memoirs, gives us to understand that the Pontiff was received by the people with their good will. It may have been so. But unhappily, after the great occasion of this restoration, all the mischief was done. Much of local self-government had existed in the Pontifical States before the French Revolution. It was now put down. Of the French institutions and methods, the Pope retained only the worst—the spirit of centralisation, and a police, kept not to repress crime, but to ferret out and proscribe the spirit of liberty. The high sacerdotal party prevailed over the moderate counsels of Gonsalvi. And Farini, in his dispassionate

History, gives the following account of the state of things even under Pius VII. :—

‘There was no care for the cultivation of the people, no anxiety for public prosperity. Rome was a cesspool of corruption, of exemptions, and of privileges; a clergy, made up of fools and knaves, in power; the laity slaves; the treasury plundered by gangs of tax-farmers and spies; all the business of government consisted in prying into and punishing the notions, the expectations, and the imprudences of the Liberals.’ \*

The result was that, as the Pope's native army was then worthless and even ridiculous, and his foreign mercenaries insufficient in strength, the country was always either actually or virtually occupied by Austrian forces: virtually when not actually, because at those periods when the force had been withdrawn, it was ready, on the first signal of popular movement and Papal distress, to return. So we pass over the interval until the accession of Pius IX., and until the month of July 1849. Then the Government of France, acting as we believe without the sanction of the public judgment, and in order to reward for the past and purchase for the future the electoral support of the Ultramontane party, assumed the succession to Austria in the discharge of her odious office of repression, and thus left it doubtful to the last whether her splendid services to Italy in 1859 were or were not outweighed by the cruel wrong done for so many years in the violent occupation of Rome. That office has long ago been finally and in good faith renounced by Austria, now the friend of Italy. Let us hope, for the sake of the peace of Europe, that it will never again be assumed by any other Power. It was, however, only the war of 1870 which caused the removal of the French force from Civita Vecchia. That seaport had been re-occupied shortly after the relinquishment of Rome in 1866. In July 1870, the remonstrances of the Papal Government were met by a neat and telling reply from France. ‘The fortunes of the war will be favourable, or they will be adverse. If the former, we can then protect you better than ever; if the latter, we must surely have our men to protect ourselves.’

Sad then as it is, and scarcely credible as it may appear, that this great officer of religion, who guides a moiety or thereabouts of Christendom, who

‘Looks from his throne of clouds o'er half the world.’ †

\* Farini, ‘Hist. of Rome,’ Bk. i. chap. i., English translation, vol. i. p. 17.

† Campbell's ‘Pleasures of Hope.’

is hopelessly implicated in the double error; first, that he makes the restoration of his temporal power a matter of religious duty and necessity; secondly, that he seeks the accomplishment of that bad end through the outrage of a foreign intervention against the people of Rome, and through the breaking up of the great Italian kingdom.

For indeed it is plain enough, that the assaults of the Pope, though specially directed against that portion of Italy which once formed the States of the Church, are by no means confined to such a narrow range. This approved work describes the Italian Royal Family at the epoch of the occupation of Rome, as the *Principi di Piemonte* (i. 58): and the Pope assures a deputation from Naples that in his daily prayer he remembers the city, its people, its pastor, and its King; meaning the ex-king Francis II. (i. 118). What he prays is that the longed-for peace may be restored to that 'kingdom.' And in order that we may know what this peace is, another speech at a later date tells us he prays the Lord that that unfortunate kingdom may return to be that which it was formerly, namely, a kingdom of peace and prosperity (ii. 338). This is the language in which the Pope is not ashamed to speak of a Government founded upon the most gross and abominable perjury, cruel and base in all its detail to the last degree, and so lost in the estimation of the people, notwithstanding the existence of its powerful army, that Garibaldi was able in a red shirt to traverse the country as a conqueror, enter the capital, and take peaceable possession of the helm of State.

The kingdoms and states of the world are, in Romish estimation, divided into several classes. Let us put Italy alone in the first and lowest, as a State with which the Pope is undisguisedly at war. Next come the States which pursue a policy adverse to the Ultramontane system; after them, in the upward series, those not very numerous States, with which Rome has no quarrels; next those from which it receives active adhesion or support. And at the head of all comes the Pope's own vanished possession, now represented in his imaginary title to the States of the Church. For whereas the others rule by a *jus humanum*, he ruled by a *jus divinum*; and what is mere revolt, or treason, or rapine elsewhere, has in the Roman States the added guilt of sacrilege. And, indeed, as to revolt or rapine, the Pope treats them lightly enough. Nothing can be more curious in this respect than his references to Germany. The territory of the German Emperor was made up by acquisitions yet more recent than those which set

up the Italian kingdom, such as it existed before the war of 1870; and by a like process of putting down divers Governments which were in the Roman sense legitimate, and of absorbing their dominions. But the Pope boasts that he had not been at all squeamish on this score (i. 457), for he had announced to Prince Bismarck that the 'Catholics' had been in favour of the German Empire. When, however, the policy of that empire was developed in a sense adverse to the Roman views, very different ideas as to its basis came into vogue; and the Pope's authorised editor denounces it as the embodied Paganism of Prussia, boldly predicts its early fall (ii. 135, comp. 66), and, speaking of the meeting of three great potentates on a recent occasion, calls them the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and 'the new one called of Germany' (*il nuovo detto di Germania*); which, by the way, he is not, for his title is, we believe, the German Emperor. In truth it seems that the legitimacy of every Government is measured by the single rule of its propensity to favour the policy of Rome. And while other Governments generally are here and there admonished, even when they are guilty of no sin of commission, as to the neglect of their duty to restore the Pope (i. 113), there is one which receives his warmest commendations. It is the 'glorious' Republic of the Equator, which 'amidst the complicity, by silence, of the Powers of Europe' sent its poor, feeble bark (we mean its vocal bark, probably it possesses no other) across the Atlantic to proclaim—

'Auditum admissi risum teneatis, amici?'

the principle of the restoration, by foreign arms, of the Papal throne.

In his desire for the realisation of this happy dream, the Pope appears to be wound up to a sensitive irritability of expectation, and accordingly prophecy is liberally scattered over the pages of these volumes. Sometimes he does not know when it will be; sometimes it cannot be long; sometimes he sees the very dawning of the happy day. These varying states of view belong, indeed, to the region of what is called pious opinion, but to believe that the day will come is matter of duty and faith.

'Yes, this change, yes, this triumph, will have to come; and it is matter of faith (*ed è di fede*). I know not if it will come in my lifetime, the lifetime of this poor Vicar of Jesus Christ. I know that come it will. The rising again must take place, this great impiety must end.'—ii. 82.

It is with glee that he inculcates the great duty of prayer, when a hopeful sign

comes up on the far horizon: though that sign be no more than some notice given in the Chamber of France. On February 18, 1872, he says:

‘At the earliest moment, offer prayer and sacrifice to God for another special object. About this time my affairs are to be the subject of discussion in the National Assembly of a great people; and there are those who will take my part. Let us then pray for this Assembly.’

And so forth (i. 352).

Taken by itself, a passage of this kind might be perfectly well understood as contemplating nothing beyond the limits of a simply diplomatic, and even amicable intervention. But then the question arises, why, if diplomacy be in contemplation, are compromises and adjustments so passionately denounced? The answer is, that diplomacy is not in contemplation or in desire, but what is now perfectly well known in Europe as ‘blood and iron.’ No careful reader of this authoritative book can doubt, that these are the means by which the great Christian Pastor contemplates and asks, aye asks as one who thinks himself entitled to command, the re-establishment of his power in Rome. There is indeed a passage, in which he, addressing his ex-policemen! deprecates an armed reaction, and declares the imputation to be a calumny. And so far as the gallantry of those policemen is concerned, according to all that used to be seen or heard of them, he is quite right. The reaction he desires, in this speech, is good education, respect to the Church and the priests. But this is the local reaction, the reaction *in piccolo*. ‘As to what remains, God will do as He wills: reactions on the great scale (*reazioni in grande*) cannot be in my hands, but are in His, on whom all depends.’ He shows, however, elsewhere and habitually, not only a great activity in seconding the designs of Providence in this matter, but a considerable disposition to take the initiative, if only he could. In words alone, it is true; but he has no power other than of words. Let us hear him address his soldiers, on the 27th of December, 1872 (ii. 141).

‘You, soldiers of honour, attached by affection to this Holy See, constant in the discharge of your duties, come before me, but you still come unarmed; thus proving how evil are the times.

‘Oh were I but able to conform to that voice of God, which so many ages back cried to a people: “turn your spades, turn your ploughshares and your ploughs, turn all your instruments of husbandry into blades and into swords, turn them into weapons of war, for your enemies approach, and for many arms, and many

men with arms, will there be need. Would that the Blessed God would to-day in us repeat these very inspirations! But He is silent: and I His Vicar cannot be otherwise, cannot employ any means but silence.”’

Here we should certainly, with these volumes of loud speech before us, desire to interpolate a sceptical note of interrogation. He proceeds, however, to say, it is not for him to give authority for the manufacture of weapons: and that probably the revolution in Italy will destroy itself. But if that be his idea, why the ferocious passage about blades and swords, which has just been presented to the reader, and the many references to forcible restoration in which he delights? It is probable that the Pontiff relents occasionally, and gives scope to his better mind; but habitually, and as a rule, he looks forward with eagerness to that restoration by foreign arms in the future, which forms to him; as we have seen, so satisfactory a subject of retrospective contemplation for the period from 1849 to 1866, and again from 1867 to 1870.

Many may desire to know, in concluding our examination, what are the utterances of the Pontiff with respect to the burning questions of the Vatican Decrees. It must be at Rome that the fashions are set in regard to infallibility, to obedience, and to the question of the relation between the Roman See and the Civil Power; and the work under review is perfectly unequivocal on this class of subjects, though less copious than in regard to that cardinal object of Papal desire, the restoration of the Temporal Power.

In times of comparative moderation, not yet forty-five years back, when Montalembert and Lamennais dutifully repaired to Rome to seek guidance from Gregory XVI., that Pontiff, in repudiating their projects through his Minister, paid them a compliment for asking orders from ‘the infallible mouth of the Successor of Peter.’ We are often told that the Pope cannot be held to speak *ex cathedra* unless he addresses the whole body of Christians, whereas in this case he addressed only two. Now to the outer world, who try these matters by the ordinary rules of the human understanding, it seems to be a very grave inconvenience that the possessor of an admitted Infallibility should formally declare himself infallible in cases where he is allowed in his own title-deeds to be only fallible like the rest of us. One chief mark, however, of declarations *ex cathedra* is that they are made to all the Faithful; and we observe in the title of these Discourses that they are addressed *Ai Fedeli di Roma e dell’ Orbe*.

In the work of Don Pasquale, the term 'infallible' is very frequently applied to the Pope by the deputations. A crowd of three thousand persons shouts *Viva il Pontefice Infallibile* (i. 372, comp. i. 407); a lawyer, speaking for a company of lawyers (ii. 313), reveres 'the great Pope, the superlatively great King, the infallible master of his faith, the most loving father of his soul;' and the like strain prevails elsewhere (e.g. ii. 160, 165, 177, 190, 256) in these Addresses, which are always received with approval. Whether advisedly or not, the Pontiff does not (except once, i. 204) apply the term to himself; but is in other places content with alleging his superiority (as has been shown above) to an inspired Prophet, and with commending those who come to hear his words as words proceeding from Jesus Christ (i. 335).

On the matter of Obedience he is perfectly unequivocal. To the Armenians, who have recently resisted his absorbing in himself the national privileges of their Church, he explains (ii. 435) that to him, as the Successor of Saint Peter, and to him alone, is committed by Divine right the Pastorate of the entire Church; plainly there is no other real successor of the Apostles, for Bishops, he says, have their dioceses it is true, but 'only by a title ecclesiastical, not Divine. To limit this power is heresy, and has ever been so. Not less plain is his sense of his supremacy over the powers of the world. His title and place are to be the Supreme Judge of Christendom (i. p. 204). It is not the office of any Government, but the sublime mission of the Roman Pontificate, to assume the defence of the independence of States (ii. 498), and so far from granting to nations and races any power over the Church, God enjoined upon them the duty of believing, and gave them over to be taught by the Apostles (ii. 452).

Finally, as respects the Syllabus and its mischievous contents, that document is not only upheld, but upheld as the great or only hope of Christian Society. We hear (i. 444) of the advantage secured by the publication of the Syllabus. The Chair of Peter has been teaching, enlightening, and governing, from the foundation of the Church down to the Syllabus and the Decrees of the Vatican (ii. 427, *bis*). The two are manifestly placed on a level. And, grieved as is the Pontiff at the present perversion of mankind, and especially of the young, he is also convinced that the world must come to embrace the Syllabus, which is the only anchor of its salvation (*l' unica ancora di salute*, i. 58-9).

One of the main objects of the Syllabus is to re-establish in the mass all the most extravagant claims which have at any time been lodged by the Church of Rome against the Christian State. Hardly any greater outrage on society in our judgment has even been committed than by Pope Pius IX. in certain declarations (i. 193, and elsewhere) respecting persons married civilly without the Sacrament. For, in condemning them as guilty of concubinage, he releases them from the reciprocal obligations of man and wife. But of all those which we have described as the burning questions, the most familiar to Englishmen is perhaps that of the Deposing Power; which, half a century ago, we were assured was dead and buried, and long past the possibility of exhumation or revival. It shall now supply us with our last illustration; for true as is that with reference to the possibilities of life and action, it remains the shadow of a shade, yet we have lived into a time when it is deliberately taught by the Ultramontane party generally, and not, so far as we know, disavowed by any of them.

Lord Robert Montagu, who was in the last Parliament the High Church and Tory Member for the orthodox county of Huntingdon, and is in this Parliament transformed into an ardent neophyte and champion of the Papal Church, in a recent Lecture before the Catholic Union of Ireland,\* took occasion, among other extravagances, to set forth with all honour a passage from a Speech of the Pope, delivered on the 21st of July, 1871, in which he justified and explained the doctrine of the Deposing Power. According to the version he gave of the Italian Discourse, this Power was an 'authority, in accordance with public right, which was then vigorous, and with the acquiescence of all Christian nations.'

In the 'Tablet' newspaper of November 21 and December 5, 1874, a writer, who signs himself C. S. D., assails Lord Robert Montagu for erroneous translation; and, with undeniable justice, points out that the words, *secondo il diritto pubblico allora vigente*, do not mean 'in accordance with public right, which was then vigorous,' but 'in accordance with the public law (or right) then in force.' He also quotes words not quoted by Lord Robert, to show that the Popes exercised this power at the call of the Christian nations (*chiamati dal voto dei popoli*); which, as he truly says, give a very different colour to the passage. His citation is, he states, from the *Voce della Verità* of 22nd July, 1871, the day follow-

\* Dublin, M'Glashan and Gill, 1874, p. 10.

ing the Speech, confirmed by the *Civiltà Cattolica* of August 19.

Amidst these grave discrepancies of high authorities, our readers may desire to know what a still higher authority, the Pope himself, really did say; and we have happily the means of informing them from the volumes before us, which contain the 'sole authentic' report. The Speech was delivered, not on the 21st, but on the 20th of July, and will be found at vol. i. p. 203. We need not trouble the reader with a lengthened citation. The passage, as quoted by Lord Robert Montagu, will be found in Mr. Gladstone's 'Vatican Decrees,' p. 19. The essential point is that, according to C. S. D., the Pope justified the Deposing Power on this specific ground that they were called to exercise it by the desire, or voice, or demand, of the nations. What will our readers say when we acquaint them that the passage given by C. S. D. in the 'Tablet' is before our eyes as we write, and that the words 'called by the voice of the people' (*chiamati dal voto dei popoli*) are not in it? Whether they were spoken or not is another question, which we cannot decide. What is material is that, from the fixed, deliberate, and only authentic report, they have been excluded, and that the Pope himself sustains, and therefore claims, the Deposing Power, not on the ground of any demand of the public opinion of the day, but as attaching to his office.

And now in bidding farewell to Don Pasquale, we offer him our best thanks for his two Volumes. Probably this acknowledgment may never meet his eyes. But lest, in the case of its reaching him, it should cause him surprise and self-reproach that he should have extorted praise from England and from Albemarle Street, we will give him 'the reason why.' We had already and often seen Infallibility in full-dress, in peacock's plumes; Infallibility fenced about with well-set lines of theological phrases, impenetrable by us, the multitude, the uninitiated. But Don Pasquale has taken us behind the scenes. He has shown us Infallibility in the closet, Infallibility in dishabille, Infallibility able to cut its capers at will, to indulge in its wildest romps with freedom and impunity. And surely we have now made good the assurance with which we began. If ever there was a spectacle, strange beyond all former experience, and charged with many-sided instruction for mankind, here it is. We will conclude by giving our own estimate, in few words, of the central figure and of his situation.

In other days, the days of the great Pon-

tiffs who formidably compete in historic grandeur with Barbarossa, and even with Charlemagne, the tremendous power which they claimed, and which they often contrived to exercise, was weighted with a not less grave and telling responsibility. The bold initiative of Gregories and Alexanders, of Innocents and Bonifaces, hardly indeed could devise bigger and braver words than now issue from the Vatican :

'Quæ tuto tibi magna volant, dum distinet hostem  
Agger murorum, nec inundant sanguine fossæ.' \*

But their decisions and announcements did not operate as now through agencies mainly silent, underground, clandestine; the agencies, for example, of affiliated monastic societies, the agency of the consummate scheme of Loyola, the agency, above all, of that baneful system of universal Direction, which unlocks the door of every household, and inserts an opaque sacerdotal medium between the several members of the family, as well as between the several orders of the State. Their warfare was the warfare of a man with men. It recalls those grand words of King David, 'Died Abner as a fool dieth? Thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet put into fetters: as a man falleth before wicked men, so fellest thou' (2 Sam. iii. 33). When they committed outrage or excess, at least they were liable to suffer for it in a fashion very different from the 'Calvary' of Pope Pius IX. They had at their very gates the Barons of Rome, who then, at least, were barons indeed; and the tramp of the mailed hosts of the Hohenstaufens was ever in their ears. But now, when the Pope knows that his income is secured by a heavy mortgage upon the credulity of millions upon millions, to say nothing of the offers of the Italian Government in reserve, and that his outward conditions of existence are as safe and easy as those of any well-to-do or luxurious gentleman in Paris or in London, his denunciations, apart from all personal responsibility for consequences, lose their dignity in losing much of their manhood and all their danger, and the thunders of the Vatican, though by no means powerless for mischief with a portion of mankind, yet in the generality can neither inspire apprehension nor command respect.

Let us revert for a moment to the month of June, 1846.

A provincial Prelate, of a regular and

\*Æn. xi. 382.

simple life, endowed with devotional susceptibilities, wholly above the love of money, and with a genial and tender side to his nature, but without any depth of learning, without wide information or experience of the world, without original and masculine vigour of mind, without political insight, without the stern discipline that chastens human vanity, and without mastery over an inflammable temper, is placed, contrary to the general expectation, on the pinnacle, and it is still a lofty pinnacle, of ecclesiastical power. It is but fair towards him to admit, that his predecessors had bequeathed to him a temporal polity as rotten and effete in all its parts as the wide world could show. At the outset of his Pontificate, he attempted to turn popular emotion, and the principles of freedom, to account in the interests of Church power. As to ecclesiastical affairs, he dropped at once into the traditions of the *Curia*. He was and is surrounded by flatterers, who adroitly teach him to speak their words in telling him that he speaks his own, and that they are the most wonderful words ever spoken by man. Having essayed the method of governing by Liberal ideas and promises, and having, by a sad incompetency to control the chargers he had harnessed to his car, become (to say the least) one of the main causes of the European convulsions of 1848, he rushed from the North Pole of politics to the South, and grew to be the partisan of Legitimacy, the champion of the most corrupt and perjured Sovereignties of Italy, that is to say of the whole world. Had he only had the monitions of a free press and of free opinion, valuable to us all, but to Sovereigns absolutely priceless, and the indispensable condition of all their truly useful knowledge, it might have given him a chance; but these he denounces as impiety and madness. As the age grows on one side enlightened, and on another sceptical, he encounters the scepticism with denunciation, and the enlightenment with retrogression. As he rises higher and higher into the regions of transcendental obscurantism, he departs by wider and wider spaces from the living intellect of man; he loses Province after Province, he quarrels with Government after Government, he generates Schism after Schism; and the crowning achievement of the Vatican Council and its decrees is followed, in the mysterious counsels of Providence, by the passing over, for the first time in history, of his temporal dominions to an orderly and national Italian kingdom, and of a German Imperial Crown to the head of a Lutheran King, who is the

summit and centre of Continental Protestantism.\*

But what then? His clergy are more and more an army, a police, a caste; farther and farther from the Christian Commons, but nearer to one another, and in closer subservience to him. And they have made him 'The Infallible;' and they have promised he shall be made 'The Great.' And, as if to complete the irony of the situation, the owners, or the heirs, of a handful of English titles, formerly unreclaimed, are now enrolled upon the list of his most orthodox, most obsequious followers; although the mass of the British nation repudiates him more eagerly and resolutely than it has done for many generations.

Such is this great, sad, world-historic picture. Sometimes it will happen that, in a great emporium of Art, a shrewd buyer, after hearing the glowing panegyric of a veteran dealer upon some flaming and pretentious product of the brush, will reply, Yes, no doubt, all very true; but it is not a good picture to live with. So with regard to that sketch from the halls of the Vatican, which we have endeavoured faithfully to present, we ask the reader in conclusion, or ask him to ask himself, *Is it a good picture to live with?*

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NOTE ON No. 274, ART. 'The Jesuits.'

We have received a letter from Father Newman, in reference to a paragraph on p. 155 in our last number, informing us that he had never contemplated entering the 'Society of Jesus.' We regret most sincerely if anything we have written has caused annoyance to Father Newman. As a matter of fact, however, we would point out that we never alleged that he had formally demanded admission into the Order, or that his request had been met by a formal refusal. We merely coupled his name with those of several men, eminent for their religious vocation, who had certainly been brought into more or less close connexion with the Order, without such relation having resulted in an abiding connexion. But Father Newman's statement is so distinct in his letter to us as to remove all possible ambiguity as to the nature of his relation to the Order, and we therefore, in the Second Edition of our last number, omitted his name in the paragraph referred to.

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\* See the remarkable Tract of Franz von Löhner: Ueber Deutschlands Weltstellung. München, 1874.



# LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*Macready's Reminiscences, and Selections from his Diaries.* Edited by Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., one of his Executors. 2 Vols. 8vo. London, 1875.

THE condition of a great actor's work is that it dies with him. Let him have put into it all that life-long observation and study, quickened by the creative energy of genius, can produce, he must still be content to forego the natural yearning of the artist for a hold upon the hearts and minds of a future day. With the kindred spirits, who 'rule us from their tombs,' he knows he can never rank. As Alfred de Musset has said of them—

*'Jamais l'affreuse nuit les prend tout entiers.'*

But with him it is different. Who shall preserve from oblivion that magic of voice, that charm of form, of look, of gesture, through which his soul has spoken to his fellow-men with such resistless eloquence? Yet is he not without his consolations. No noble influence is ever wholly lost; and he may find compensation for the short-lived doom of his noblest creations in the assurance that a power of his genius, which has been reflected to him in the palpable emotion or ringing plaudits of his audience, has opened up to them a world of poetry and emotion, which but for him they would never have known. His 'so potent art' has awakened them to a knowledge of their own hearts. It has widened the sphere of their sympathies; flashed light upon the conceptions of the greatest poets, which has made them living realities, even for the unimaginative; and in doing this, it has communicated im-

pulses which may exercise a lasting influence for good on the lives of thousands. Happier, too, than many great poets and artists, the great actor has not to wait for his fame. It meets him face to face in the eager eyes, the hushed breath, the triumphant acclaim of his contemporaries. Not in vain has he lived, who owes such success to having wrought with a pure aim in turning to the highest account the special gift of genius. Even though his work die with him, he may comfort himself with the thought that its excellence lingers long in the traditions of the world, and that he will at least remain—how few even of the greatest do more?—the shadow of a mighty name.

Great actors as a rule have accepted this condition of their existence cheerfully. They have not sought to keep their name and fame before the world by autobiographies or memoirs, but have left themselves and their merits to be dealt with by other pens than their own. In truth, there is little to awaken interest in the story of an actor's life. The successive steps in his career, the long apprenticeship in the practical study of his art, the passage from stage to stage, the gradual rise to eminence and fortune, all so interesting to himself, can have no attraction for any reasonable creature. The mature fruit of his toils, his impersonations, into which he throws himself with all that study and experience have taught him, it is with these alone that the public have any concern. The true artist on the stage, as elsewhere, will, above all, be a gentleman; and as he will shrink in his life from that vulgar curiosity (never more rife than in the present day) which seeks to penetrate into the pri-

vate history and habits of those who, by the necessity of their vocation, live much in the public eye, he will be no less chary of ministering to this curiosity when he has passed away, and it can no longer wound his feelings or outrage his self-respect.

Hence it is that the greatest actors have added little to biographical literature. The most illustrious of our own stage, Betterton, Booth, Quin, Garrick, Barry, the Kembles, Young, have all kept silence. Some, if not all of these, could write well; and Garrick, the ablest of them all, had, as his letters testify, the very qualities to make him pre-eminent in this branch of literature. It is impossible not to regret that he had not found time to devote himself to it. What memoirs might he not have written! Of himself he would probably have told us little. But what sketches of manners might we not then have had! What anecdotes; what conversations of Beauclerk, of Johnson, of Goldsmith, of Reynolds, of Burke and Chatham; of Diderot, Maupertuis, of D'Holbach, and all the brilliant society of Paris! What pictures of the leading men and women of his time; and there were few whom he did not know! Above all, how might he have set in all the hues of life before us his great compeers on the stage—Quin, Macklin, Powell, Barry, Mossop, Sheridan, Weston, King, Mrs. Woffington, Mrs. Cibber, Kitty Clive, Mrs. Pritchard, Mrs. Abington,—doing for them what Colley Cibber has done for Betterton, for Mountfort and Bracegirdle. What invaluable lessons should we not then have had in dramatic criticism! What hints to make the stage, as it ought to be, a school of manners and of high thinking, as well as the most delightful of all amusements!

The great actors of France, it is true—Le Kain, Prévaille, Molé, Talma, and others—have left written records behind them. But in them little is to be found of their personal history. It is of their art and not of themselves they write; their memoirs being confined almost exclusively to illustrations of what the stage is capable, conveyed either in examples taken from other actors, or in general propositions for the guidance of those who may have to practise or to criticise the actors' art. Nor could better guides to a just appreciation of that art be desired. They were proud of it; for they regarded it from the same high point of view as Voltaire, when he said of a genius for it, that it was '*le plus beau, le plus rare, et le plus difficile des talents.*' It was an art which in its perfection could only come of 'the gifts that God gives.' It could not, as the great comedian Prévaille wrote, be taught: 'A

man must be born an actor, and then it is not a master he needs, but a guide.' Mlle. Clairon, though herself open to the charge of too artificial a style—'*elle est trop actrice,*' was Garrick's comprehensive criticism—was equally clear on this point. 'I am aware of no rules,' she writes, 'no traditions, that are capable of imparting all those qualities of mind and sensibility which are indispensable for the production of a great actor; I know of no rule by which one can learn to *think, to feel*; Nature alone can give those faculties, which study, advice, and time, may serve to develop.\* But though teaching could not make a fine actor, he was not therefore to dispense with culture and study. 'Fill yourselves with knowledge,' Clairon says elsewhere; 'be unremitting in the search for truth; by dint of care, of study, make yourselves worthy to educate your public, and constrain them to own that you profess the most difficult of all the arts, and not the most degraded of mechanical crafts.'

Le Kain, himself an illustrious instance of the power and patience of genius to overcome the disadvantages of face and figure for a vocation where such disadvantages are most felt—that inexpressible something which made Pritchard genteel and Garrick six-feet high,—writes eloquently in the same strain. 'Soul is the foremost requisite of the actor; intelligence the second; truth and fervour of utterance the third; grace and symmetry of person the fourth. To be thoroughly master of his parts, to know the force and significance of every line, never to lose sight of Nature, simple, noble, and affecting; to be assured that understanding is not to be acquired save by ripe meditation, nor practical skill save by persevering toil; to be always in his part; to use the picturesque with skilful reserve; to be as true in level speaking as in the great movements of passion; to avoid whatever is trivial; to make his pauses not too frequent; to let nobility of style be seen even across his lightest moods; to avoid jerkiness in speaking; to weep only when the soul is stormed and thrust in upon itself by grief; to show unbroken attention to what is passing on the stage, and to identify himself with the character he represents: these are some, and only some, of the qualities which go, in the estimation of one from whose judgment there could be no appeal, to constitute the claim to be considered a great actor.

\* '*Vois-tu,*' wrote poor Rachel, when sinking under her fatal illness, '*pour étudier, il est bien inutile de parler, de faire des gestes; il faut penser, il faut pleurer.*'—Madame de Girardin, par Impert de St. Arnaud, Paris, 1875, p. 263.

Those who thought so highly of their art were not likely to be otherwise than proud of it. They bore within them that which might well make them indifferent alike to the prejudices that refused them the social status conceded to other artists, and to the Churchman's dogma, which denied to them, when dead, a resting-place in consecrated ground. Loving their pursuit as they did, with the passionate devotion which was one main secret of their excellence, they felt it gave them a rank above conventional distinctions. They would not, if they could, have exchanged it for any other. What could the sneer at the player's craft of some well-born fool, or of some professional pedant, matter to a man who knew he could cope with the best in every honourable quality, and whose business in life was to make his fellows familiar with 'the high actions and the high passions,' which make a poetical drama the best discipline of humanity! Nor were our English actors behind them in glorying in their vocation. On the Statute-book players might still appear as 'vagabonds,' but the profession which our supreme poet had followed, and for which his best works had been written, could not be degraded by the reckless classification of an obsolete law. The opinion of society soon abolished the stigma: the actor who respected himself was sure of its respect. Whom, indeed, was it prepared to welcome more kindly, or to accept in its most intellectual circles upon a footing of more complete equality? And if in public any slight were offered to him, he was sure of the support of his audience; just as it is upon record that the house went thoroughly with George Frederick Cooke, in his memorable retort, recorded in these volumes, to a young officer in the stage-box, who had made himself conspicuous by interrupting the play: 'You are an ensign! Sir, the King (God bless him!) can make any fool an officer, but it is only the Almighty that can make an actor!'

It naturally, therefore, excited no small surprise, not unmixed with indignation, among the actors of the day, when before the Select Committee on Dramatic Literature in 1832, presided over by Sir E. L. Bulwer, Mr. Macready, who had by this time taken rank with the leaders of his profession, spoke of it as one so 'unrequiting, that no person who had the power of doing anything better would, unless deluded into it, take it up.' In a separate answer he disparaged it still farther by saying, 'that persons who could find any other occupation would not take to one in which they were dependent entirely upon the humour of the public.' It was an ungracious speech, considering that

the public had been kind to him to the full measure of his deserts. But it had a farther and deeper significance, because it showed that the speaker wanted the first element of greatness, a thorough faith in his art, as in itself worthy, without reference to the measure of popular appreciation or of money value. It was obvious from such a reply that Mr. Macready did not view his profession, as we have seen La Kain do, 'en grand.' His individual self was more to him than his art. Its followers were exposed to popular caprice. But what artists are not? Did Gainsborough, Constable, Müller—nay, did even Flaxman,—rise to their true place in their own day? Its returns in pounds, shillings, and pence, were small. The artist in whose thoughts such things are uppermost, may be dexterous, may be popular; but without the inspiration which seeks a vent, that will not be repressed, on the canvas, in the marble, or upon the stage, let the world requite him as it may, he will never be great.

The volumes before us are an instructive commentary on Mr. Macready's evidence in 1832. No one can read them without seeing that he had no special genius, in the right sense of the word, for the stage. Accident, not impulse, took him there; and great force of will, and a determined ambition, carried him into a conspicuous place upon it, which his sound intellectual training and high personal character enabled him to maintain with honour. Whatever he had to do, it was his maxim to do thoroughly. The inspiration of genius was not within his command; but hard study and a certain fervour of style gave to many of his impersonations something that seemed to come near it. He worked at acting as he would have worked at jurisprudence or theology, had circumstances taken him to the Bar or to the Church. Under no conditions would he have been content to be lost in the common herd of toilers in the same field. But to the artist's delight in his work for its own sake these volumes show very clearly that he was a stranger. This fact, now placed by them beyond mere surmise, is, to our minds, the best justification of those who qualified their admiration of his talents by denying to him the attributes of an actor of the highest class.

While, therefore, this book will not raise the general estimate of Mr. Macready as an actor, it will hardly make the world think better of him as a man. Actors have an evil reputation for egotism and jealousy. No one ever lay more heavily under this imputation than Mr. Macready, while on the stage. We have heard the greatest comedian of his time say of him: 'Macread;

never could see any merit in any living actor in his own line, nor in any actress either, until she was either dead or off the stage.' The indictment was sweeping, but this book almost bears it out.

So little assured, apparently, was Mr. Macready of his hold on public favour, or to use his own phrase, on 'popular caprice,' that he lived in constant dread of being ousted from it by some new favourite. The echo of applause, unless given to himself, fills him with 'envious and vindictive feelings.' The words are his own (vol. ii. p. 62). But for his own confessions, as here given, the extent of this weakness would have been incredible. Thus, when he was in the zenith of his reputation (29th August, 1837), he reads in the 'Morning Herald' that Mr. Phelps has made a decided success. What is his comment? 'It depressed my spirits, though perhaps it should not do so. If he is greatly successful, I shall reap the profits.' Mr. Phelps was then under engagement to appear in Mr. Macready's Company at Covent Garden. 'If moderately, he will strengthen my company; but an actor's fame and his dependent income is [*sic*] so precarious, *that we start at every shadow of an actor*. It is an unhappy life' (vol. ii. p. 88). By this rule nothing would have more thoroughly embittered his existence than a stage filled with performers of the highest stamp. No generous emulation, no triumph in the general exaltation of the drama, no delight in the display of genius or power in others, would compensate for the comparative eclipse of his own star. And yet this was the man whose highest claim on the public favour was his professed desire to raise and dignify the stage!

It is typical of the same morbid egotism, that even when Mr. Macready is chronicling in the Diaries here published the production of the numerous poetical plays, which were the glory of his management at Covent Garden and Drury Lane, it is only of his own share in them he speaks. No one would ever suppose that they were supported by a body of performers scarcely inferior to himself, and to whom, at all events, quite as much as to himself, their success was due. In truth, Mr. Macready could 'bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne.' If the main interest of any of the new pieces he produced was found on rehearsal or in performance not to centre in himself, it lost its interest for him. This was often alleged of him by both authors and actors; his own diaries 'give it proof.' Thus, when Bulwer's comedy of 'Money' is first put into his hands, he is charmed with it. He reads it to the Haymarket Company (24th Octo-

ber, 1840). 'It was quite successful,' he notes, 'with them.' A few days of rehearsals change the aspect of everything. 'As I write,' he says (4th November), 'doubts and misgivings rise in my mind. I have nothing great or striking in situation, character, humour or passion, to develop. The power of all this is thrown on Mr. Strickland, and partially on Mr. Webster.' On the 8th of December—in these days a month of rehearsals was not thought too much for a new play\*—the comedy was produced. By this time Mr. Macready had apparently discovered that it was not only Mr. Strickland and Mr. Webster who might have the pull upon him—so he is 'very much depressed and low-spirited. . . . Acted the part of Evelyn—not satisfied. I wanted lightness, self-possession, and in the serious scenes, truth. I was not good; I feel it. In the last scene, Miss Faucit, as I had anticipated, had quite the advantage over me. This was natural.' If so, then surely it was a thing to rejoice in; and those who remember how admirably all the parts of this brilliant comedy were filled on its first production will be surprised to find that this circumstance was only a source of vexation to one who, both as actor and as the trusted friend of the author, might well have been glad of whatever brought the merits of the play into the highest relief.

Mr. Macready was always ready to urge upon the members of his company that it was the actor that made the part, not the part that made the actor; and we have heard him cite in society, with warm commendation, the reply quoted in this book of the German actress, Schroeder, to some one who remarked with surprise on her condescending to perform the unimportant part of Lady Capulet, the night after she had taken her audience by storm as Lady Macbeth. 'Condescend,' she replied; 'is it not Shakspeare I acted?' Constant sacrifices of this kind were conceded to Mr. Macready. But what was a sound rule for others was apparently no rule for him. Thus, having played Friar Lawrence, in 'Romeo and Juliet' one night (30th April, 1838), he records: 'I find playing a part of this sort, with no character to sustain, no effort to make, *no power of perceiving an impression made*, to be a very disagreeable and unprofitable task. Having required many of the actors to do what they considered beneath them,

\* 'We have had twenty rehearsals of this,' said some one, at the end of the last rehearsal of Bulwer's 'Richelieu.' 'Then I wish you luck at *Vingt-et-un!*' said Tom Cooke, the leader of the orchestra. His wish was more than fulfilled.

perhaps it was only a just sacrifice to their opinions to concede so far.' How little of the Schroeder spirit is here! Lady Capulet has not one feature of dramatic interest. On the other hand, the character of Friar Lawrence is sketched with subtle skill, and he has, at least, one considerable speech of great beauty. But it is beneath Mr. Macready's notice, because it gives no scope 'for perceiving the impression made,' or, in plain English, for what is technically called 'bringing down the house.'

With strange inconsistency, the man to whom the plaudits of an audience were as the breath of his nostrils, who could do nothing without the stimulus of 'perceiving an impression made,' affected to abhor, and even to despise the only profession in which this stimulus can be had. All through this book run lamentations at the untoward fate that made him an actor. That wretched old Statute about 'vagabonds' poisons his existence. It is in vain that audiences cheer, that critics extol, that honours are showered upon him by statesmen and men of letters as the great regenerator of the British stage. He was not a gentleman by Statute. 'The slow unmoving finger' of a purely imaginary scorn troubled his peace. Nor was this all. What might he not have done at the Bar, or in some other profession? The First Satire of his favourite Horace might have taught him to cure himself, betimes, of that most foolish of all foolish habits, which makes men sigh for some occupation other than what choice or destiny has assigned them. What a man does best may be pretty safely taken to be what he is best fitted to do. And Mr. Macready did his acting so well, that it may fairly be doubted whether he could have done anything else better, if so well. In his boyhood he was destined for the bar; but, judged by his own confessions, he had neither the patience, tact, nor temper, without which no man need hope to make his way there. A disposition like his, so morbidly sensitive, so impatient of control, so dictatorial and supercilious, would have exposed him to sufferings far more acute in that career than any he had to encounter on the stage, where it made many others suffer, who had to bear with it, as it would have been borne with nowhere else. Where else, too, could he have hoped to secure so many of the prizes for which so many excellent men have to struggle in vain? His place upon the stage brought him fame, a fair fortune, troops of friends in England, America, and France, among them many of the choicest

spirits of his time, and the honours of more than one public dinner; and yet his diaries abound with such entries as this: '19th February, 1845.—I see a life gone in an unworthy, an unrequiting pursuit. Great energy, great power of mind, ambition and activity that, with discretion, might have done anything, now made into a player.' Or this, on the 1st July, 1843, when he has been to Westminster Hall to see the Exhibition of Cartoons:—'Saw several persons that I knew, to whom I did not speak, as I did not know how far they might think themselves lowered in their own opinion by speaking to me.' And yet the same morning he had breakfasted with Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton), to meet Carlyle, Bunsen, Lord Morpeth, and several other people of the same class, not one of whom but esteemed him, and treated him as they would any other gentleman of their acquaintance.

Can it be, is the question that again and again rises, as we read passage after passage of this kind, that Mr. Macready seriously meant such revelations of personal foibles, if not of something worse, to be given to the public? It is conceivable that a man should turn his diary into a confessional, in which to hold up in black and white before his own eyes his vanity, his overweening estimate of his own powers and importance; his vices of temper, of envy, of jealousy, of morbid pride; his grudges at fortune; his occasional misgivings about himself; his penitences and self-reproaches. It may be also well for him, that he should write down there his appeals to Heaven for help against these and other besetting sins. But such revelations can scarcely have been intended for the public eye. They are infinitely painful to those who would wish to think with respect of a man, in many points of view, so excellent and so distinguished. They teach nothing, because they are only one evidence the more of the ineradicable weaknesses and follies even of the wise. Surely, too, the taste is more than equivocal which dictated the publication of such prayers as are here recorded, for protection against the vices of an overbearing temper which, by the way, was always ready to break out with fresh vigour after every smiting of the breast, and cry of '*Mea culpa, mea maxima culpa.*' From ejaculations such as these one turns away, as one would from a private letter left accidentally open. What can be said of them but what St. Beuve says of similar pious out-pourings in Madame Schwetznine's Memoirs: '*Dès que la prière commence, la critique littéraire expire*'?

We suppose that Sir Frederick Pollock did not feel himself at liberty, as the executor of his friend, to suppress any portion of the '*Reminiscences*,' begun by Mr. Macready in 1855, and brought down to the end of 1826. We venture to think, however, that Mr. Macready would have done more wisely, if, like his distinguished predecessors, he had left the story of his life altogether in other hands. But, if the '*Reminiscences*' were retained, no mercy should have been shown to the subsequent *Diaries*. All that is really valuable in them would have gone into a comparatively small compass; and worked up, as the Editor is so well qualified to have worked them, into a compact and animated biography, he might have added an agreeable volume to the not too numerous list of good works that deal with the history of the English stage. Had he used the contents of the present volumes as the materials for a biography, cutting remorselessly away all that is essentially private and unimportant, or needlessly communicative, enough would have been left to make an amusing and instructive book. If he had been a little blind to the faults of his hero, so much the better; Mr. Macready's good qualities would then have stood out in probably truer proportion and relief. We should have thought only with pleasure of the old favourite, to whom we had owed many a delightful and instructive hour in the dreamland of the theatre. At the same time we should have escaped a host of details, with which the book is now weighted, of where, and what, and when Mr. Macready played; how much a night he got; how his Macduff at one place was imbecile, his *Laertes*, at another, infected with the vice of the Court of Denmark; his *Evadne*, at a third, without brains or bearing; how much money was in the theatre on one night, how little on another; how, at one time, he was called on, night after night, after the play, or how, to his amazement, he was not once called on through a whole engagement; of petty squabbles, and prosy speeches—all that, in a word, may be dismissed as the merest chronicling of personal and theatrical small talk.

William Charles Macready was born in London, on the 3d of March, 1793. His father, the son of a well-to-do Dublin upholsterer, left the paternal business for the stage, and after running the usual career in the provinces, and playing for some time in London, became the manager of the Birmingham, Sheffield, and other theatres. He wrote the successful farce of '*The Irishman in London*,' produced at Covent Gar-

den, in 1782, and seems to have enjoyed and merited the respect of the various towns where he flourished as a manager through a long life. His first wife, the mother of W. C. Macready, was also on the stage, a fact of which, oddly enough, her son makes no mention in his '*Reminiscences*.' She seems to have been one of those mothers whose sweet influence penetrates the lives of their children, and haunts them like some holy presence. She died in December, 1803, and her son never speaks of her but with the deepest reverence and devotion. Doubtless he cost her no small share of anxiety, for in his childhood he was marked, to use his own words, by 'a most violent and self-willed disposition;' an inheritance from his father, in which the gentle mother must have foreseen a pregnant source of future trouble.

Macready was one of six children. The family means were small, the parents busy. So while little better than an infant he was got out of the way by being sent to a day-school. Henceforth he says, '*my childhood and boyhood were all school*.' A preparatory school at Kensington, where the pupils were arrayed 'in uniform of scarlet jacket, with blue or nankeen trousers,' next received him; and from this he was removed to a school in Birmingham, where the master, a Mr. Edgell, 'a violent tempered man,' who was confidently believed to have forsaken the tailors' shopboard for the ferule and the desk, did his best to make his pupil's bad temper worse, while initiating him in the mysteries of English grammar and Bonnycastle's arithmetic. But the future actor was even then foreshadowed in the fact, so commonly met with in the lives of players, that recitation was his forte.

He learned quickly and retained what he learned. Pope's *Homer* was got almost by heart; and its author became so great a favourite with him, that long afterwards he prepared for his children, and subsequently published, an expurgated edition of Pope's works. The great London actors when set free by the close of the London theatrical season, which was then a winter one, were available for his father's theatre at Birmingham. Here in the manager's dressing-room he had a glimpse of King, dressed as Lord Ogleby. The grand deportment and beauty of Mrs. Siddons were engraven on his boyish memory. The face of Mr. W. T. Lewis, the great comedian, also made an indelible impression on the boy; but of Mrs. Billington all he could remember was the figure of a very lusty woman, and the excitement of the audience when the orchestra struck up the symphony of Arne's rattling bravura, '*The*

Soldier Tired,' in the opera of 'Artaxerxes.' He had the much greater good fortune to catch a glimpse of Nelson when, during the short peace of Amiens, the hero of the Nile made a tour of several of the provincial towns—a recreation apparently innocent enough, but which was harshly reflected on in the House of Lords:—

'The news of his arrival spread like wildfire, and when his intention of going to the theatre got wind, all who had heard of it, as might have been expected, flocked there to behold and do him honour. The play was Shakespeare's "Merry Wives of Windsor," for the benefit of a player of the name of Blissett, who had some repute in the part of Falstaff. At my father's request Lord Nelson consented to bespeak for the next night the play of "King Henry IV.," wishing to see Blissett again in Falstaff. The box-office was literally besieged early the next morning, and every place soon taken. At the hour of commencement my father was waiting with candles to conduct the far-famed hero through the lobby, which went round the whole semi-circle of the lower tier, to his box. The shouts outside announced the approach of the carriage: the throng was great, but being close to my father's side, I had not only a perfect view of the hero's pale and interesting face, but listened with such eager attention to every word he uttered, that I had all he said by heart, and for months afterwards was wont to be called upon to repeat "what Lord Nelson said to your father." This was in substance to the effect that the universal esteem in which his father's character was held in the town made it a pleasure and a duty to render him any assistance.

Nothing of course passed unnoticed by my boyish enthusiasm: the right-arm empty sleeve attached to his breast, the orders upon it, a sight to me so novel and remarkable; but the melancholy expression of his countenance, and the extremely mild and gentle tones of his voice impressed me most sensibly. They were indeed for a life's remembrance. When with Lady Hamilton and Dr. Nelson he entered his box, the uproar of the house was deafening, and it seemed as if it would know no end. The play was at length suffered to proceed, after which was a sort of divertisement in honour of the illustrious visitor, from one song of which I can even now recollect one couplet! Oh sacred Nine, forgive me while I quote it!

"We'll shake hands, and be friends; if they won't, why, what then?

We'll send our brave Nelson to thrash 'em again.

Derry down," &c.

The crowded house was frantic in its applause at this sublime effusion. Lady Hamilton laughing loud and without stint, clapped with uplifted hands and all her heart, and kicked with her heels against the foot-board of the seat, while Nelson placidly and with his mournful look (perhaps in pity for the poet)\* bowed repeated-

ly to the oft-repeated cheers. Next day my father called at the hotel to thank his Lordship, when Nelson presented him with what he intended to be the cost of his box wrapped in paper, regretting that his ability to testify his respect for my father was so much below his will. My father never told me the amount, but purchased with it a piece of plate that he retained to his death in memory of the donor. I should not omit to mention that in the hall of the hotel were several sailors of Nelson's ship wanting to see him, to each of whom the great admiral spoke in the most affable manner, inquiringly and kindly, as he passed through to his carriage, and left them, I believe, some tokens of his remembrance.'

The failing health of Macready's mother drew her to the waters of Leamington, 'then a small village consisting only of a few thatched houses, not one tiled or slated, the Bowling Green Inn being the only one where very moderate accommodation could be procured.' It was there he saw her last, when he set out with his father for Rugby, with all a boy's trepidations and reluctance to face the unknown future of a great Public School. He fell there as fag under a very harsh master, 'a young Irishman of the name of Ridge,' and wrote home such piteous letters, that his father more than once thought of sending for him. The mother, with a wiser sagacity, prevented this. Her boy was no worse off than other boys, and he had a kind cousin in Mr. Birch, one of the masters, who would not suffer him to be ill-treated. So there he remained—making a course through the school rapid beyond precedent, and attaining the fifth form in three years, 'from which advance he began to be sensible of a certain enjoyment of his position.'

It was one of the amusements of the bigger boys at Rugby to get up plays, and they were not likely to overlook the fact that the father of one of their school-fellows had a theatre no farther off than Birmingham. Here was an easy way to get at play-books and dresses, and these were readily furnished to them on the application of the manager's son. Some requital for such a service was due even to an Under School-boy. It was given first in the distinguished post of prompter. Higher honours followed; and Dame Ashfield in 'Speed the Plough,' Mrs. Brulgruddery in 'John Bull,' the Jew in Dibdin's 'School for Prejudice,' and Brief-wit in the farce of 'Weathercock,' a tolerably varied list, were the maiden efforts of the future tragedian.

them,—the faith in their hero, their faith in themselves, which carried the British nation through the fiery ordeal of that time.

\*Sarely not. The lines had the right ring in

Other excitements varied the school routine. Nothing was talked of but *Buonaparte* and invasion. The older boys went through regular drill after school-hours with heavy wooden broad-swords, 'their blue coats cuffed and collared with scarlet.' These were also the days of one of the maddest frenzies that ever possessed the play-going public. It was only in August last that its object died at the ripe age of eighty-three, 'a prosperous gentleman.' William Henry West Betty, the Young Roscius, 'a miracle of beauty, grace, and genius,' as Macready calls him, and still a mere boy, was the theme of all discourse:—

"The young Roscius" became a rage, and in the *furor* of public admiration, the invasion ceased to be spoken of. He acted two nights at Leicester; and on a half-holiday, my cousin Birch having sent a note to excuse me and his eldest son from the afternoon's callings-over, at my father's request Tom Birch and myself were smuggled into a chaise and reached Leicester in time for the play, "*Richard III.*" The house was crowded—John Kemble and H. Harris, son of the Patentee of Covent Garden, sat in the stage box immediately behind us. I remember John Kemble's handkerchief strongly scented of lavender, and his observation, in a very compassionate tone, "Poor boy! he is very hoarse." I could form little judgment of the performance, which excited universal enthusiasm, and in the tempest of which we were of course borne along. After the play, Tom Birch and myself got into our chaise, and travelling through the night reached Rugby in good time for "first lesson" in the morning.

This popularity, like all similar fashionable crazes was doomed to a sudden extinction. When he had reached manhood the public turned a cold ear to him, and, as Macready thinks, unjustly:—

'It seemed,' he says, 'as if the public resented on the grown man the extravagance of the idolatry they had blindly lavished on the boy.' His level speaking was not agreeable. 'A sort of sing-song and a catch in his voice suggested the delivery of words learned by heart, not flowing from the impulse or necessity of the occasion; but when warmed into passion he became possessed with the spirit of the scene, and in witnessing as I have done, his illustration of passages with all the originality and fire of genius, the conviction was pressed upon me that if he had not had to his prejudice the comparison of his boyish triumphs, and the faulty manner derived from frequent careless repetition, he would have maintained a distinguished position in his maturer years.'

In 1807 Dr. Wooll succeeded to the head-mastership of Rugby. He was too indulgent; and there being no longer the same pressure on his industry as under Wooll's

predecessor, Dr. Inglis, young Macready for a time fell back in his studies. Happily he pulled up in time; and to retrieve what he had lost, would get out of bed when the house was asleep, hang up clothes against the windows to hide his light, and with the help of strong tea, sit up to a late hour working at his Homer or Virgil. Dr. Wooll varied the exercises of the elder boys by introducing the composition of English verses, and in addition to the prizes for these and Latin verse, gave prizes for speaking, as a test of the elocutionary powers of the fifth and sixth forms. Young Macready had clearly struck him as a declaimer above the average. He assigned the boy the closet scene in 'Hamlet' for the public declamation, and in answer to his remonstrance on the score of its difficulty, silenced him by saying, 'If I had not intended you to do something extraordinary, I should not have taken you out of your place.' 'Robinson, afterwards Master of the Temple, Lord Hatherton (*né* Walhouse), and the late Sir G. Ricketts,' Mr. Macready notes, 'were the best speakers.' But the comments made at the time on one of the cards by an old gentleman who was present at the representation on the second Tuesday in June, 1808, quoted by his Editor, while they confirm the excellence of Robinson and Ricketts, place Macready quite on a level with them. They are 'excellent,' 'very well,' 'very excellent,' but his share in the entertainment is pronounced to be 'surprisingly well indeed.' In Dr. Wooll's time the school-plays were got up 'in a more expensive style than in his predecessor's, and 'with great completeness.' Audiences from the town and neighbourhood were invited. The young actors flew at high game. Dr. Young's tragedy of 'Revenge,' with the farce of 'Two Strings to your Bow,' made a strong bill. Zanga and Lazzarillo, the leading parts, fell to Macready.

'The success was great; we were all much applauded, and I remember the remark of a Mr. Caldecot, reported to me, "I should be uneasy if I saw a son of mine play so well." I had, however, no thought of this but as an amusement, and my pride would have been wounded if a suspicion had been hinted that I could regard it in any other light. The half-year closed with speeches before an auditory consisting only of the school and the gentry of the town. My place was the last among the speakers, and I can now remember the inward elation I felt in marking, as I slowly rose up, the deep and instant hush that went through the whole assembly; I recollect the conscious pride I felt, as the creaking of my shoes came audibly to my ears whilst I deliberately advanced to my place in the centre of the school. My speech was the oration of

Titus Quintius, translated from Livy. It was a little triumph in its way, but the last I was doomed to obtain in dear old Rugby.'

Another reminiscence, which falls within this period, is not uninteresting. In passing through Birmingham Macready went to the theatre, which had by this time fallen into other hands, his father having left it for Manchester. The afterpiece was a serious pantomime, founded on Monk Lewis's ballad of 'Alonzo and Imogene.' The manager's wife, a lady cast in 'Nature's amplest mould,' was the fair Imogene :

'As if in studied contrast to this enormous "bill of flesh," a little mean-looking man, in a shabby green satin dress (I remember him well), appeared as the hero, Alonzo the Brave. It was so ridiculous that the only impression I carried away was that the hero and heroine were the worst in the piece. How little did I know, or could guess, that under that shabby green satin dress was hidden one of the most extraordinary theatrical geniuses that have ever illustrated the dramatic poetry of England! When, some years afterwards, public enthusiasm was excited to the highest pitch by the appearance at Drury Lane of an actor of the name of Kean, my astonishment may easily be conceived on discovering that the little insignificant Alonzo the Brave was the grandly 'impassioned personator of Othello, Richard, and Shylock!'

On young Macready's return home for the holidays of the winter, 1808-9, it was to find his father ruined. The Manchester theatre had proved a failure, and had absorbed the little property which the elder Macready had accumulated in previous years of successful management in Birmingham, Sheffield, Newcastle, and elsewhere, and out of which he had sustained the very considerable expenses of his son at Rugby. An exhibition at Oxford, a degree, and a call to the bar had till then been the boy's ambition. But this dream was all at once rudely dispelled. The last half-year's bills at Rugby even were unpaid. Mr. Birch, his kind cousin there, at once relieved him of this difficulty; but his father was, in fact, bankrupt, and a return to Rugby was impossible. Mr. Macready writes, in a mysterious way, of 'a lady then staying in our house,' who had made mischief between his father and himself, and from whom he first learned the state of his father's affairs. From her the suggestion came at the same time that he should go on the stage.

'Would not my doing so relieve my father from the farther expense of my education? My expectations did not go beyond this result. The extravagant views of my counsellor looked

to another young Roscius *furor* (I being not yet sixteen years of age), and speculated on a rapid fortune.'

When he spoke to his father it was to tell him his mind was made up to go on the stage. His father, who by this time was well aware of the obstinacy of his son's temper, seems to have dealt quite fairly with him. 'It had been the wish of his life,' he said, 'to see me at the Bar, but if it was my real wish to go upon the stage, it would be useless for him to oppose it.' To the Zanga of Rugby School the stage was probably not without allurements. In any case, he went there of his own choice, swayed, perhaps, by the thought that he was doing something noble in sacrificing his dreams of forensic distinction to filial duty. If he really had within him the qualities to make a great lawyer, all the odds are against his having given up his first ambition. Men have fought their way to the first rank at the Bar under heavier disadvantages. At once he set about preparing himself for his future vocation, taking lessons in fencing, and getting by heart the words of the youthful characters then in vogue. Meanwhile his classics were not forgotten, and this, with the assistance which he gave his father in the business of his theatre, kept him fully employed. Of his father as an instructor for his future work he speaks slightly. He had no originality himself. Macklin and Henderson, the heroes of his youth, John Kemble, and even Pope and Holman, were his ideals. Consequently he referred always to what he had seen, and cited the manner in which past celebrities would deliver particular passages. A worse monitor for a young man, who was not strong enough to think for himself, and find his own modes of expression, could not well be conceived. Every period has its style; so has every genuine artist; neither will fit another age or another individual. So we are not surprised to hear that Macready 'in after-life had the difficult task of unlearning much that was impressed upon him in his boyish days.'

Worse for a youth afflicted with a fierce and imperious temper was the circumstance that, as his father was forced to keep out of the way to avoid arrest, he had to carry on the business of his theatres for him. Managers are by necessity despots. How hurtful to one, already too self-willed, must it have been to find himself in a position where he could lay down the law on all subjects within a little kingdom of his own! The entire management devolved on him at Newcastle, where he remained for two

months, 'not deriving much advantage, though some experience, from the society of some of the players, and falling desperately in love with one of the actresses—no improbable consequence of the unguarded situation of a boy of sixteen.' Availing himself of the invitation of his father's friend, Fawcett, one of the best comedians of the day, he came to London in the end of 1809, to see the best actors, and to learn fencing from the best masters. During this time Macready reports that he had the satisfaction of seeing Cooke, Young, C. Kemble, Munden, Fawcett, Emery, Liston, and other first-rate performers. It was his business to see as much good acting as he could, and he did so. Among other things, he saw the fine powers of Elliston, who had taken the Surrey Theatre, where the law allowed him to perform only burlettas, wasted on Macbeth performed as a pantomime, and on Captain Macheath, with Gay's pithy prose thrown into jingling rhyme. The first public experiment in the use of gas also attracted his notice in the shape of a star before a house in Pall Mall, 'which relighted itself as the wind every now and then blew out some of its jets.'

This visit over, young Macready had to begin the work of life in earnest. The father was in Lancaster Castle, a prisoner for debt, until set free by the proceedings in bankruptcy, and the task of working his company and keeping it together was undertaken by his son. All went so well in his hands, that the son was able to remit to his father three pounds a week 'in his melancholy dress at Lancaster,' and to carry on his theatre at Newcastle with credit. Before the season closed his father obtained his release, his certificate of bankruptcy having been granted under circumstances which speak volumes for his integrity, and which his son records with an honourable pride.

When the elder Macready resumed the direction of his theatre, his son, though relieved from business responsibilities, continued to superintend the rehearsals, and in the getting up of the melodramas, pantomimes, &c., he 'was the instructor of the performers.' No wonder he fell into the habit of playing the schoolmaster to all about him, which made him in after-years so obnoxious to his fellows. The time for his own *début* had now arrived. It was made in the character of Romeo at Birmingham, where his father had again become manager. What he tells of his feelings on the occasion confirms our conviction, that inclination, quite as much as duty, sent him upon the stage.

'The emotions I experienced on first crossing the stage, and coming forward in face of the lights and the applauding audience, were almost overpowering. There was a mist before my eyes. I seemed to see nothing of the dazzling scene before me, and for some time I was like an automaton moving in certain defined limits. I went mechanically through the variations in which I had drilled myself, and it was not until the plaudits of the audience awoke me from the kind of waking dream in which I seemed to be moving, that I gained my self-possession, and really entered into the spirit of the character and, I may say, felt the passion, I was to represent. Every round of applause acted like inspiration on me: I "trod on air," became another being, or a happier self; and when the curtain fell at the conclusion of the play, and the intimate friends and performers crowded on the stage to raise up the Juliet and myself, shaking my hands with fervent congratulations, a lady asked me, "Well, sir, how do you feel now?" my boyish answer was without disguise, "I feel as if I should like to act it all over again."

Once launched in the profession, Macready worked at it with enthusiasm. Not content with the regular work of the week, he used to lock himself into the theatre after morning service on the Sundays, and pace the stage in every direction to give himself ease, and become familiar in his deportment with exits and entrances, and with every variety of gesture and attitude. 'My characters,' he adds, 'were all acted over and over, and speeches recited, till, tired out, I was glad to breathe the fresh air again. This was for several years a custom with me.' The manager's son was sure to get quite his share of all the best parts, as well as of the public favour; and so early as 1811 we find him, while still only eighteen, risking his honours at Newcastle in the part of Hamlet. It was a success. All Hamlets are so, more or less. His remarks on the occasion are much to the purpose.

'The critic who had made a study of this masterpiece would predict with confidence a failure in such an experiment, but he would not have taken into account the support to the young aspirant supplied by the genius of the poet. There is an interest so deep and thrilling in the story, such power in the situations, and such a charm in the language, that with an actor possessed of energy, a tolerable elocution, and some grace of deportment, the character will sufficiently interpret itself to the majority of an audience to win for its representative, from their delight, the reward of applause really due to the poet's excellence. A total failure in Hamlet is of rare occurrence. . . . "There be players, that I have seen play, and heard others praise, and that highly," in the character, who could as soon explain and reconcile its seeming inconsistencies, as translate a page of Sanscrit. Dr.

Johnson, who so lucidly describes the mind of Polonius, has left us in his observations clear proof that he did not understand that of Hamlet; and audiences have been known to cheer innovations and traps for applause, which the following words of the text have shown to be at utter variance with the author's intention! My crude essay, like those of many others, was pronounced a success; but the probing inquiry and laborious study of my after-life have manifested to me how little was due to my own skill in that early personation.'

In 1812 he found himself cast to play with Mrs. Siddons, as she took Newcastle on her way to London, where she was about to take her leave of the stage. The plays were 'The Gamester' and 'Douglas.' Young Norval in the latter was one of Macready's favourite parts; but he might well have been appalled, as he says he was, at the thought of playing Beverley, and for the first time, to the Mrs. Beverley of the great actress. It was one of her greatest parts. Leigh Hunt, writing in 1807, classes it with her Lady Macbeth. He cites—'The bewildered melancholy of Lady Macbeth walking in her sleep, or the widow's mute stare of perfected misery for the corpse of the gamester Beverley, two of the sublimest pieces of acting on the English stage,' as the highest illustration of Mrs. Siddons' power in the natural expression of profound emotion, which he considered to be 'the result of genius rather than of grave study.'

Mr. Macready writes, as he always spoke, of Mrs. Siddons with enthusiasm. With fear and trembling he was sent by his father to her hotel to rehearse his scenes with her. 'I hope, Mr. Macready,' was her good-natured salutation to him, 'you have brought some hartshorn and water with you, as I am told you are terribly frightened at me.' Some farther remarks she made about his being a very young husband. Had he not been the manager's son the remark would in all likelihood have been more pointed than it was. It could not have been pleasant for an actress of her mature and stately proportions to find herself played to by a comparative boy. The business of the morning over, he took his leave with fear and trembling to steady his nerves for the coming night. He got through his first scene with applause. In the next, his first with Mrs. Beverley, he was so overcome by fear that his memory failed him, and he stood bewildered. 'Mrs. Siddons kindly whispered the word to me (which I never could take from the prompter), and the scene proceeded.'

'What eulogy can do justice to her personations? . . . Will any verbal account of the

most striking features of "the human face divine" convey a distinct portraiture of the individual? How much less can any force of description imprint on the imagination the sudden but thrilling effects of tone or look, of port or gesture, or even of the silence so often significant in the development of human passion! . . . I will not presume to catalogue the merits of this unrivalled artist, but may point out, as a guide to others, one great excellence that distinguished all her personations. This was the unity of design, the just relation of all parts to the whole, that made us forget the actress in the character she assumed. Throughout the tragedy of "The Gamester" devotion to her husband stood out as the main-spring of her actions, the ruling passion of her being; apparent when reduced to poverty in her graceful and cheerful submission to the lot to which his vice had subjected her, in her fond excuses of his ruinous weakness, in her conciliating expostulations with his angry impatience, in her indignant repulse of Stukeley's advances, when in the awful dignity of outraged virtue she imprecates the vengeance of Heaven upon his guilty head. The climax to her sorrows and sufferings was in the dungeon, when on her knees, holding her dying husband, he dropped lifeless from her arms. Her glaring eyes were fixed in stony blackness on his face; the powers of life seemed suspended in her; her sister and Lewson gently raised her, and slowly led her unresisting from the body, her gaze never for an instant averted from it; when they reached the prison door she stopped, as if awakened from a trance, uttered a shriek of agony that would have pierced the hardest heart, and, rushing from them, flung herself as if for union in death, on the prostrate form before her.

'She stood alone on her height of excellence. Her acting was perfection, and as I recall it I do not wonder, novice as I was, at my perturbation when on the stage with her. But in the progress of the play I gradually regained more and more my self-possession, and in the last scene as she stood by the side wing, waiting for the cue of her entrance, on my utterance of the words, "My wife and sister! well—well! there is but one pang more, and then farewell world!" she raised her hands, clapping loudly, and calling out "Bravo! sir, bravo!" in sight of part of the audience, who joined in her applause.'

This incident of the 'Bravo! sir, bravo!' comes with a chilling effect after so much to make us think that the actress was lost in her part. It might at least have been kept out of sight of the audience to whose tearful sympathies she was the next moment to make so terrible an appeal. Douglas went off without a hitch. The great lady sent for her 'Norval' after the play, and in her grandiose manner gave him some excellent advice.

"You are in the right way," she said, "but remember what I say,—study, study, study,

and do not marry till you are thirty. I remember what it was to be obliged to study at your early age with a young family about me. Beware of that: keep your mind on your art, do not remit your study and you are certain to succeed. . . . God bless you!" Her words lived with me, and often in moments of despondency have come to cheer me. Her acting was a revelation to me, which ever after had its influence on me in the study of my art. Ease, grace, untiring energy *through all the variations of human passion*, blended into that grand and massive style, had been with her the result of patient application.'

The words in italics are surely the mere hyperbole of praise. Mrs. Siddons was no doubt supreme within her range; but her range was narrow. She had dignity, grandeur, force—tenderness also in many of its phases. Constance, Hermione, Lady Macbeth, Volumnia, and characters of the same class were within her means, physical and mental. But there was a wide sweep of passion outside these limits which she could not reach. Of humour, the primary requisite for the treatment of Shakspeare, she was devoid; and in the portrayal of playful affection, and of what Leigh Hunt calls the 'amatory pathetic,' she wholly failed. She could, as Hunt says, 'overpower, astonish, affect, but she could not win.' What else might be expected from her 'grand and massive style'? From her acting Macready says he received a great lesson. 'Where opportunity presented 'itself,' he says, 'she never failed to bring out the passion of the scene and the meaning of the poet by gesture and action, more powerfully, I am convinced, than he originally conceived it.' This is the special gift of the great actor. As Voltaire said to Brizard, of the Comédie Française, '*Vous n'avez fait voir, dans le rôle de Brutus, des beautés que je n'avais pas aperçues en le composant.*' Mrs. Siddons had another great merit, which Charles Young tersely expressed by saying, 'She never indulged in imagination at the expense of truth.' Macready says the same thing in a more roundabout way.

'In giving life, and as it were reality to the character she represented, she never resorted to trick, or introduced what actors call "business," frequently inappropriate, and resulting from the want of intelligence to penetrate the depth of the emotions to be portrayed.'

Of Mrs. Jordan, whom he acted with soon afterwards at Leicester, Mr. Macready gives us some pleasant glimpses. The gayest, merriest, most spontaneous of actresses, she left no point unstudied, spared no pains to ensure her effects.

'At rehearsal,' he says, 'I remarked, as I

watched this charming actress intently through her first scene, how minute and how particular her directions were; nor would she be satisfied, till by repetition she had seen the business executed exactly to her wish. The moving picture, the very life of the scene, was perfect in her mind, and she transferred it in all its earnestness to every movement on the stage.' 'With a spirit of fun, that would have out-laughed Puck himself, there was a discrimination, an identity with her character, an artistic arrangement of the scene that made all appear spontaneous and accidental, though elaborated with the greatest care. Her voice was one of the most melodious I ever heard; . . . and who that once heard that laugh of hers could ever forget it . . . so rich, so apparently irrepressible, so deliciously self-enjoying as to be at all times irresistible.'

What this laugh was, and the secret of its charm, Leigh Hunt has told us in even happier language.

'Her laughter is the happiest and most natural on the stage. . . . It intermingles itself with her words, as fresh ideas afford her fresh merriment; she does not so much indulge as she seems unable to help it; it increases, it lessens with her fancy, and when you expect it no longer according to the usual habit of the stage, it sparkles forth at little intervals, as recollection revives it, like flame from half-smothered embers. This is the laughter of the feelings; and it is this predominance of the heart in all she says and does that renders her the most delightful actress in characters which ought to be more lady-like than she can make them, and which acquire a better gentility with others.'

Oh for the return of such acting and such criticism!

In 1813, the elder Macready having become the tenant of the Glasgow and Dumfries Theatres, his son made acquaintance with a fresh public, and laid the foundation of his popularity in the West of Scotland. He remembered with peculiar satisfaction the knot of playgoers who clustered in corners of the Glasgow pit, and by their murmurs of approval encouraged the young actor with the belief that they were giving their thoughts to what was going on before them. The theatre was the largest out of the metropolis, and the necessity which he felt himself under of more careful study and practice to satisfy the demands of an audience, which then, and we believe now, was critical as well as enthusiastic, had an excellent effect in advancing his mastery of his art. Here he had to measure his strength against young Betty, of whose energy, dignity, and pathos he speaks warmly, admitting at the same time that Betty did not study improvement in his art, and conse-

quently 'deteriorated by becoming used-up in the frequent repetition of the same parts.'

Hitherto Macready had lived with his father. The temper of neither was good. The infirmity of his own, the son declares 'to have been the source of most of the misery he had known in life.' But when passion got the better of his father, 'there was no curb to the violence of his language.' Each had strong opinions; and as they did not always run in the same groove, the son very often provoked the displeasure of the father. 'If two men,' as Dogberry says, 'ride upon a horse, one must ride behind;' and we can well believe that the younger Macready was not likely to accept the hindmost place. He was now, too, approaching manhood; and after an angry parley, father and son parted on the understanding that the latter should thenceforth live apart, and receive a salary of three pounds a week. A truce was patched up for a time after the return of the company to their headquarters at Newcastle; but with such jarring elements, it could be of only brief duration. Meanwhile the son did his best to keep up the reputation of his father's theatres, taking on himself a heavy share of the work, writing pieces from Scott's 'Marmion' and 'Rokeby,' and re-arranging others, to meet the exigencies of the hour. In the midst of his labours, to spur his ambitious hopes, the tidings reached him of the triumph at Drury Lane, as Shylock, of the insignificant little Alonzo, of the Birmingham Theatre.

Macready had up to this time worked loyally for his father, and repaid all, and more than all, that had been expended upon that education at Rugby which was to prove of priceless value to his future career. Fresh disputes between them arose. Neither would give way, and Macready left home upon an engagement for Bath. The theatre there was at that time regarded as a sort of antechamber to the great Patent Theatres of London, 'and the judgment of a Bath audience a pretty sure presage of the decision of the metropolis.' The young actor stood the scrutiny of this critical public. He was hailed with 'compliments, invitations, troops of friends, and all the flattering evidences of unanimous success.' The rumour of his success soon spread. Mr. Harris, of Covent Garden, opened negotiations with him, and an engagement for seven weeks in Dublin at 50*l.* a week was the best assurance that he had now fairly got his foot on the first round of the ladder. The negotiations for Covent Garden, having taken him to London, where Kean and Miss O'Neill were crowding the two great

houses, the impressions they produced on him are well described:

'Places were taken one night at Drury Lane for "Richard III.," and for another Fawcett procured seats for us in the orchestra of Covent Garden, to see the Juliet of Miss O'Neill to the best advantage. Kean was engaged to sup with my father at the York Hotel after the performance of "Richard," to which I went with no ordinary feelings of curiosity. Cooke's representation of the part I had been present at several times, and it lived in my memory in all its sturdy vigour. . . . There was a solidity of deportment and manner, and at the same time a sort of unctuous enjoyment of his successful craft, in the soliloquising stage villany of Cooke, which gave powerful and rich effect to the sneers and overbearing retorts of Cibber's hero, and certain points (as the peculiar mode of delivering a passage is technically phrased), traditional from Garrick, were made with consummate skill, significance, and power.

'Kean's conception was decidedly more Shakespearian. He hurried you along in his resolute course with a spirit that brooked no delay. In inflexibility of will and sudden grasp of expedients he suggested the idea of a feudal Napoleon. His personation was throughout consistent, and he was only inferior to Cooke where he attempted points upon the same ground as his distinguished predecessor. . . .

'My father and self were betimes in our box. Pope was the lachrymose and rather tedious performer of Henry VI. But when the scene changed, and a little keenly-visaged man rapidly bustled across the stage, I felt there was meaning in the alertness of his manner and the quickness of his step. As the play proceeded I became more and more satisfied that there was a mind of no common order. In his angry complaining of Nature's injustice to his bodily imperfections, as he uttered the line, "To shrink my arm up like a withered shrub," he remained looking on the limb for some moments with a sort of bitter discontent, and then struck it back in angry disgust. My father, who sat behind me, touched me, and whispered, "It's very poor!" "Oh, no!" I replied, "it is 'no common thing,'" for I found myself stretching over the box to observe him. The scene with Lady Anne was entered on with evident confidence, and was well sustained, in the affected earnestness of petulance, to its successful close. In tempting Buckingham to the murder of the children, he did not impress me as Cooke was wont to do, in whom the sense of the crime was apparent in the gloomy hesitation with which he gave reluctant utterance to the deed of blood. Kean's manner was consistent with his conception, proposing their death as a political necessity, and sharply requiring it as a business to be done. The two actors were equally effective in their respective views of the unscrupulous tyrant; but leaving to Cooke the more prosaic version of Cibber, it would have been desirable to have seen the energy and

restless activity of Kean giving life to racy language and scenes of direct and varied agency in the genuine tragedy with which his whole manner and appearance were so much more in harmony. In his studied mode of delivering the passages, "Well! as you guess?" and "Off with his head! So much for Buckingham!" he could not approach the searching, sarcastic incredulity, or the rich vindictive chuckle of Cooke; but in the bearing of the man throughout, as the intriguer, the tyrant, and the warrior, he seemed never to relax the ardour of his pursuit, presenting the life of the usurper as one unbroken whole, and closing it with a death picturesquely and poetically grand. Many of the Kemble school resisted conviction in his merits, but the fact that he made me feel was an argument to enrol me with the majority on the indisputable genius he displayed.

'We retired to the hotel as soon as the curtain fell, and were soon joined by Kean, accompanied, or rather attended, by Pope. I need not say with what intense scrutiny I regarded him as we shook hands on our mutual introduction. The mild and modest expression of his Italian features, and his unassuming manner, which I might perhaps justly describe as partaking in some degree of shyness, took me by surprise, and I remarked with special interest the indifference with which he endured the fulsome flatteries of Pope. He was very sparing of words during, and for some time after, supper; but about one o'clock, when the glass had circulated pretty freely, he became animated, fluent, and communicative. His anecdotes were related with a lively sense of the ridiculous; in the melodies he sang there was a touching grace, and his powers of mimicry were most humorously or happily exerted in an admirable imitation of Braham; and in a story of Incledon acting Steady the Quaker at Rochester, without any rehearsal—where, in singing the favourite air, "When the lads of the village so merrily, ah!" he heard himself to his dismay and consternation accompanied by a single bassoon,—the music of his voice, his perplexity at each recurring sound of the bassoon, his undertone maledictions on the self-satisfied musician, the peculiarity of his habits, all were hit off with a humour and an exactness that equalled the best display Mathews ever made, and almost convulsed us with laughter. It was a memorable evening, the first and last I ever spent in private with this extraordinary man.'

This animated sketch is followed by an account of Miss O'Neill's Juliet, not so discriminating but, naturally, more glowing. The writer was young, susceptible, and he would have been more or less than mortal, if admiration for the beauty of the woman had not heightened the estimate of the actress.

Two years were yet to elapse before Macready was to face the ordeal of a London audience. He stood out for terms which

the managers there were not prepared to yield. The interval was spent in most useful practice in the chief provincial theatres; but, at length, his cautious scruples having been overcome, and good terms secured, Mr. Macready appeared at Covent Garden as Orestes in 'The Distressed Mother,' on the 16th of September, 1816. He was received with the applause always liberally bestowed on every new performer, and this Kean, who was conspicuous in a private-box, helped to swell. Better still, the critics of the Press admitted his claims to distinction; Hazlitt, one of the best of them, described him 'as by far the best tragic actor that has come out in our remembrance, with the exception of Kean.' Othello, his next part of importance, confirmed the favourable estimate. The 'Times' gave him the highest praise in saying of it: 'The actor's judgment is shown in his practice of employing all his force in those passages of noiseless but intense feeling, and exhibiting it in all its sublime depths, if not by a sudden look or startling gesture, yet by a condensation of vigorous utterance and masculine expression, from which few will be disposed to appeal.' In Iago, which in after-years was one of his finest studies, he failed by his own admission. Hazlitt's remark, that 'Young in Othello was like a great humming-top, and Macready in Iago like a mischievous boy whipping him,' he owns was quite as complimentary as his own share of the performance deserved.

Miss O'Neill, John Kemble, Young, and Charles Kemble, were all at Covent Garden, and in the height of their popularity, and Macready found that he must be content to drop into a comparatively subordinate place. Kean, at Drury Lane, divided with them the public enthusiasm; and he had, consequently, abundant leisure to profit by the study of the performances of his great competitors. By this we are gainers, in a few excellent pages of description, which bring their distinctive qualities vividly before us, and which are of especial value from the pen of one so well qualified to judge. But this enforced banishment to the second rank was wormwood to Macready, whose way it was to drop into despondency whenever things did not go exactly to his mind. It actually led him to cast about in his thoughts 'in quest of some other mode of life less subject to those alternations of hope and dejection which so frequently and so painfully acted on my temper.' While in this mood he was summoned to the reading of a tragedy by a new author. This was Richard Lalor Sheil, with whose

dramatic success Macready was destined to become henceforth in a great measure identified. The play was 'The Apostate.' There were parts in it for Young, C. Kemble, and Miss O'Neill; that of Pescara was assigned to Macready. He took it 'mournfully and despondently.' Charles Kemble, a better judge of what was to be done with it, cheered him by saying, 'Why, William, it is no doubt a disagreeable part, but there is passion in it.' This was true; and the part, odious as it was, gave Mr. Macready his first real hold on the London public. Ludwig Tieck, who saw him in it, speaks of it in his 'Dramaturgische Blätter,' as a performance 'so vehement, truthful, and powerful,' that, for the first time in England, he felt himself recalled to the best days of German acting. 'If the young man,' he adds, 'continues in this style he will go far.' The impression produced on Tieck must have been a strong one, for he told Goethe's biographer, Mr. Lewes, many years afterwards, that he liked Macready better than either Kemble or Kean. It was, in some respects, unlucky for Macready that his very success in portraying the villainous passions of Pescara led to his having a series of others of a kindred character assigned to him. But if this had its bad side, it also had its good; for by the intensity and picturesqueness which he threw into these and other characters of a somewhat melodramatic cast, he made more progress in public favour than he would probably have done in the great characters of Shakspeare, where, rightly or wrongly, he would have suffered by comparison with established favourites.

In 1817, John Kemble gave his last performance. Asthma, and a general decline of health, had left but a wreck—a splendid one it is true—of his former self. Of all his parts, Macready gives the preference to King John, Wolsey, The Stranger, Brutus, 'and his peerless Coriolanus.' He was present at his last performance of Macbeth, and on this occasion Mrs. Siddons was unwise enough to appear as Lady Macbeth. The contrast with her former self was pitiable. 'It was not,' he says, 'a performance, but a mere repetition of the poet's text—no flash, no sign of her all-subduing genius!' Her brother languished through the greater part of a play which demands all the vigour of a powerful physique.

'Through the whole first four acts the play moved heavily on: Kemble correct, tame, and ineffective: but in the fifth, when the news was brought, "The Queen, my Lord, is dead!" he seemed struck to the heart; gradually collecting himself, he sighed out, "She should

have died hereafter!"—then, as if with the inspiration of despair, he hurried out, distinctly and pathetically, the lines:

"To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow," &c.

rising to a climax of desperation that brought down the enthusiastic cheers of the closely-packed theatre. All at once he seemed carried away by the genius of the scene. At the tidings of "the wood of Birnam moving," he staggered, as if the shock had struck the very seat of life, and in the bewilderment of fear and rage could just ejaculate the words, "Liar and slave!" then lashing himself into a state of frantic rage, ended the scene in perfect triumph. His shrinking from Macduff when the charm on which his life hung was broken by the declaration that his antagonist was "not of woman born," was a masterly stroke of art; his subsequent defiance was most heroic; and at his death Charles Kemble received him in his arms, and laid him gently on the ground, his physical powers being unequal to further effort.

Mr. Macready nowhere appears to more advantage in these volumes than in passages like this. When no personal feeling interfered, his criticisms as a rule are excellent. They rested, both where books and acting were concerned, on wide observation and careful study. But although his active life, as he himself says, had been devoted chiefly to the study of poetry and playing, he always speaks with the modesty of true knowledge of his own powers as a critic. The standards by which he judged were high, for he well knew that on the stage, as in books, '*le moyen le plus sûr*,' as Clarion says, '*d'anéantir le mérite, est de protéger la médiocrité*.' Knowing as he did, that of all Arts his own was the most complex, and rested on facts of nature, which few are even capable of observing, he was entitled to speak with some contempt of the opinion prevalent in England, 'that no particular study is requisite to make a critic or connoisseur of acting.' That acting in France and Germany still keeps a high level is in some measure due to the fact that it has its critics there who know when and why to praise or to condemn.

The production of 'Rob Roy,' on March 12th, 1818, enabled Mr. Macready to make another decided upward step in public favour. In this character he broke the spell which had begun to hang round him, 'as the undisputed representative of the disagreeable,' and which had seemed to weigh him down. The mingled humour, pathos, and passion of the character exactly fitted him. Its rugged heroism, dashed with the poetical element, stood well out in his somewhat abrupt and impulsive mode of treatment. Barry Cornwall, the fast friend

of his after-life, wrote a sonnet about it, praising 'the buoyant air,' the 'passionate tone' that breathed about it, and lit up the actor's eye 'with fire and freedom.' This success revived Macready's hopes, and encouraged him to 'bide his time.' 'Amurath,' in another of Sheil's now-forgotten plays, 'Bellamira, or the Fall of Tunis,' enabled him soon after to score a fresh success. 'Macready,' wrote the 'Times,' 'quite surpassed himself in the cool, remorseless villain regarding his victim with the smile of a demon.' The next season saw the production of the most successful of Sheil's plays, 'Evadne, or the Statue,' in which some fine situations, splendidly treated by Miss O'Neill, Young, Charles Kemble, and Macready, concealed that inherent weakness of both plot and dialogue, which have consigned it, with its fellows, to unregrettable oblivion. Here, as usual, Ludovico, Macready's part, was the villain of the piece. Such parts as Posthumus, in 'Cymbeline,' or Cassius, in 'Julius Cæsar,' however, came in to soothe his disappointed ambition. But it was not till the winter of 1819 that his chance came of being recognised as a Shakspearian actor. To his consternation, he found himself one day announced for Gloster, in 'Richard III.' It was no ordinary trial, with the fresh fame of Kean in the part staring him in the face. However, he was committed to the public, and must screw up 'each corporal agent to the terrible feat':—

'All that history could give me, I had already ferreted out; and for my portrait of the character—the self-reliant, wily, quick-sighted, decisive, inflexible Plantagenet—I went direct to the true source of inspiration, the *great* original, endeavouring to carry its spirit through the sententious and stagy lines of Cibber, not searching for particular "points" to make, but rendering the hypocrisy of the man deceptive and persuasive in its earnestness, and presenting him in the execution of his will as acting with lightning-like rapidity.'

His triumph was complete. It overcame even those who had hitherto thought lightly of his powers. Among these apparently was Leigh Hunt: 'We thought him a man of feeling,' he wrote in the next 'Examiner,' 'but little able to give a natural expression to it, and so taking the usual refuge in declamation. . . . We expected to find vagueness and generality, and we found truth of detail. We expected to find declamation, and we found thoughts giving a soul to words.'

Covent Garden Theatre had been for some time in so languishing a state, that the company were playing on reduced salaries.

Macready's success turned the tide, the exchequer was replenished, and by common consent, he now felt himself the leading actor of the Theatre. The ball once started kept rolling. In *Coriolanus* he won his next honours; and to confirm him in his place, Knowles's 'Virginus,' with its fresh and forcible, if somewhat flashy style, gave him a character which especially fitted him in all his strongest points. 'Austere, tender, familiar, elevated, mingling at once terror and pathos,' was the just description given of it by a critic of the day. It spoke home to people's hearts, and in Macready's treatment no play of modern times has drawn more tears, or more truly touched the springs of pity and terror.

From this time Macready's position was assured; and allowing for the vicissitudes of life, and of his profession, he became a prosperous, and but for his own desponding and querulous disposition, might have been a happy man. He rose at once in market value. Engagements poured in upon him, and he began to lay the foundation of the comfortable independence which he ultimately secured.

Macready was a Liberal and something more in politics, as so many men are who, like him, resent not having been born of gentle blood. In his Diary, on 30th December, 1835, *à propos* of the President's Speech, he writes: 'I read it through, and think it is to be lamented that European countries cannot learn the lesson of self-government from our wiser and happier brothers of the West.' The remark does not say much for his political sagacity; and a rough experience of American mobs, to be afterwards mentioned, cured him very effectually of his regret that we had gone on governing ourselves in our own way. In 1826, and again in 1843-4, when he visited the States, he was received with enthusiasm, and in a literal sense had secured 'golden opinions from all sorts of people.' The best men in the country had held out the hand of friendship to him. He had even thought for a time of settling there, and forgetting England with its mortifications, and its social distinctions, which were so abhorrent to his spirit.

Visits to Italy in 1822, and again in 1827, enabled Macready to gratify his love for art, and to enrich his mind with remembrances, which his previous studies qualified him to turn to excellent account. An engagement in Paris, in 1828, established his reputation with the most critical of audiences. *Virginus*, *William Tell*, *Othello*, and *Hamlet*, with the wide range of character, passion, and pathos which they involved, came as a sort

of revelation to audiences accustomed to tragedies of a more limited scope, and transported them to an enthusiasm, which made them rank the young Englishman with Le Kain and Talma. When he returned to play in Paris, in 1844, this enthusiasm, we remember, had very sensibly cooled. Either the actor's power had diminished, or the taste for his methods had changed. His great ability and accomplishment continued to be recognised. But it was 'talent,' as distinct from 'genius,' of which such critics as Janin, Th. Gautier, Edouard Thierry, and A. Dumas spoke.

The Diaries here published, which continue the story of Macready's career, from 1826, tell through many years a sad tale of bad temper, of angry jealousies, of somewhat unmanly querulousness. The condition of the London stages was declining from bad to worse; and, if we may judge from his annual balance-sheets, which no tradesman could have kept with closer care, his popularity was on the wane. An income of 3285*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.* in 1827, has dropped, in 1832, to 1680*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* Then come such entries as this (October 2, 1832), '*Newspapers, middling, middling. They persecute me.*' He finds the key to his own disquietudes in Johnson's remark on Dryden: 'He is always angry at some past or afraid of some future censure.' He reproaches himself with exhibiting '*odiosam et inutilem morositatem*;' and to what lengths this must have carried him we see from his noting (21st February, 1833), as something apparently exceptional, '*Rehearsed with civility.*' A poor little boy, playing Albert to his William Tell, 'disconcerts and enrages him. He plays Iago, at Manchester (13th March, 1833), 'pretty well, but was certainly disconcerted, if not annoyed, by the share of applause bestowed on Mr. Cooper.' Well might he say of himself; 'Vanity and a diseased imagination are the sources of my errors and my follies,' although it was not quite so clear that they were what, in the same sentence, he calls 'the evil result of a neglected youth.' It is so pleasant to throw the blame for our 'cunning bosom-sins' anywhere but upon our own pride and passionate will. What an amount of self-torture and humiliation does a nature of this kind prepare for itself! It not only makes troubles, but magnifies those to which all men are born. Intolerant, it begets intolerance, and robs itself of the kindly sympathy that makes half the pleasure of life. On 30th March, 1835, he notes:—

'I begin to despair of obtaining that mastery over myself which I owe to myself, to my

children, and to society. It is no excuse nor plea that I suffer so keenly as I do from regret and shame at my own intemperance. I feel the folly, the madness, the provoking extravagance of my behaviour, *treating men like slaves, and assuming a power over them which is most unjustifiable and most dangerous*; and yet contrition and stinging reflection seem to have no power in the punishment they inflict of producing amendment.'

It was more than mere jest Bulwer's saying of him, as he sat at a public dinner, that he looked like 'a baffled tyrant.'

This fretful state of mind was wrought to frenzy in the beginning of 1836, by the studied slights put upon him by his Drury Lane Manager, Mr. Bunn, a man, whom he might be forgiven for regarding with contempt. Macready held, however, a lucrative permanent engagement at the theatre, to which he was determined to hold fast. Bunn, on the other hand, wanted to get rid of him, for the twofold reason that his attraction had fallen off, and that Malibran had been secured for the Theatre, and made the manager independent of the legitimate drama. The parties were at covert warfare, each trying to outflank the other. It was Bunn's tactics to disgust Macready by professional slights, putting him up for inferior parts, for important ones at too short notice, and the like. At last the climax of indignity was inflicted by announcing Macready for '*The three first Acts of Richard III.*' The night came. He went through the part 'in a sort of desperate way.' As he left the stage, he had to pass the manager's room; opening the door, he rushed in upon the startled *impresario*, who was seated at his writing-table, and launching a highly appropriate but by no means complimentary epithet at him, with the pent-up force of a wrath that had been nursed for months, 'he struck him a back-handed slap across the face.' A vehement scuffle ensued, in which Bunn, a much smaller and feebler man, had necessarily the worst of it. Macready was too truly a gentleman not to feel that, in this scene, he had, to use his own words, committed a 'most indiscreet, most imprudent, most blameable action. His shame and contrition, as expressed in his Diary, are overwhelming. 'The fair fame of a life has been sullied by a moment's want of self-command. I can never, never during my life forgive myself,' are among their mildest expressions.

Happily for him, his character stood as high with the world as that of his adversary was low. There were few to regret that Mr. Bunn had got a thrashing; many who were sure that, if not for his offences to Macready, at least for other delinquencies, he had rich-

ly deserved one. All the leading actors felt that Macready had been cruelly provoked, and they rallied loyally round him. Bunn brought his 'action of battery,' and his injuries were ultimately assessed at 150*l*. But in the mean time Mr. Macready had been secured at Covent Garden, receiving 200*l*. for an engagement of ten nights; and on his appearance there had been greeted with tumultuous applause. At the close of the play (*Macbeth*) he was called for, and spoke. Had anything been wanted to seal his peace and popularity with the public, it was given in his frank avowal, after a slight reference to the provocations, personal and professional, which he had received, that he had been 'betrayed, in a moment of unguarded passion, into an intemperate and imprudent act, for which I feel, and shall never cease to feel, the deepest and most poignant self-reproach and regret.'

Everything now conspired in Mr. Macready's favour. The flagging attention of the public had been re-awakened. There was a company at Covent Garden well qualified to do justice to his plays. Charles Kemble was there; and all the town was crowding to see Helen Faucit, then a mere girl 'unschooled, unpractised,' who a few months before had captivated it by a freshness, an enthusiasm, a truthfulness and grace to which it had long been unaccustomed. The interest in Shakspeare and the higher drama had revived, and it was kept alive during this and the following season by a succession of excellent representations of the most favourite plays. All this tended to the advancement of Mr. Macready's reputation. His scholarly attainments and general culture were also well known, so that when, at the end of 1837, he undertook the management of Covent Garden Theatre, with the avowed purpose of making it a home for Shakspeare and the best dramatic art, the ablest members of the company and of the profession, combined to lend him their hearty support; accepting greatly reduced salaries, and more than one agreeing to appear in parts much below their recognised position in the profession.

To undertake the conduct of such a theatre, loaded as it was with a too heavy rent, and damaged by many years of wretched management, was a venture of considerable risk. But Mr. Macready had every inducement to make it, quite apart from any wish he might have to raise the standard of his art. Drury Lane was closed to him, for it was still in Mr. Bunn's hands. Only there and at Covent Garden could the legitimate drama in those days be played, and if that theatre were shut up, he must have been

thrown on the provincial theatres, where, for some time, his attraction had been waning. But by taking it, he at once secured the sympathies of the public, and was able to bring his powers, both as actor and manager, before them with far more effect than he could have hoped to do in any other way.

He had, it is true, everything to cheer him in his arduous task. The Queen was a constant visitor at the theatre; the public were warm in their admiration; and such men as Bulwer, Knowles, Browning, and Talfourd, enabled him to sustain an interest in his management by a constant succession of new pieces. Stanfield painted for his first pantomime an exquisite moving diorama of many of the most picturesque scenes in Europe, and returned his cheque for 300*l*., refusing to accept more than 150*l*., which Mr. Macready records as 'one of the few noble instances of disinterested friendly conduct he had met with in his life!' The '*Lady of Lyons*,' produced on the 15th of February, 1838, replenished his then failing exchequer; neither would its author hear of being paid for it. He, too, returns the manager's cheque for 210*l*. in a letter 'which is a recompense for much ill-requited labour and unpitied suffering.' This play, like many other successful plays, did not attract at first. Macready, quickly dispirited, on the eighth or ninth night talked of withdrawing it. The curtain had just fallen on the exciting scene of the Fourth Act: 'Could you see,' said Mr. Bartley, who was playing Damas, 'what I see, as I stand at the back of the stage,—the interest and the emotion of the people, you would not think of such a thing. It is sure to be a great success.' Mr. Macready took his advice; and the prediction was fully verified. '*King Lear*,' with Shakspeare's text restored, was produced early in the season with great effect, Bulwer ministering incense of the most pungent kind by telling Mr. Macready that his performance of the old King was 'gigantic.' '*Coriolanus*,' admirably acted and put upon the stage, soon followed. The house on the first night was bad, and Macready was in despair: 'I give up all hope,' are his words. Among the old stock pieces, '*The Two Foscari*,' and Talfourd's feeble '*Athenian Captive*,' came as novelties; and, towards the end of the season, Knowles's charming comedy of '*Woman's Wit*, or *Love's Disguises*,' charmingly acted, was also brought out.

In direct pounds, shillings, and pence, Mr. Macready was a loser by the season. So, at least, we understand him to put its results, where he says (3rd Aug., 1838): 'I find I managed to lose, as I first thought, judging

from actual decrease of capital, and absence of profit by my labour, 2500*l.*, or, measuring my receipts by the previous year, 1850*l.* But against this was to be set the positive increase of reputation and *prestige*, which secured him engagements, both in London and elsewhere, that, in the long run, far more than compensated this temporary loss. Moreover, the business of theatrical management, like every business, takes time to make, and practical men do not regard a deficit in the outset as an actual loss. Mr. Macready, no doubt, in his less desponding moods, took the same view, and having made a more favourable arrangement with his landlords, he took Covent Garden for another season, and opened a fresh campaign, with renewed vigour, on the 24th September, 1838.

Aided by a company of unusual and varied strength, he advanced still further the reputation already won by his Shakspearean revivals. 'The Tempest' and 'Henry V.' were produced with a completeness and a sense of the picturesque hitherto unknown. The public crowded to see them, and proved that no truly well-directed effort to make the theatre a place of high intellectual recreation will be made in vain. Mr. Macready notes, on the 20th June, 1839, as 'not a common event,' that 'The Tempest' was acted fifty-five nights, to an average of 250*l.* a night. But these performances were distributed throughout the season. To have run this or any other piece, however successful, night after night, as we now see done, was a thing then undreamt of. A practice so fatal to the actors as artists, not to speak of the mere fatigue, is the result of the merely commercial spirit on which theatres are now conducted. The most successful plays were, in those days, alternated with others. Thus the actors, if they had not complete rest, had, at least, the rest of change. They came fresh to their work, instead of falling into mechanical routine. How much the public also gained by this it is needless to say. Play after play was brought before them, in which the performers were seen at their best. They learned to understand good acting; and this appreciation reacted beneficially on the actors, who felt that good and careful work was never thrown away. Bulwer again came to the help of his friend by writing 'Richelieu,' where he fitted him with a part that gave scope for his best qualities of intensity, strong powers of contrast, and a certain grim humour. It proved one of the great successes of the season. Every character was in able hands. Elton, Diddear, Warde, Anderson, Vining, Phelps, George Bennett, Howe, and Miss Helen Fau-

cit, all names of strength, appeared in the cast. Never was dramatist more fortunate than to be so interpreted. Never had manager such a staff.

The season passed off brilliantly; but Mr. Macready was dissatisfied with the money results. It seems to have left him 1200*l.* in pocket; certainly a most poor return for all the intellect and energy expended. Mr. Macready, at all events, thought he could not afford to persevere in the course he had so well begun, and he retired from the management at the end of the season. Of the warmth of the public he could not complain. On the last night (16th July, 1839) he notes:—

'My reception was so great from a house crowded in every part, that I was shaken by it.

The curtain fell amidst the loudest applause, and when I had changed my dress I went before the curtain, and amidst shoutings, and waving of hats and handkerchiefs by the whole audience standing up, the stage was literally covered with wreaths, bouquets, and branches of laurel. . . . The cheering was renewed, as I bowed and left the stage; and as I passed through the lane which the actors and people, crowding behind, made for me, they cheered me also. Forster came into my room, and was much affected; [W. J.] Fox was much shaken; Dickens, Maclise, Stanfield, T. Cooke, Blanchard, Lord Nugent (who had not been in the theatre), Bulwer, Hockley of Guildford, Browning, Serle, Wilmot came into my room; most of them asked for memorials from the baskets and heaps of flowers, chaplets, and laurels, that were strewn upon the floor.'

The same enthusiasm was shown at a public dinner, four days later, given to him at the Freemasons' Tavern, and presided over by the Duke of Sussex. When he rose to speak, he says: 'I never witnessed such a scene, such wild enthusiasm, on any former occasion.' In the course of his speech he stated that his hope and intention had been—

'to have left in our theatre the complete series of Shakespeare's acting-plays, his text purified from the gross interpolations that disfigure it and distort his characters; and the system of re-arrangement so perfected throughout them, that our stage would have presented, as it ought, one of the best illustrated editions of the poet's works. But,' he added, 'my poverty, and not my will, has compelled me to desist from the attempt.'

Much good had, however, been done, and the truth had been brought home to many minds that, as Shakspeare wrote for the stage, and not for the closet, his plays to be thoroughly felt and understood, must be acted, not read.

All that Mr. Macready had lost at Covent Garden he soon retrieved by the increased

value of his engagements elsewhere. Mr. Webster secured him for the Haymarket Theatre upon most liberal terms, engaging at the same time Miss Helen Faucit and several other members of the Covent Garden Company, who thus kept alive the interest in the higher drama which they had helped to create. Bulwer's 'Sea Captain' and 'Money,' Talfourd's 'Glencoe,' Troughton's 'Nina Sforza,' and other plays of mark, in addition to many of the older plays, were all produced by Mr. Webster with a finish no less complete—allowing for the size of the theatre—than had distinguished the recent performances at Covent Garden. Mr. Macready continued at the Haymarket, with slight interruptions, down to the end of 1841. While there, thoughts of resuming the managerial sceptre revived in his mind. Soon after, Drury Lane passed out of Mr. Bunn's hands, and the temptation of reigning in his stead became irresistible. Mr. Macready took the theatre, and opened his season in 'The Merchant of Venice,' on 27th December, 1841, having again drawn round him a most powerful company.

His return to management was hailed with sincere pleasure by every lover of the drama. 'Acis and Galatea,' produced on 5th February, was his first great success. Those who remember what Stanfield did for the one scene of the piece, and the fine singing of Miss Romer, Miss Horton, Mr. Allen, and Mr. Phillips, will quite concur with Mr. Macready when he says of the performance, 'that he had never seen anything of the kind so perfectly beautiful.' Gerald Griffin's fine play of 'Gisippus,' in which we remember Mr. Anderson created a very powerful effect in one remarkable scene, was produced on 23rd February following. It had only a *succès d'estime*. Darley's 'Plighted Troth,' produced on 20th April, from which Mr. Macready to the last anticipated a brilliant success, proved 'a most unhappy failure.' The play was full of fine things. So, too, was William Smith's 'Athelwold,' produced on the 18th May; but not even the fine acting and more than one powerful scene could carry it beyond a second performance. 'Marino Faliero' followed on the 20th May, and two nights afterwards the season closed.

During this season, as well as during that which followed, success was chiefly assured either by the admirable style in which Shakspeare's best-known plays were presented or by plays of already established reputation. 'As You Like It,' 'King John,' 'Othello,' 'Macbeth,' 'Much Ado About Nothing,' 'Cymbeline,' 'Romeo and Juliet,' 'Hamlet,' 'The Winter's Tale,' 'Julius Cæsar,' 'Henry

IV.,' and 'Catherine and Petruchio,' represented Shakspeare. 'She Stoops to Conquer,' 'The School for Scandal,' 'The Rivals,' 'The Way to Keep Him,' 'The Provoked Husband,' 'The Jealous Wife,' 'The Stranger,' 'The Road to Ruin,' 'Jane Shore,' 'Virginius,' 'Werner,' 'The Lady of Lyons,' 'Marino Faliero,' and 'Acis and Galatea,' were also given, besides a number of minor pieces. Milton's 'Comus' was given in a way never to be forgotten; while among the new pieces of exceptional merit were Marston's 'Patrician's Daughter,' Browning's 'Blot on the Scutcheon,' Knowles's 'Secretary,' Planché's delightful Easter piece 'Fortunio,' and the opera of 'Sappho.' It is a splendid list, and the memory of the playgoer of those days naturally kindles as he reads it. In these Diaries, however, nothing will strike him as so noteworthy as Mr. Macready's total silence as to those by whose co-operation alone he was able to produce this magnificent series of performances. Of himself, and how he acted, and was called for, &c., &c., we hear more than enough; but no word appears of gratitude or recognition for loyal service rendered, and for first-rate ability applied by others, as it most certainly was, in sustaining the fame of his theatre with sincere artistic devotion.

In the midst of success apparently unclouded, and when it seemed as if a theatre were now likely to be established worthy of England and its drama, Mr. Macready suddenly threw up the reins, upon some difference with the proprietors of the Theatre about terms. All at once, upon a few days' notice, his fine Company found themselves once more adrift, and their hopes of seeing one high class National Theatre annihilated. The blow fell heavily upon them; and they had not even the consolation of being called to mind by their leader when he was receiving what he describes as the 'mad acclaim' of the public, on the last night of his management. Again the honours of a public dinner, with the Duke of Cambridge in the Chair, and the presentation of a magnificent piece of plate, were accorded to the retiring manager. His speech on the occasion is given in this book, but not even in it does he say one word about the very remarkable body of performers who had so ably seconded his efforts. His own sensitiveness to ingratitude, real or imagined, had not taught Mr. Macready to avoid the sin in his own person. Time does its work of oblivion quickly; and the readers of this generation should be reminded that there were actors and actresses in Mr. Macready's companies to whose assistance much of the great reputation of his management was due, for from

these Diaries they will get no hint of the fact.

In the autumn of this year he went to America, with the glories of his Drury Lane management fresh upon him. They brought him a liberal return for all his pains. After a year spent in the States he came home richer by 5500*l.* than he had gone there. No bad return for what it pleases him to call (22nd April, 1848) 'the worst exercise of a man's intellect.' On arriving in Europe at the end of 1844, he played for a few nights in Paris, not greatly, it would appear, to his own satisfaction, and then entered upon a series of engagements in London and the provinces, which occupied him, with varying success, till his return to America in the end of 1848. This visit was, upon the whole, an unlucky one. It brought him into contact with some of the worst features of the 'rowdiness' by which the great Republic is afflicted. Mr. Forrest, a native and favourite actor, in resentment at some offence given or imagined, had apparently determined to make the land of freedom too hot to hold the English tragedian. When Mr. Macready, soon after his arrival, appeared in Philadelphia, hissing and catcalls greeted his entry as Macbeth. 'I went through the part,' he writes, 'cheerily and defyingly, pointing at the scoundrels such passages as "I dare do all, &c." No wonder that the discharge at the usurper first of a copper cent, and then of a rotten egg, followed this very undignified style of sending home his points. The better part of the audience supported Mr. Macready, and no further outbreak occurred. But when he returned to New York a few months afterwards, the Forrest movement assumed a more serious shape. The first night he appeared, copper cents, eggs, apples, a peck of potatoes, lemons, pieces of wood, a bottle of assafœtida, were thrown upon the stage. At last the missiles grew more miscellaneous and dangerous. Chairs were thrown from the gallery on the stage, and the play had to be brought to a premature close. Two days afterwards another attempt at performance was made. But this time matters were more serious. Inside the theatre comparative quiet was maintained; but outside a complete bombardment of stones and missiles was carried on. Through all this riot Mr. Macready persevered, 'acting his very best,' as he says, 'and exciting the audience to a sympathy even with the glowing words of fiction, while dreadful deeds of real crime and outrage were roaring at intervals in our ears, and rising to madness all round us. The death of Macbeth was loudly cheered.' But, while he was changing his dress, he was startled

by volley on volley of musketry. The soldiers had been sent for, and were firing into the mob. Eighteen were killed, and many wounded. Macready was with difficulty got away from New York to Boston, where he embarked for England on 23rd May, 1849, effectually cured of his dream of settling in America.

On his return home he commenced a series of farewell engagements. Happily, for himself, he seems at this period to have viewed his own performances with something more than complacency. It is scarcely fair to let the world see the terms of high commendation with which he mentions his own Iago, Brutus, Lear, Hamlet, &c. But notwithstanding all this, he records (26th February, 1851) that, 'not one feeling of regret is intermingled with his satisfaction at bidding adieu to the occupation of his life.' That same evening saw him for the last time upon the stage. The play was 'Macbeth,' and the stage that of Drury Lane. 'I acted Macbeth,' he says: 'with a reality, a vigour, a truth, a dignity, that I never before threw into the delineation of this favourite character.' The audience were in no critical mood. They had come to do honour to one to whom they owed much pure pleasure from an art, which they, at least, did not despise, and they thought of little else. Such were the greeting and farewell they gave him, that he says: 'No actor has ever received such testimony of respect and regard in this country.' His triumph did not end here. Four days afterwards a public dinner, at which six hundred guests were assembled, was given to him. His constant friend, Sir E. L. Bulwer, presided, and around him were gathered many of the most distinguished men of the day. The Chairman pronounced a brilliant panegyric, and the speaking generally was good. One speech appeared in the papers, and is here reprinted, which we well remember was not spoken. It had been prepared by the Chevalier Bunsen, and was by far the ablest of them all; but it came so late in the programme that Bunsen wisely substituted for it a very few words.

The curtain could not have fallen upon a more splendid close to an honourable career. Surely all these honours, these unreserved gratulations, might have made Mr. Macready forget his old apprehensions that he was looked down upon because he was an actor. But no, the same feeling remained; though with it comes the absurd conviction that, because he is an actor no longer, he 'can now look his fellow-men, whatever their station, in the face, and assert his equality' ('Diary,' 19th March, 1851). He quite forgets that,

had he not been an actor, he would have been nobody. The applause, the 'salutations in the market-place,' so precious to a man of his temperament, would have never been his. The grandson of the Dublin upholsterer would have had no 'Reminiscences' to write, no name to be proud of, or to be carried down to generations beyond his own.

Mr. Macready survived his retirement from the stage more than twenty-two years, which he spent first at Sherbourne and afterwards at Cheltenham, where he died on the 27th April, 1873. It was his fate to see many of his 'dear ones laid in earth.' His wife, and most of his children, preceded him to the grave. He married most happily a second time in 1860. Removed from the stage and its jealousies, all his fine qualities had freer scope; and we think now with pleasure of his venerable and noble head, as we saw it last in 1872, and of the sweet smile of his beautiful mouth, which spoke of the calm wisdom of a gentle and thoughtful old age. We have reason to know that he looked back with yearning fondness to the studies and pursuits which had made him famous. The fretful jealousies, the passionate wilfulness of the old times seemed to have faded into the dim past, and no longer marred the memory of kindness done, and loyal service rendered to him. He had done much good work in the sphere which Providence had assigned him, and we believe had learned to know that it was not for him to repine, if 'the Divinity that shapes our ends' had so shaped his, that his work was to be accomplished upon the stage. It is of the man as we then saw him, the man whom we had known as a highly cultivated and essentially kind-hearted gentleman, that we would rather think, than of the actor, with all his weaknesses cruelly laid bare whom these volumes have placed before us.

parative Philology at Oxford; with an Introductory Sermon by Arthur Peurhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London, 1873.

4. *Report of the General Missionary Conference held at Alluhabad, 1872-3*. London, 1873.

5. *Statistical Tables of Protestant Missions in India, Ceylon, and Burma for 1871*. Prepared at the request of the Calcutta Missionary Conference. Calcutta, 1873.

INDIA has always from the most ancient times attracted a large share of the interest of the rest of the civilised world; but it has special claims to be regarded with interest by the people of modern England. The thoughtful portion of the English people cannot but feel deeply impressed with the strength of those claims and with the weight of the responsibilities arising out of the peculiar relation in which England stands to India. It cannot be supposed that India has been given to us for no other purpose than our national aggrandisement. It must surely have been, mainly and ultimately, for the benefit of India itself that so great and populous a country was committed to our care, that we might impart to it the benefit of our just laws, our rational liberty, our mental enlightenment, and our progressive civilisation. And if this be admitted, we must admit more. We must admit that it was intended we should endeavour to impart to it also a knowledge of that religion which has made our own nation what it is, and without which no nation can ever become free, happy, or permanently great. Our duty as a Christian nation to promote not only the material welfare of the people of India, but also, as far as it is possible for us, their moral and religious welfare, is becoming more and more widely recognised, in proportion as our intercourse with India increases. A remarkable amount of interest in the progress of Christianity in India has recently been awakened, and a demand for information has been excited. We purpose, therefore, to give our readers some idea of the position and prospects of Indian Missions. In proceeding to do so we think it desirable at the outset to help our readers to realise in some degree the vastness, the variety, and the difficulty of the field in which those missions are carried on, that they may be enabled to form something like a correct estimate both of the results that have already been attained and of the results that may still be expected.

The possessions which have fallen to the lot of the English nation in India and the East are the most extensive and populous.

ART. II.—1. *Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the Year 1871-2: presented to Parliament by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed*. London, 1873.

2. *Indian Missions*. By Sir Bartle Frere, G.C.S.I., &c., late Governor of Bombay. Reprinted from 'The Church and the Age.' London, 1873.

3. *Lecture on Missions delivered in Westminster Abbey on December 3rd, 1873*. By Max Müller, M.A., Professor of Com-

and probably also the most valuable and important, that any people ever acquired beyond its own natural boundaries. India alone, not including Ceylon, Burma, or the Eastern Settlements, comprises upwards of a million and a half of square miles, an area which is nearly equal to that of Europe; and though nearly two-thirds of the soil are uncultivated, so thickly peopled are the cultivated districts, that the population of India was estimated in 1872 as amounting to nearly 300 millions, which is more than equal to the population of the corresponding area in Europe, and which constitutes probably more than a fourth, certainly more than a fifth, of the whole population of the globe. Nowhere, except in China, is there a field of missions so vast as that which India presents; and in no other part of the world—certainly not in China—is there to be found so varied a field. In proportion to the variety is the interest; but in proportion to the interest is the difficulty.

It might not be too much to say that the work of propagating Christianity in India is the most difficult work in which the Christian Church has ever been engaged. Some of the difficulties that formerly existed have, it is true, disappeared, and the strength of some has diminished. Others, again, are still very formidable.

There is one difficulty less now than in the days when Christian missions were first introduced into India. The opposition of the Indian Government has disappeared. Scarcely two generations have elapsed since the Indian Government ceased to refuse permission to missionaries to labour in India, and scarcely one generation has elapsed since it ceased openly to patronise idolatry. It administered the affairs of all the principal pagodas, and required its Christian servants to do honour to pagan festivals. It was commonly said at that time that it was impossible to convert the Hindus, and some of the people who said so did their best to fulfil their own predictions. The Indian Government has always professed to observe a strict neutrality between the various religions professed by its subjects; but until a comparatively recent period the neutrality it observed was a one-sided neutrality, which showed itself mainly in the encouragement of the indigenous religions and in opposition to Christianity. We have reason to be thankful as a nation that a very different state of things now prevails. The Government still indeed professes to hold a neutral position, and in certain particulars it is desirable that it should always continue to do so. No man should be favoured, no man should be molested, on account of his

religion; all religious professions should be equal before the law. But this neutrality is now no longer regarded as inconsistent with the repression of crimes committed in the name of religion, with the protection of converts to Christianity in the enjoyment of their civil rights, or with an enlightened, prudent solicitude for the peaceful diffusion of the blessings of Christian civilisation and morals. The Indian Government moves forward slowly, but it keeps constantly moving, it takes no step backwards; and hence, notwithstanding its characteristic caution, the caution necessary to its position, perhaps there is scarcely any Government in the world that has achieved a greater aggregate of progress within the memory of the present generation, especially in regard to educational and social reforms. This statement receives a remarkable illustration from one of the works contained in the list prefixed to this article, a document presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. It is entitled, 'A Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress of India during the Year 1871-2,' and a considerable portion of the statement is devoted to a survey of existing missions in India. This portion of the book evinces an enlightened interest in the progress of Indian missions, considered with reference to their bearing on the intellectual and moral advancement of the people. Probably no such utterance on the subject of Christian missions ever before proceeded from any Government, and what renders it specially encouraging to all who take any interest in that work is that, as it is based on statistics and official information, its impartiality cannot reasonably be called in question.

We are not of opinion that the Government system of education in India can fairly be regarded as hostile to Christianity or to the work of missions, though we are unable to regard it as a perfect system. We do not see how any system of education can be regarded as perfect which ignores the emotional part of man's nature, which ignores a divinely-sanctioned morality, which ignores religion. Probably the Government itself does not consider its system as perfect, but only, holds it to be the best that is possible under the circumstances. It is an important consideration that the Government makes grants in aid on a liberal scale to missionary schools and colleges. At one time, indeed, it refused grants to such institutions in one of the presidencies, but that ill-advised policy has been abandoned; and if the missionary societies, or other associations of persons unconnected with

Government, were to set themselves to promote the education of the people on a larger scale, larger funds would doubtless be provided by Government to aid them in their undertaking. The teaching in the schools and colleges entirely supported and managed by Government is restricted to secular subjects; but though to this extent it is non-Christian, it is certainly not the intention or wish of Government that it should be anti-Christian; and if in any particular it should appear to have acquired this character, the blame, we believe, is to be attributed, not to the system itself, but to the manner in which it has been worked. It cannot be admitted to be a necessity of the Government system that any of the text-books used in the teaching of the Indian languages should teach immorality or indecency, or that any members of the European educational staff should diffuse around them an atmosphere of scepticism. Whatever defects may attach to the Government system of education, and whether those defects be essential or accidental, it cannot be doubted that in the main it has proved to be an immense benefit to the people of India. It was thought at one time that the young men, whom the Government was training up in its schools, would turn out to be a specially dangerous class; but fortunately this anticipation has not been confirmed by the result. On the contrary, the educated classes have generally shown themselves to be better citizens and better servants of the State than the members of any class the country ever knew before. Some of them, it is true, have abandoned their old faith without adopting any other faith instead; but it does not follow that their condition has become more hopeless, for it has been proved in the history of India again and again that a bad religion is worse than none.

On comparing the relative strength of the various obstacles to the regeneration of India that appear to exist, we are inclined to regard as the most formidable a pernicious influence of the very existence of which many persons who are interested in this question are scarcely aware. We mean the influence of the Hindu philosophies on the national character, the influence of those philosophies in fostering, if not causing, the dreaminess and apathy of that character. It is doubtless owing in a great degree to the heat of the sun that many of the people of India are so apathetic; but it appears to be due also in a considerable degree to the circumstance that they have been systematically taught apathy as a religious virtue. Some of the Hindu philosophies are atheistic, some materialistic; but the systems

which have at all times been most popular, and consequently most influential, are pantheistic and idealistic. The more purely pantheistic and idealistic any system is, the more popular it is, and in the same proportion it is found to be the more productive of apathy. It is rare to find these systems thoroughly understood, and still more rare to find them carried out consistently into practice; but there are few indeed, down even to the lowest class, except only in the hill districts and the forests, who have not acquired some acquaintance, however slight, with the terminology of these philosophies, and fewer still who have not imbibed their unpractical spirit and caught their dreamy tone. The poison is held in solution in the popular mind. Worse effects, however, than listlessness and dreaminess have arisen from the prevalence of these systems. It is to this cause, we believe, more than to any other, that we have to attribute the moral weakness of the Hindu character, its indifference to truth, its unfaithfulness to its convictions of duty, its willing subjection to the tyranny of custom and the authority of great names, its want of public spirit, its carelessness of the future. What could be expected of the philosophy of apathy but that it should leave things to take their course? There is much real work now being done in India, especially in the teaching of truth and the diminishing of evil; but all that work is being done, not by the followers of the Bhagavad Gita, or by Vedantists, or by quietists of any school, but by Christians from Europe, whose highest philosophy is to do good, and by those natives of India, now a considerable and increasing number, who have been stimulated by the teaching and example of Europeans to go and do likewise. The prevalence in India to so great an extent of these pantheistic idealistic philosophies must necessarily act as a formidable obstacle to the reception of the Christian religion. They have produced not only mental apathy but moral insensibility. They have not only enfeebled the intellect, but eaten out the hearts of the people. Christianity professes to provide a remedy for moral evil; it aims at a restoration of harmony between man's moral nature and the constitution of things under which he is placed; it presupposes a moral government and a moral Governor; it presupposes moral responsibility: but if people have been taught, on what they suppose the highest authority, to believe either that everything that exists, moral evil included, is a part of God, or else that everything that seems to exist, moral evil included, is only ideal, it is obvious that there is not

much likelihood of the claims of Christianity being seriously considered. Where no disease is supposed to exist, the best remedy in the world will appear to be unnecessary. Hence we must be prepared to expect a considerable difference in point of susceptibility to Christian influences between the Greeks, Romans, and Teutons of ancient Europe, who, whatever their defects or vices, certainly had consciences, and a people like the Hindus, amongst whom the power of conscience has been reduced to a minimum. It is a happy circumstance that the educated Hindus of the present generation, being educated almost exclusively in the language and literature of Christian England, know in general little or nothing of the philosophies of their own country. In so far as the study of philosophy enters into the curriculum of their education, they study, not a dreamy philosophy founded on the dicta of sages, but a practical philosophy founded on observation and experience. Hence, except only in so far as positivism has of late made its appearance amongst them, we now generally find educated Hindus believing, or at least not denying, the existence of a personal God, creation, providence, a moral law, human responsibility, almost as if they were Christians, yet for the most part quite unconscious that the ideas they entertain are Christian ideas. It would be a sad aggravation of the evils of India if positivism should spread amongst the educated classes; but we hope and believe it will not. The tendency of all Hindus to idealism is so strong that blank materialism cannot permanently attract them.

We do not class the existence of the religious community called the Brahma Samāj amongst obstacles to the progress of Christianity in India. On the contrary, we regard that community as an ally; an ally, it is true, up to a certain point only, but still up to that extent, and it is a very considerable extent, an ally. The Brahma Samāj movement originated in the contact of the newly awakened Hindu mind with the Christianity of the English mind, and is one of the most interesting indirect results of Indian missions. Already it has divided into two parties, the original, or Conservative Brahmas, who seem to have become alarmed at their own progress, and are supposed by many to be steadily gravitating back into Hinduism; and the progressive Brahmas, headed by Keshab Chander Sen, who have altogether broken with tradition, and are endeavouring to lead their countrymen onwards to purer sentiments, as well as to a higher purpose of life. Professor Max Müller declares that this movement appears

to his mind 'the most momentous in this momentous century.' Without being able to go so far as this, we are quite prepared to welcome it with feelings of thankfulness and hope; with thankfulness that, though a purely national movement, it has gone so far already in a Christian direction; with hope that it will go further. The Professor seems to us somewhat unreasonably severe on the Christian missionaries in India for their attitude towards the Brahma Samāj. He admits that 'they do not deny the moral worth, the noble aspirations, the self-sacrificing zeal of those native reformers.' If so, it is not clear what more could be expected of them, so long as it is not expected that they should cease to be believers in Christianity. To them Christianity seems a better remedy for the evils of India than a religion founded on mere emotions and intuitions. It may be added, that others besides missionaries are of opinion, that as India is now politically united to England, and as it is dependent on England alone for its intellectual influences, it would be of the greatest possible advantage to it to be united to England also in the bonds of religious sympathy. The progress of India will be in proportion to its reception of English ideas; and it is one of the most deeply-rooted of those ideas that Christianity is the only religion compatible with modern civilisation. The papers that were read, and the discussion that took place, respecting the Brahma Samāj, at the Conference held by Indian missionaries two years ago at Allahabad, show that Christian missionaries could scarcely regard any non-Christian system of religion with greater respect, or treat it with more sympathy, than they do the Brahma Samāj, without ceasing to wish that all men should become, 'not only almost, but altogether,' what they are themselves.

The divisions and differences of opinion prevailing amongst Christians in India do not appear to us to impede the spread of Christianity in so considerable a degree as has sometimes been supposed. 'The Protestant missions of India, Burma, and Ceylon, are carried on,' the Blue-book states, 'by 35 missionary societies, in addition to local agencies; and now employ the services of 606 foreign missionaries, of whom 551 are ordained.' It might naturally be supposed that the spectacle of so divided a Christianity would deter, rather than attract, inquiring Hindus; and that any multiplication of the number of missionaries under such circumstances would be an increase of weakness, rather than of strength. Facts, however, are not in accordance with

this supposition. Divisions do, it is true, exist, and it is a pity they do; but it is a consolation to know that, as a general rule, they are not apparent to the Hindu. In this old Christian country the community of baptized believers, which ought to be in all things an example to new Christian communities in distant lands, is rent into hostile sects and parties, each of which too often thinks that it serves God by ignoring God's gifts to its neighbours. The missionary spirit has done much to mitigate both the spirit of division and the spirit of exclusion; but partly from the resistance which relentless theories offer to charity, and partly from ignorance, the number of persons who care to know, and are able to appreciate, work done by communities different from their own, is not great. In India the missionary spirit has freer scope, and has generally brought about a more satisfactory state of things. India is so wide a country that he must be a person of very narrow ideas indeed whose mind is not found to be somewhat enlarged after he has resided there for some time. The religious divisions which originated in England, and which are kept up by influences emanating from England, have not, it is true, been healed in India; but the feelings out of which those divisions arose have generally been repressed, and care has generally been taken that they should have as few opportunities as possible of breaking out into action. The various missionary societies have generally selected as the sphere of their labours some extensive district, some province or state, in which Christianity was almost or entirely unknown; and in such unoccupied regions they have located their missionaries, in the hope that they would be exempt, both from the temptation to interfere with the labours of the missionaries of other societies, and from the danger of being themselves interfered with. This rule has so generally been acted upon, especially in rural districts, that in many parts of India Christianity exhibits but one phase. There are, it is true, exceptions; and we fear the number of such exceptions, as time goes on, seems likely to increase rather than diminish. But the arrangement we have mentioned is undoubtedly the general rule, and up to this time it may almost be said that the antagonism of rival sects and parties is unknown in the mission-field, and that though the religious divisions of Europe exist, they have been deprived of their sting.

Even in the greater cities of India, where no such arrangement is any longer practicable, and where the missionaries of differ-

ent societies carry on their work in somewhat of a promiscuous manner, it would be an error to suppose that they have hitherto placed any stumblingblock in the way of the conversion of the Hindus by the diversity of their teaching or their want of charity. In everything which, according to Hindu notions, constitutes a religion, the religion of all Protestant missionaries appears to the Hindus to be one and the same. When they see that all missionaries appeal to the same sacred volume, translated into the vernacular; that they all worship the same God and preach salvation through the same Divine Saviour; that they are all free from the suspicion of image-worship; that they all perform divine worship in the vernacular language; when they find, also, that they are all alike, or as nearly alike as individual peculiarities will admit, in manner of life; that they live on terms of friendly intercourse with one another, profess to repudiate mutual proselytism, and evidently rejoice in one another's successes; they cannot but regard them as teachers of one and the same religion, bearing the united testimony of many independent witnesses to the truths which they teach in common. It is also to be remembered that Hinduism is peculiarly tolerant of diversities, that it may be said, indeed, to have a liking for diversities. It will be considered by some persons a more legitimate ground of consolation, that Hindus cannot become acquainted with any matter on which a really serious difference of opinion exists amongst Christians until after they have made up their minds to become Christians themselves. The only doctrines which are, or can be, preached to heathens and Muhammedans are those on which all Protestant Christians are agreed; and questions respecting disputed points necessarily lie over till those who are now outside the Church are admitted into it.

This representation has been remarkably confirmed by the testimony of the Indian Government itself. It says:

'This large body of European and American missionaries, settled in India, bring their various moral influences to bear upon the country with the greater force, because they act together with a compactness which is but little understood. Though belonging to various denominations of Christians, yet from the nature of their work, their isolated position, and their long experience, they have been led to think rather of the numerous questions on which they agree, than of those on which they differ; and they co-operate heartily together. Localities are divided among them by friendly arrangements, and with few exceptions it is a fixed rule among them that they will not in-

terfere with each other's converts and each other's spheres of duty. School-books, translations of the Scriptures and religious works, prepared by various missions, are used in common; and helps and improvements secured by one mission are freely placed at the command of all. The large body of missionaries resident in each of the presidency towns, form Missionary Conferences, hold periodic meetings, and act together on public matters. They have frequently addressed the Indian Government on important social questions involving the welfare of the native community, and have suggested valuable improvements in existing laws. During the past twenty years, on five occasions, general Conferences have been held for mutual consultation respecting their missionary work; and in January last, at the latest of these gatherings, at Allahabad, 121 missionaries met together, belonging to twenty different societies, and including several men of long experience who have been forty years in India.

'But let it be granted,' says Canon Lightfoot, 'that in the divisions between Christian and Christian we have a most serious impediment to our progress. Was there nothing corresponding to this in the first ages of the Church? We need only recall the names of Ebionites, Basilideans, Ophites, Valentinians, Marcionites, and numberless other heretical sects—differing from each other and from the Catholic Church incomparably more widely in creed than the Baptist differs from the Romanist—to dispel this allusion at once: *Nos passi graviores*. We have surmounted worse obstacles than these of to-day.'

The number of missionaries and the number of the societies with which they are connected being so great, it may reasonably be concluded that all the agencies at work will not appear to everyone equally wise and efficacious. Whilst the doctrines taught may substantially be the same, and whilst the objects aimed at may be almost identical, the plans pursued by those 600 missionaries from England, Germany, and America, may differ widely. As was apparent at the Allahabad Conference, some will advocate a variety of departments of work, placing English education in the front rank, as the work most suitable to a period of preparation; whilst others will advocate preaching alone. Possibly, also, amongst so large a body of men some will form too high, some too low, an estimate of the advantage of leavening the Hindu mind with European ideas; some may, perhaps, concede too much, some too little, to national customs and prejudices; some will devote too much of their time and labour to helping their people in their temporal affairs; whilst others will consider the teaching of religion their one work, and decline even to prove to the people that they are their friends by

doing them a few acts of temporal good, such as they can appreciate. These differences, however, in so far as they really exist, are very inconsiderable after all, in comparison with the many matters of the greatest possible moment in which the course they take is substantially the same, and do not derogate in any degree from their efficiency as a body. A party writer in this country, not long ago, stigmatised all Protestant missionaries, with few exceptions, as 'indolent and self-indulgent.' The most remarkable answer to this accusation has received is that which has emanated from the Indian Government itself, which, in speaking of the advantages conferred on India by the missionaries as a body, eulogises their 'blameless example and self-denying labours.' The intellectual power of so large a body of men belonging to different nationalities and communions will naturally possess different degrees of value. But it is well to bear in mind, that India is so extensive a country, comprising so many different degrees of civilisation, that there is room in it, as for every variety of educational and missionary agency, so for every variety of intellectual power. There are spheres of usefulness in the rural districts, and especially amongst the lower castes and aboriginal tribes, for which the lowest order of intellectual qualifications consistent with European strength of character and zeal for progress would suffice; whilst there are also spheres in the great centres of population and amongst the higher castes and classes for which the highest order of intellect and acquirements that can be obtained is required.

The evils, which a certain class of persons once predicted would follow from any attempt that might be made to propagate Christianity in India, have been proved by the event to be imaginary. It must also be admitted that the speedy and glorious successes, which another class of persons anticipated, have not been realised. It may well be, however, that the results which have been accomplished, though short of what was anticipated, and still further short of what was desired, are of such a nature, notwithstanding, as to furnish abundant encouragement to the friends of the work to go forward. It is not a fact, though it has often been taken for granted that it is a fact, that Indian missionaries have exaggerated the results of their work; but even if it were a fact, it would not follow that the exaggeration was intentional, for in every department of effort, whether social, political, or religious, we constantly find people who are labouring to accomplish

some object on which their hearts are set, unintentionally allowing their estimate of their success to be coloured by their hopes. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly a fact that the work of missions in India has been unduly and unfairly depreciated. It seemed, till quite recently, to be almost the unanimous opinion of persons who claimed to be regarded as the leaders of opinion, not only that Indian missions had failed, but that for some reason or another it was right that they should fail, and that people should rejoice over their failure. Dr. W. W. Hunter, the head of the Indian Statistical Department, says in his work on Orissa, 'It seems to me that no impartial observer can learn for himself the interior details of any missionary settlement in India (to whatever form of Christianity it belongs) without a feeling of indignation against the tone which some men of letters adopt towards Christian missions.' It might have been expected, one would think, that even persons who do not believe in Christianity would sympathise with any honest endeavours to make the millions of our Indian fellow-subjects better men and better citizens than we found them; and if such endeavours appeared in any degree unsuccessful, it might have been expected that want of success in so good a cause would have been regarded, not with triumph, but with regret. A considerable change in the feelings with which Indian missions are regarded has recently taken place. The emphatic testimony of the Indian Government in their favour has already produced a marked effect on the public mind, an instance of which is apparent even in an article on 'Christian Missions' in a recent number of the 'Westminster Review,' in which the writer, whilst disparaging missions in general, goes so far as to admit that the results of the Indian missions 'constitute the most brilliant page in the whole history of our missionary enterprise.' Notwithstanding this turn of the tide, we are anxious to avoid falling into the error of exaggeration. No person who has any acquaintance with India, or who bears in mind the numerous and very peculiar difficulties with which, as we have seen, Indian missions have to contend, will be inclined to paint, or to accept as correct, any rose-coloured picture of missionary progress. Were there no other reason for taking a sober view of the case, the conflicting theories that are put forth from time to time respecting the mode in which Indian missions should be conducted, will naturally raise the suspicion that the results that have been obtained hitherto are not so full of encouragement as could be

wished. Good work is undoubtedly being done in India, and progress is undoubtedly being made; but the results are of such a nature as will best be appreciated by persons who know something of the history of the progress of Christianity in the Roman Empire in the earliest times, or who have had some experience in carrying on some moral or religious enterprise of a more or less similar character amongst our heathens at home.

In proceeding to give some account of the progress of Indian missions we shall restrict ourselves to the work done by Protestant missionary societies alone, partly because of the paucity of Roman Catholic statistics, but chiefly in consequence of the fact mentioned in the statement of the Indian Government that 'the Catholic missions in India are almost entirely confined to their Christian converts, and have little to do with the non-Christian population.'

According to the Statistical Tables prepared in 1871, it appears that there are thirty-two societies engaged in carrying on the work of Protestant missions in India, including Burma and Ceylon, in addition to a few isolated missionary agencies, and to the work carried on in some places by Government chaplains and other clergymen in charge of English congregations. Of these societies nine are American, six are German, and the remainder are connected with the British Isles. The number of missionaries connected with these societies, not including laymen engaged in educational and other work, is 548, of whom 333 are connected with the British and Irish societies, 131 with the American societies, and 84 with the German societies. Reckoning the missionaries according to ecclesiastical connexion, irrespective of nationality, 166 belong to the Church of England, 88 are Presbyterians, 87 Lutherans, 77 Baptists, 69 Independents, 51 Wesleyans, and the remaining 12 are connected with isolated bodies. One of the inferences naturally arising from these facts is that America and Germany are evincing a remarkable and most commendable degree of interest in the welfare of India, a degree of interest greater in proportion than that which is evinced by England herself. India seems to have been specially committed by Divine Providence to the care of England, and certainly has special claims on England, both as a portion of the English Empire, and on account of the advantages England derives from India. India has no special claim on the United States; yet the missionaries from the United States to India, including Burma and Ceylon, number, as we have seen, no fewer than 131. When this number is compared with

the 383 missionaries from the British Isles, the comparison, in so far as it is an indication of Christian zeal and enterprise, cannot be said to be so decidedly in our favour as a nation as it should have been. It certainly would seem as if we were considered by neighbouring nations to be either unable or unwilling to do our duty to India when we find America thinking itself obliged to send so large a body of missionaries to the British possessions in India to teach Christianity to the subjects of the British Crown. The interest the Germans take in the Christianisation of India is still more remarkable. It is considered almost a matter of course that the Germans should know more about the languages and antiquities of India, as of almost every other country in the world, than we do; but if so 'practical' a people, as we pride ourselves on being, require to receive help from the Germans in so practical a work as the moral and religious improvement of our fellow-subjects in India, it might justly be considered, not as a matter of course, but as a ground of reproach. Another inference deducible from these facts is, that whilst it is evident that almost all the Protestant communions in Europe and America are evincing a commendable degree of interest, and expending much money and effort in the work of propagating Christianity in India, it can scarcely be said that the position occupied in relation to this work by the great, powerful, and wealthy Church of England, is such as it ought to be. It is true that that position is not so deplorable as it has sometimes been represented. The Church of England must receive the credit due to it for the important services it renders to the best interests of India, in virtue of the fact of its employing in its Indian missions no fewer than 166 missionaries, 114 in connexion with the Church Missionary Society, and 52 in connexion with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and local associations; but when it is found that the missionaries from the non-Episcopal communions in the British Isles, omitting the Americans and Germans, amount to the large number of 132, the Church of England can scarcely be admitted to be doing all that it ought to do. It is something that in this holy war it occupies the van; but if it were only pervaded throughout with the warm missionary feeling with which particular portions of it are pervaded, it might almost undertake to do the whole work itself. As far as direct results are concerned, the scale turns a little, but only a little, more in favour of the Church of England. The missionaries of that church are but 29 per cent. of the entire number

of missionaries in India; whilst the native converts connected with the Church missions number 41 per cent. of the entire number of converts. The missionary societies of the Church of England have shown their capacity for doing well whatever they are enabled to do; but unfortunately there are multitudes of persons, calling themselves members of the Church of England, who either render those societies no help whatever in great work or mock them with help of the most niggardly kind. The special claims of India on the Church of England have been forcibly pointed out by Sir Bartle Frere and, more recently, by the three Indian bishops, and it is hoped that that Church will ere long rise to the full dignity and glory of the position she might assume.

The labours of the missionaries employed in so wide and varied a country as India necessarily assume a considerable variety of forms. Professor Max Müller divides missions into the two classes of 'parental missions' and 'controversial missions,' and observes, that 'whilst the work of the parental missionary is clear, and its success, even in many parts of India, undeniable, the results of controversial missions have been discouraging.' The distinction between these two classes of missions is one which it will be well for every missionary to bear in mind. To a certain extent, however, every well-conducted Christian mission, even amongst civilised races, is parental rather than controversial. The prudent missionary everywhere refrains, as much as possible, from arguing and attacking; and endeavours, as much as possible, to gain his end by instruction, advice, personal influence, and parental love. To a certain extent, also, the most distinctively parental mission, amongst the rudest tribes, must be controversial. It has to deal, not with colourless simplicity, but with a hostile array of errors, prejudices, and evil habits, which require to be encountered and overcome; and it seldom happens that even a barbarous creed thinks itself so barbarous as to be unable to defend itself by force of argument.

Indian missionaries are not only preachers, pastors, and educators; they also contribute to the enlightenment of the country by their literary labours:

'No body of men,' says the Indian Government, 'pays greater attention to the study of the native languages than the Indian missionaries. With several missionary societies (as with the Indian Government) it is a rule that the younger missionaries shall pass a series of examinations in the vernacular of the district in which they reside; and the general practice has been, that all who have to deal with natives

who do not know English, shall seek a high proficiency in these vernaculars. The result is too remarkable to be overlooked. The missionaries, as a body, know the natives of India well; they have prepared hundreds of works, suited both for schools and for general circulation, in the fifteen most prominent languages of India, and in several other dialects. They are the compilers of several dictionaries and grammars; they have written important works on the native classics and the systems of philosophy; and they have largely stimulated the great increase of the native literature prepared in recent years by educated native gentlemen.'

It may be added, that five rude languages, not previously committed to writing—the very existence of which was generally unknown—have within the last few years been mastered by Indian missionaries; and that the literary life of the tribes speaking those languages has now commenced by the publication and circulation amongst them of Christian books. Apart from the effect of such literary labours in enabling missionaries to fulfil their mission to the people amongst whom they labour as instructors and guides, as well as preachers, they have indirect value of considerable importance, especially in the more highly civilised districts, in respect of the conciliatory effect they produce on the native mind. The natives are gratified by seeing foreigners take a lively interest in their languages, customs, literature, and antiquities, and are prepared to regard such persons, though foreigners, as friends, and as persons whose advice it may be safe to follow. In every part of the world people are pleased when they find an interest taken by others in what is interesting to themselves. This is not the only good effect produced by studies of this kind; they are beneficial to the missionaries themselves, as well as agreeable to the people; they preserve the missionary from the temptation of despising the people amongst whom he lives and labours, and help to sweeten the loneliness and monotony of his sojourn in a strange land.

The mission presses in India are numerous and remarkably active. There are twenty-five of those presses at present at work, and during the last ten years they have printed and published 3410 separate works, in thirty-one languages, including English. The total number of copies of school-books, printed at these presses during this period, was over two millions, of tracts nearly six millions, of Christian books nearly three millions, of portions of Scripture more than a million and a quarter, of entire Bibles 31,000. Including presses from which returns were not received, the total number of copies printed during the ten years, chiefly

tracts, seems to have been over sixteen millions. Formerly, tracts and Scriptures were generally given away; now, as a rule, all publications are sold, which shows that they are more valued.

Medical missions have largely developed of late years in almost every part of the Indian mission-field. Medical missionaries, some ordained, some unordained, have taken up their abode at central stations in connexion with the work of most of the societies, and impart to the people around them the benefits of scientific medical treatment; and it has been found that the aid thus given to the sick and suffering produces a most favourable impression, not only on their minds, but also on the minds of the community at large.

Another very interesting department of usefulness recently opened up consists in what are called zenana missions; that is, the introduction of the elements of education and religious teaching into the zenanas, or women's apartments, of the houses of native gentlemen. There are now no fewer than 1300 zenana classes carried on by Christian ladies, mostly in Bengal and the North-West Provinces; and the work is extending, though still in its infancy, in the other Presidencies.

By far the greater part, however, of the work of Indian missions naturally divides itself into the two departments of educational and congregational work:

'The missionary schools in India,' says the Indian Government, 'are chiefly of two kinds—purely vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools. The former are maintained chiefly, but not exclusively, in country districts and small towns. The education given in them is confined pretty much to reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, and instruction in simple religious works. In the Anglo-vernacular schools a much higher education is given, not only in those subjects which are taught in English, but in those in which the vernacular is employed: a higher knowledge even of the vernacular languages is imparted in these schools than is usually given in purely native schools. These schools are most in demand in country towns, in the presidency cities, and in the districts immediately round them. Bengal has long been celebrated for its English schools; and the missionary institutions in Calcutta still hold a conspicuous place in the system and means of education generally available to the young Hindus of that city. All the principal missionary institutions teach up to the standard of the entrance examination in the three Universities of India, and many among them have a college department in which students can be led on through the two examinations for B.A., even up to the M.A. degree.'

The high position occupied by Christian schools of this character may be judged of by means of the Statistical Returns. In the year 1871, the number of pupils in these schools in India proper was 40,315; and it was ascertained that during the previous ten years 1621 pupils passed the entrance examination in the Indian Universities, 513 passed the First Arts examination, 153 took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, 18 the degree of Master of Arts, and 6 the degree of Bachelor of Laws. It is remarkable that 134 of the Bachelors of Arts, and all the M.A.'s and B.L.'s, were from institutions in Bengal. It is also remarkable that, looking at the results of these examinations, the educational work of the Free Church of Scotland and of the Church of Scotland appears to have been equal to that of all other societies put together. Some societies have done little for education in any shape, some nothing for the higher education; whilst the two Scottish societies following the lead of Dr. Duff, with whom this system of missions originated, have regarded the education of the youth of the higher classes on Christian principles as their special, if not their sole, work. A share is now taken in this work by several other missionary societies. The two Church of England societies, and the London and Wesleyan societies, prosecute both the educational and congregational departments of work with nearly equal vigour; and within the last ten years the educational work of the Church of England has nearly doubled. It cannot be doubted that the endeavour to diffuse Christianity amongst the higher classes of the natives is one of very great importance, for the institution of caste gives the higher classes greater influence in India than in any other country; but it was found that they could not be reached, at all events they were not reached, by any of the agencies formerly at work, and up to the present time it is only by means of an English education of so high an order as to prove an attraction to them that those classes have in any degree been brought within the range of Christian influences. The number of persons actually converted to Christianity from year to year by means of these schools has never been considerable, and seems smaller of late years than ever. On the other hand, the converts of this system, though few in number, belong to an influential class; and it is an interesting circumstance, that through their influence and example, Christianity has spread in some degree amongst persons belonging to the same class who have never been at mission schools at all, or who have attended

schools from which Christianity was carefully excluded. The good effected by these schools cannot safely be estimated by the number of conversions that have taken place in connection with them. It is universally admitted that they have done much indirect good. Many Hindus, who still adhere to their ancestral faith, value these schools highly, on account of the high moral tone by which they are pervaded, and the influence on the hearts and minds of the pupils of the character and example of their European Christian teachers. It is chiefly owing to the influence of these schools that we now see amongst the Hindus such a spirit of enquiry, and the germs, at least, of so many moral and social reforms. It is to this influence, wholly or chiefly, that India is indebted for the *Brahma Samāj*.

The other department of the work of Indian Missions, which we have called congregational, and which includes pastoral and evangelistic work of every kind, does not exclude education. On the contrary, it expends much money and effort on the education of the children of converts, on the education in the vernacular of children of the poorer classes generally, and especially on the training up of Christian teachers, male and female; but it seems proper to regard it as a distinct department of work, because it professes to have in view the benefit, not of the young only, or of the higher classes only, but of the people at large, and because the schools it establishes, like parochial schools at home, are connected with, or subordinated to, congregations. The aim of missions of this class may be said to be identical with that of the Christian Church itself. The first endeavour of the missionaries is to diffuse amongst the entire community a knowledge of the Christian religion, chiefly by means of vernacular preaching. When any persons have been induced to accept the new teaching, they form such persons into Christian congregations, with the view of bringing to bear upon their minds and lives all those influences for good recognised by the church system which they follow. Their final aim is to teach the congregations so formed to stand alone as soon as possible without foreign help, and to become centres of Christian light in the region around. This system of missions has been much richer in present visible results, tested by the number of converts it reckons, than the purely educational system. Indeed the entire body of native Christians in India may be claimed as the fruit of this system, with the exception of a few hundreds at most in the large towns.

The number of converts in connection with the various Protestant missions in India, as ascertained by the statistical returns to which we have referred, is much greater than it was expected to be. When the results of this religious census were made known, it is hard to say whether the friends of missions or their enemies were most surprised. The total number of native Protestant Christians in 1871 was found to be 318,363; of whom 78,494 were communicants; the number of native ordained ministers was 381; and the amount of money contributed by native Christians alone for religious and charitable purposes was 15,912*l*. What is still more remarkable is the rapidity and steadiness of the ratio of increase. During the ten years previous to 1861, the rate of increase was 53 per cent. During the ten years previous to 1871, the rate of increase rose to 61 per cent. During this last period of ten years, the increase in the number of converts amounted to no fewer than 85,430 souls in India proper alone. The compilers of the Statistical Returns say:

‘Considering the several provinces, we find that the increase in Bengal has been more than 100 per cent., while the communicants have increased nearly 200 per cent. In the North-Western Provinces, the Christian community has nearly doubled: in Oudh it has increased at the rate of 175 per cent.; in the Punjab, at the rate of 64 per cent.; in Central India, nearly 400 per cent.; and in Bombay, 64 per cent. The greatest aggregate increase in all India has been in the Madras Presidency, where there are now 160,955 Christians, in contrast with 110,078 ten years ago. In the two provinces of Tinnevely and South Travancore, the Christian community has increased from 72,652 to 90,963 persons.’

Some items of increase are particularly satisfactory and encouraging. The number of communicants has increased during the last ten years at the rate of more than 100 per cent. The number of native ordained ministers has also increased more than 100 per cent., viz., from 185 to 381. Twenty years ago the number was only twenty-nine. The increase which has taken place in another particular must be regarded by every one who knows India as a peculiarly healthy sign of progress. So far as can be ascertained from the imperfect returns previously prepared, the amount of money contributed by native Christians in India during the year 1871 alone, was nearly equal to the amount contributed by them during the ten years ending in 1861. Looking at the experience of the past twenty years, the rate of increase in the number of native Christians in India may be expected to

augment, rather than to diminish. On the supposition, however, that the rate remained constant from year to year, and from decade to decade, the compilers of the Statistics have calculated the results that would accrue. In A.D. 1901, that is, a little less than thirty years hence, the number of native Christians would amount to nearly a million. Fifty years later, it would be upwards of 11 millions, and fifty years later, that is, in A.D. 2001, it would amount to 133 millions. ‘It is needless,’ they say, ‘to state that such calculations hardly come within the bounds of sobriety. Unforeseen obstacles might intervene, on the one hand; while on the other, a sudden and general movement of the people towards Christianity might at any time take place. The history of the Church tells us that this has happened before in other countries, not once or twice, but many times; and before our own eyes it has happened, in our own days in the large Island of Madagascar. Moreover, the promise is that nations shall be born in a day.’

We cannot better fill in the details of the history of the progress of Indian missions than by quoting here a portion of the Indian Government’s interesting survey:

‘The missionaries in the course of their efforts have found the population of the great cities much more tenacious in their opinions and firm in their social relations than those of country districts. On the other hand, they are more intelligent; they are good listeners; appreciate arguments and illustrations; and their children flock to the mission schools. The rural population have been much more open to their instructions; the peasantry of large districts have been less bound by caste ties; and the aboriginal tribes and classes in the community, both in the hills and in the plains, have embraced Christianity in large numbers.

‘The religious movements which took place forty years ago among the peasantry to the south of Calcutta, among the indigo ryots of Krishnagar, and in the thickly-peopled swamps of Barisal, gave to the province of Bengal three large Christian communities, which now number nearly 16,000 persons. They have been steadily cared for and well instructed, and have been consolidated into prosperous, well-conducted communities. Within the last twenty years the German mission among the Cola tribes in the hills of Chota Nágpur, now divided into two branches, has greatly affected these simple yet manly people; and, notwithstanding considerable social persecution, has led more than 20,000 persons among them to profess themselves Christians. Very recently the Santál tribes, in the same line of hills, have followed in their steps. In the year following the Mutiny, a new mission was commenced, by an American society, in the provinces of

Oudh and Rohilkhand; and the Christian congregations already include 2000 converts. The largest congregations in the North-Western Provinces are found in Benares, Allahabad, Fategarh, Agra, and Meerut, and sprang from the boarding-school establishments in the great famines of 1838 and 1861. An important religious movement has recently occurred in the dominions of the Nizam, under the conduct of native missionaries; and 1100 persons have become Christians. A similar movement has taken place among the Telugu people of Ongole, under the American mission, which has resulted in 6000 converts. More than 7000 are now included in the two missions at Cuddapah; and the Telugu missions in Guntoor, in the Masulipatam district, and on the Godavari, have increased during the last few years from 1500 native Christians to more than 6000.

But it is in the southern portion of the Madras Presidency that Christianity has most largely affected the rural populations. The province of Tanjore, first instructed by the Danish missionaries, amongst them by the respected missionary Schwartz, has long possessed a large number of Christian congregations. These continue under the care of the Lutheran and English Episcopal missions, and are reported to be in a prosperous condition. The Christians now number 11,000 persons in the Tanjore and Trichinapalli districts. In the neighbouring district of Madura, the Americans have a flourishing mission, with 7000 converts and a normal school. The Tinnevely and Travancore missions are well known, and are reported to be in every way in a higher position and exerting greater influence now than ever before. These two provinces contain a very large aboriginal population, which has been but little affected by the Hinduism of Southern India. The Shanar tribe and their kindred, from the numerous and marked peculiarities of their social religious life, have proved a most interesting study to the missionaries who have lived among them. They have been under instruction from the commencement of the present century. Good schools have flourished among them, by which girls have benefited as well as boys. Training schools have supplied well-taught schoolmasters; theological schools have in recent years provided a full supply of native ministers and clergy; while the congregations have steadily multiplied, and the character of the whole people has been raised. Three missions have been carried on amongst them, by the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the London Missionary Society, and a large and influential English staff has conducted the affairs of these missions. At the present time (1871), 90,000 persons of all ages are professing Christians in these missions; the districts are dotted over with flourishing villages and Christian churches; there are hundreds of native teachers employed among them, of whom fifty-seven are ordained, and are supported to a great extent by their congregations. Order and peace rule these simple communities, which

give the Government little trouble, whether in the Madras Presidency, or under his Highness the Maharajah of Travancore; while large tracts of country have been brought under cultivation, and the peasantry generally enjoy a larger share of material comfort than in days gone by.

The following statement exhibits the relative position of each of the two districts, Tinnevely and South Travancore (which were lumped together in the foregoing survey), as ascertained by the Statistical Returns in 1871:

**TINNEVELLY:** The two missionary societies of the Church of England—Congregations, 580; native converts, 58,841; communicants, 9151; ordained native ministers, 46; contributions of native converts, 2733*l*.

**SOUTH TRAVANCORE:** The London Missionary Society—Congregations, 251; native converts, 32,122; communicants, 2599; ordained native ministers, 11; contributions of native converts, 1094*l*.

'Much the same,' the statement of the Indian Government proceeds to say, 'may be said of the Church Mission among the Syrians of Upper Travancore and Cochin. The congregations among them now include some 14,000 people, and the Syrian Christians at large have been greatly stimulated and improved through the efforts of the English missionaries carried on in their midst. Only one other mission needs special mention here, the American mission in Burma. This mission has drawn its converts chiefly from the Karen tribes, the aborigines of Burma and the Shan States, who have so heartily welcomed the English rule. Information respecting them has been scanty of late; but it is certain that 60,000 of them are Christian converts, and that the mission is largely supported by the people themselves.' We add a few particulars regarding the mission of the Basel German Missionary Society on the Malabar Coast and in some of the adjoining districts of South-Western India. The work of this mission is carried on with great vigour by forty-five ordained and fourteen lay missionaries. The native converts now number 4371, showing an increase of 53 per cent. in ten years. 'Taking them together, these rural and aboriginal populations of India, which have received a large share of the attention of the missionary societies, now contain among them a *quarter of a million* native Christian converts. The principles they profess, the standard of morals at which they aim, the education and training which they receive, make them no unimportant element in the Empire which the Government of India has under its control. These populations must greatly influence the communities of which they form a part; they are thoroughly loyal to the British Crown; and the experience through which many have passed, has proved that they are governed by solid principles in the conduct they pursue. Dr. Hunter has recently set before the Government the importance of the hill

racés and other aborigines of India, reckoned at 70,000,000 in number; and both because of the simplicity of their habits, their general love of order, their teachableness, as well as their great numbers, has urged that new and large efforts shall be made for their enlightenment. In the same way many able missionaries advocate that the Christian efforts among them shall be increased. There is reason to believe that these estimable races will occupy a more prominent position in the Empire in the future than they have done hitherto.

We add some particulars which it seems necessary to mention in order to make this remarkable survey of missionary work and progress complete. The missionaries have zealously and successfully laboured, not only to win converts, but to improve the intellectual condition of the converts and their children. In addition to 40,315 pupils, as already mentioned, in Anglo-vernacular schools and colleges, the number of boys taught in purely vernacular schools, attended chiefly by Christian children of the poorer classes, is 66,230; and notwithstanding the peculiar difficulties that stand in the way of female education in India—difficulties which operate even amongst the poorer classes, and which have not yet ceased to be felt even amongst the native Christians themselves—the number of girls in the various mission schools, chiefly children of converts, is no less than 29,016. There are 2154 boys and 2905 girls in the various mission orphanages. Provision is also made in various missions, by means of boarding-schools of a high order, for imparting a really good education to the more promising Christian children, both boys and girls; and ample provision is made everywhere, by means of training-schools and institutions for the training up, not only of schoolmasters, schoolmistresses, and lay teachers of various grades, but also, ultimately, for the training up of an ordained native ministry, an object of vital importance in every attempt that is made to naturalise the Christian Church in a new soil. Institutions with these objects in view for male teachers are eighty-five in number, containing 1618 students, whilst there are twenty-eight institutions for female teachers, containing 567 students.

In consequence of the progressive development of the Indian missions, in several portions of the field it has been found necessary to carry into effect a further division of the congregational department of mission work into pastoral and evangelistic. The former, pastoral work, or the care of the Christian congregations and the schools connected with them, is now being left in the hands of the native ministers who have been trained up and ordained in such num-

bers, under the general supervision, for the present, of European missionaries; whilst the European missionaries are now confining themselves as much as possible to evangelistic work, properly so called, that is, itinerating in new fields, gathering in new converts, and forming new congregations. In connection with this rearrangement of work, systematic efforts are now being made everywhere, especially in the older missions, to make the congregations self-supporting, and the first steps have been taken towards teaching the native Christian community self-government. In connection with several missions Church councils have been established, consisting of native pastors and representative members of native congregations, which assemble from time to time, generally under the presidency of European missionaries, for the purpose of consulting on measures required for the support, organisation, and extension of the native Church. The establishment of these councils has proved a great encouragement to the native Christian community, and helped to prepare it for whatever difficulties or successes may be in store for it in the future. It has also gone far to teach native converts several lessons which, both as natives and as converts, it was very necessary they should learn. They are now learning to regard the support of their own pastors and their own religious institutions and schools not merely as a charitable work to which they may contribute or not, as they feel inclined, but as a duty, as an obligation from which they cannot escape. They are also learning to regard the diffusion of Christianity, the extension of the boundaries of the Christian Church, and the moral and religious improvement of the native Christian community, not merely as the duty of the foreign missionaries, but also, and chiefly, as their own duty. And they are learning both these excellent lessons so generally and so steadily, that it seems now impossible for any one to predict with any appearance of probability, as it used to be predicted, that, if from any cause the English were obliged to abandon India, the Christianity introduced by English missionaries would, within a few years afterwards, disappear.

Indian missionaries, like missionaries in other parts of the world, have sometimes been supposed to content themselves with preaching the doctrines and administering the ordinances of the Christian Church, without caring much either for the mental improvement of their converts or for the improvement of their temporal condition. The educational statistics of the missions furnish a sufficient reply to so much of the

accusation as relates to the neglect of mental culture; and, as a rule, Indian missionaries have shown themselves almost equally zealous for the improvement of the temporal condition of their people as for their intellectual improvement, though this is a department of things with which statistical tables cannot deal. Where the people who have become Christians were already educated and civilised, the missionary has set himself to supply the things that were lacking by promoting amongst them moral, social, and domestic reforms, giving them a higher idea of their capabilities and duties, even with respect to the present life, endeavouring to knock off the fetters by which their intellects were bound, and thus opening before them an unlimited prospect of improvement and progress. In particular he has set himself to improve the condition of the female portion of the new Christian community; for though the condition of the women in India, especially amongst the better classes, is far from being so degraded as it is commonly supposed to be, it is still discreditably low, especially in regard to the total absence of mental culture. The great majority of the converts belong, as has been seen, to the lower castes and classes or to rude aboriginal tribes, and Christianity finds them either in an uncivilised state or but partially civilised. In this condition of things the missionary becomes the centre of innumerable civilising influences. He has taught his converts new industrial arts and higher ideas of domestic comfort. He has improved their houses and rebuilt their villages. He has taught them cleanliness, decency, and order. Where he has found them in slavery, he has obtained for them, or enabled them to regain, their freedom. Where they were oppressed and degraded he has taught them to rise and to regard themselves as men. He has taught them self-respect and some degree of self-reliance. He has endeavoured to make them more industrious, more energetic, and more enterprising; and thus he has not only introduced them into a new world of religious and moral ideas, but has also given them a place in a new world of social order and progress. Hence it has generally been remarked that the temporal condition of converts to Christianity, belonging to the lower classes and inferior races, after they have been Christians for some years, seems to be greatly improved. They seem more comfortable, better off, more affluent, than their non-Christian neighbours. If any person has had the opportunity of visiting any of the mission stations in the rural districts, especially where the people were formerly in a low

social condition; if he has had the opportunity of seeing villages where all, or nearly all, the people have become Christians, and where it has become possible, in consequence, for Christian ideas of things to acquire a public manifestation; if he has compared the Christian villages with villages in the neighbourhood inhabited by people of the same castes and classes who have not become Christians, he cannot but have been struck with the fact that the Christian village is greatly superior to the non-Christian village in cleanliness and order, in signs of comfort and marks of progress. He cannot fail, in consequence, to have concluded that the adoption of the Christian religion by any class of people in India, especially by any class of people in a low intellectual and social condition, is not to be regarded as a mere change of religion, in the sense in which changes of religion are commonly supposed to take place; that is, that it is not to be regarded as the substitution of one set of opinions for another, or of one set of observances for another; but that, on the contrary, it is to be regarded as the adoption of better principles of action and a higher aim in life; that it is a change from a lower to a higher civilisation, from ignorance to knowledge, from neglect to culture, from apathy to progress; that, in short, it is 'life from the dead.'

This being the case, the advantages which native Christians, especially those belonging to the lower classes, derive from the missionary's labours amongst them being so great, the wonder is, not that some persons become Christians in the hope of sharing in those advantages, but that a much larger number of the people do not do so, that the mass of the people, that the mass of the poorer classes at least, do not follow the example set them by a few. The wonder is, that any of the lower castes and the aboriginal tribes, seeing what Christianity, as taught by European Protestant missionaries, has done for those of their own class who have embraced it, should be content to remain idolaters and demonolaters, when they might, by becoming Christians, take their promotion to a higher style of man. Their not taking this course must be owing, we suppose, to the circumstance that people who are in a low condition of morals and culture are often found to be perfectly satisfied with that condition. The worst result of their degradation is that they do not feel themselves degraded. Whatever the cause may be, the fact is certain that there are multitudes of people in India, especially in the remoter, ruder districts, and amongst the poorer classes, who would be greatly bene-

fitted in a temporal point of view, and ultimately benefited in every respect, by becoming Christians, but who do not see it in this light, and remain uninfluenced by this or any other consideration. There is another circumstance which it is important to remember. Whatever be the motives by which any of those who have placed themselves under Christian instruction have been induced in the first instance to listen and learn, and how unpromising soever the condition of some of them may be supposed to be, their children, at all events, are in the schools connected with the mission from the very first, and are brought up from the first in right principles of action. As the parents, moreover, are under Christian oversight, no less than the children, there is reason for hoping that the lessons of truth which are taught in the schoolroom during the day will not be obliterated at night when the children return home, as is too often the case when the parents have not become Christians. The condition of the parents, also, though often very unsatisfactory at first, is capable of improving, and is generally found to improve. Of the people who have embraced Christianity from mixed motives, partly religious, partly secular, the majority are found to adhere to it after all excitement from without has passed away, and learn to value Christianity for higher reasons. From time to time also the missionaries discover amongst them a few simple-minded truth-loving persons, whom Providence had been preparing, even in the times of their ignorance, for the reception of the truth and for bringing forth the fruits of righteousness. The congregation, consisting perhaps of the inhabitants of an entire village, had been brought in, as it were, by the tide; and yet after a time amongst the sand and sea-weed a few pearls of great price are discovered, fitted to shine hereafter in a kingly crown.

Now that the possibility of the conversion of the Hindus to Christianity has been proved by the actual conversion of a considerable number of them of all classes, the line adopted by persons who are unfriendly to missions in general and Indian missions in particular has been changed, and it is usually asserted that the conversions that have taken place are valueless. This is the line most commonly adopted by persons of this class who have been in India, and their opinion is often echoed by persons who cannot be regarded as intentionally unfriendly. It has often been remarked with surprise that English people who have been in India and returned to this country (with the important exception of those persons whose opinion is of

the highest value) generally bring with them an unfavourable report of the results of Indian missions, particularly in regard to the character of the native converts. The prevalence of this unfavourable opinion seems at the present time the chief objection to Indian missions with which we are called upon to deal. Is the opinion so generally expressed to be accepted as correct? or are there valid reasons for regarding it as incorrect and unfair?

We are not disposed to consider the existence of defects in the character of the Indian converts to Christianity as in any way *à priori* an improbable thing. On the contrary, we should be prepared to find in Indian converts many serious defects. We should be prepared to find in them not only such defects as are common to human nature everywhere, but also certain special defects peculiar to the country and race to which they belong, and the style of character formed or fostered by the religion in which they were brought up. When Hindus have become Christians, they have not at the same time become English people, and that means a great deal. It means that they have not ceased to be timid, and that they have not become self-reliant, high-spirited, and manly. They have inherited the fatal legacy of a hundred generations of heathenism, and it will probably take a considerable time, perhaps many generations, before they unlearn the evil habits and tendencies, the evil conversation, received by tradition from their forefathers. It may take a still longer time before they acquire the style of character which Christian Europe approves. Christian Europe itself has not universally learnt to practise what it approves. The religion of many people in this old Christian country is still too much an affair of doctrines, views, sentiments, observances; too little an endeavour to live a Christ-like life. We need not wonder, therefore, that the character of the new Christian community in India has not all at once been renovated, though it has been considerably modified, by its Christianity.

After making all due allowance, however, for the defects, of whatever nature they may be, with which the native converts are really chargeable, whether as individuals or as a community, we are decidedly of opinion that they neither justify nor account for the sweeping assertions some Anglo-Indians are accustomed to make. Doubtless those persons are in error, if any such persons there be, who look at the bright side of the picture alone and ignore the dark side; but they are equally, and far less amiably, in error who endeavour to induce people to believe that the picture has no bright side at all.

Much of the prejudice with which native Christians are regarded is owing, we are convinced, to ignorance. It is sometimes taken for granted that all English people who have been in India have sufficient acquaintance with Indian missions and Indian Christianity to be able to speak about them with authority; but this is undoubtedly an error. The great majority of the English in India know no more of mission stations, of native congregations, of the social life of native Christians, or of the real condition of the native Christian community, than if they had never been out of England. Some of them have never had an opportunity of seeing a mission station, such stations being few in number and scattered over a wide area: a larger number have not cared to avail themselves of the opportunities they have enjoyed. As a rule, indeed, whatever they may know of other matters, they are content to remain profoundly ignorant of what missionaries are doing. The only native Christians most English people have ever seen are a few persons belonging to the class of domestic servants, whose character is generally unfavourably affected by their position, or perhaps a few waifs and strays, disowned by their own community, who endeavour to make a living by their wits in military stations and seaport towns. The great mass of the native Christians live quiet, unobtrusive lives in remote rural districts, and the only Europeans they ever come in contact with are missionaries, and those few persons who, though not missionaries, are sufficiently interested in missions to be willing to go and see for themselves what a native Christian community is. A considerable portion of the prejudice with which native Christians are often regarded is owing, we believe, to pride of race. If caste pride prevails largely amongst natives, pride of race prevails quite as largely amongst Europeans. Many of the English in India, especially at the outset of their career, regard all natives with indiscriminate aversion. After a time their ideas become enlarged; their prejudices are mollified; they learn to tolerate the natives; not unfrequently they learn even to like them; but it often happens that they make amends for their adoption of more charitable sentiments towards the natives generally by disliking native Christians worse than ever. They learn to speak of them with unreasonable contempt, and, if they happen to come in contact with them, to treat them with unjustifiable contumely. Pride of race has not disappeared; in reality it has only taken a new shape. Instead of flowing in many channels, it now flows only in one, and consequently the current which

flows in that one channel has become peculiarly deep and strong.

Unfortunately, Anglo-Indians are encouraged in this feeling by the very people who at first suffered most from their intolerance. The Hindus and Muhammedans, by whom they are surrounded, and who have their own reasons for disliking converts from their own creeds to any other, and for endeavouring to prevent them from gaining influence, do their utmost to create a prejudice against them, or to foster any prejudice which already exists. English society in India is thoroughly pervaded with the notion that it is an ungentlemanly thing for a man to change his religion, and this is a notion which high-caste Hindus in particular take care to encourage. Their religion makes no proselytes and their caste accepts none. Consequently they are apt to regard such of their fellow-countrymen as have adopted a foreign religion, particularly if they have been guilty of the additional crime of being of lower caste than themselves, as 'the filth of the world and the offscouring of all things.' And hence English people, who occupy official positions in India, who are surrounded by high-caste subordinates, and breathe every day of their lives an atmosphere of high-caste blandishments, are too often led to mistake the prejudices instilled into their minds by Brahmans for results of their own observation.

It is a significant fact that when Englishmen of this class come to take an interest in religion on their own account, when they become Christians themselves in a truer and deeper sense, they make the discovery that there is a reality in missionary work and results, and a sincerity among native Christians, notwithstanding their defects, which they had not expected to find. The most direct testimony to the reality in the main of the Christianity of the native converts is that which is borne by the missionaries to whose congregations they belong; and though it is true that their testimony may be said to be open to exception, in consequence of the interest they may naturally be supposed to take in their own converts, yet it is to be remembered on the other hand that the Indian missionaries are not the credulous, ill-informed class of people they have sometimes been supposed to be. The proceedings of the Allahabad Missionary Conference show that they are capable of forming a careful, sober, impartial estimate of the results of the different modes of work they have been led to adopt. Irrespective, however, of the testimony of the missionaries, it may be regarded as certain from the very

nature of the case, that the character of the native Christians, as a body, must be superior to that of the non-Christians around belonging to the same classes and conditions. A mission congregation may be regarded as a school of conduct, in which young and old are taught not only the best religious doctrines, but the best moral precepts. They are taught the highest morality, to be good and to do good; and they are taught the highest motive for practising this morality, divine love. They have the benefit also of pastoral oversight, guidance, and discipline. The native Christian community must necessarily, therefore, by its superiority in moral qualities to the non-Christian community, bear witness to the moral efficacy of the truth. Probably it will even bear to be compared, if the comparison be conducted with perfect fairness, with an equal proportion of the population in any of the old Christian countries in Europe. To assert, therefore, that the native Christians are no better, still more to assert that they are worse, than heathens, may reasonably be concluded to be a calumny. We are not left, however, to the evidence of those who are supposed to be interested parties, or to probable inference from facts. The hostile testimony of one portion of English people who have been in India, is rebutted by the favourable testimony of another and better informed portion. Many English gentlemen in India, some of them holding high official positions, civil or military, help forward the cause of missions, not merely by their contributions, but far more materially by their co-operation, especially by taking an active part in the management of the affairs of the missions as members of missionary committees. In doing this they bear their testimony, the testimony not of words merely, but of actions that speak louder than words, both to the reality of the work the missionaries are doing and to the reality of its results. Some persons, also, of the very highest position, such as Lord Lawrence, Governor-General of India, Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay, and Lord Napier and Ettrick, Governor of Madras, whose names carry weight wherever they are known, have borne distinct, emphatic testimony, in this country itself, to the reality of the work they saw done in India, and the reality, in the main, of the Christianity of the native converts. It may be said, indeed, that the higher the position occupied by any Englishman in India, and the wider his experience, the more decidedly favourable has been the testimony he has borne.

A fair estimate of the results of Indian missions cannot be made if our attention be

restricted to direct results alone, such as the number of conversions that have taken place and the moral and spiritual value of those conversions. It is certain that indirect results also of great importance have been brought about. There was a time when indirect results were much less cared for than they are now. It was then the sole object of missionaries, as was right and natural, to make converts to Christianity. To that object they devoted all their energies. With that object they preached, made translations of Scripture, printed and circulated books and tracts, established schools, gave medicine to the sick, helped the down-trodden to rise. The object they aimed at has only partially been accomplished, very partially only as yet; but the means they used for the accomplishment of that object have brought into existence, generally without their knowledge, a whole class of agencies of a more or less distinctively Christian character, by which results of the greatest possible importance, and on the largest possible scale, have been produced. Had it not been for the efforts that have been made by Christian missionaries for the conversion of the natives to Christianity, directly by Christian teaching and preaching, indirectly by means of the influences that have been brought to bear on public education, probably neither the mental and moral enlightenment we now see spreading in India, nor any of the fruits of that enlightenment, would have had any existence. The indirect results of Indian missions have never been more highly estimated than by the Indian Government itself. The Blue-book, after treating of the number of converts, says:

‘But the missionaries in India hold the opinion that the winning of these converts, whether in the cities or in the open country, is but a small portion of the beneficial results which have sprung from their labours. No statistics can give a fair view of all that they have done. They consider that their distinctive teaching, now applied to the country for many years, has powerfully affected the entire population. The moral tone of their preaching is recognised and highly approved by multitudes who do not follow them as converts. The various lessons which they inculcate have given to the people at large new ideas, not only on purely religious questions, but on the nature of evil, the obligations of law, and the motives by which human conduct should be regulated. Insensibly a higher standard of moral conduct is becoming familiar to the people, especially to the young, which has been set before them, not merely by public teaching, but by the millions of printed books and tracts which are scattered widely through the country. On this account, they express no wonder that the ancient systems are

no longer defended as they once were; many doubts are felt about the rules of caste; the great festivals are not attended by the vast crowds of former years; and several Theistic schools have been growing up among the more educated classes, especially in the presidency cities, who profess to have no faith in the idols of their fathers. They consider that the influences of their religious teaching are assisted and increased by the example of the better portions of the English community; by the spread of English literature and English education; by the freedom given to the press; by the high standard, tone, and purpose of Indian legislation; and by the spirit of freedom, benevolence, and justice which pervades the English rule. And they augur well of the future moral progress of the native population of India, from the signs of solid advance already exhibited on every hand, and gained within the brief period of two generations. This view of the general influence of their teaching, and of the greatness of the revolution which it is silently producing, is not taken by missionaries only. It has been accepted by many distinguished residents in India, and experienced officers of the Government; and has been emphatically endorsed by the high authority of Sir Bartle Frere. Without pronouncing an opinion upon the matter, the Government of India cannot but acknowledge the great obligation under which it is laid by the benevolent exertions of these 600 missionaries, whose blameless example and self-denying labours are infusing new vigour into the stereotyped life of the great populations placed under English rule, and are preparing them to be in every way better men and better citizens of the great Empire in which they dwell.'

This testimony of the Indian Government to the importance and value of the indirect results of Indian missions is one of the most remarkable facts that can claim to have a place in missionary history. Those results, as the Dean of Westminster observes, in the sermon published as an introduction to Professor Max Müller's lecture, consist 'not merely in the adoption of this or that outward form of Christianity by this or that section of the Indian community. It is something which is in appearance less, but in reality far greater than this. Individual conversions may relapse, may be accounted for by special motives; but long-sustained, wide-reaching changes of the whole tenour and bent of a man or of a nation are beyond suspicion. . . . [The verdict of the Indian Government] is a verdict on which we can rest with the assurance that it is not likely to be reversed.'

Looking at the results achieved by Indian missions, it is evident that they suggest reasons both for disappointment and for encouragement; but we are of opinion that the reasons for encouragement decidedly

preponderate. The friends of missions may naturally feel at times disappointed, may still more naturally feel at times dissatisfied, when they compare what has been done with what still remains to be done. But there is no reason why they should give way to despondency, much less to despair. On the contrary, there is every reason why they should be thankful that so good a work has been begun on so large a scale, and resolve to take courage and go forward. A little dissatisfaction with results already accomplished will be found to act in the main as a wholesome stimulus to further exertion. Every person who sets himself to accomplish any religious or benevolent work on a large scale in this world, however he may seem to others to have succeeded, will seem to himself to have failed, or at least to have had so little success that he will naturally feel dissatisfied; but this impression will only have the effect of urging him forward, both to extend the range of his work, and to endeavour to bring it to greater perfection in details. We regard with special interest, but also with special anxiety, the progress which the native Church that has been planted in some districts in India is making towards maturity. It is already distinguished for docility and liberality, but we should wish to see it, on the one hand, freer from inherited faults and failings, and on the other, more self-reliant, more progressive, more comprehensive, extending itself with equal zeal and rapidity amongst the higher and the lower classes. At present too large a proportion of the native converts belong to the lower classes and the aboriginal tribes. We trust that ere long this defect will be remedied, and that the blessings which flow from the religion of the Lord of All will not much longer be restricted, as hitherto has too much been the case, to the poorer classes, and to the members of a few castes out of many, but may become the common property and the uniting bond of all classes and castes, bringing all hearts into subjection to the beneficent dominion of Christ, purifying every portion of society, and infusing new vigour into every variety of life. What a grand future India, with her teeming population and her high intellectual gifts, might expect to see, if she would only give up her dreams, her caste exclusiveness, and the moral cowardice which so often keeps her from acting up to her convictions, and were to submit herself unreservedly to the dominion of the Truth! Such a result would prove a source of blessings of incalculable value, not only to India, but to all Asia and the world.

ART. III.—*Life of William Earl of Shelburne, afterwards first Marquess of Lansdowne, with Extracts from his Papers and Correspondence.*

'WHATEVER,' says Walpole, in reference to his 'Memoirs of the Reign of George II.,' 'leads to a knowledge of the characters of remarkable persons, of the manners of the age, and of its political intrigues, comes properly within my plan.' Lord E. Fitzmaurice's plan is equally extensive, and embraces nearly the same class of topics. His *Life* of his distinguished ancestor trenches too often on the domain of history to be adequately described as a biography; and its main value consists in the abundance of fresh light it throws on the various and remarkable characters and events with which the founder of Bowood and Lansdowne House was intimately acquainted or mixed up. Individually considered, however, and from the purely personal point of view, his life and career are eminently calculated to fix and reward attention. He attained the highest object of ambition to which a subject can aspire: he was Prime Minister of England during a brief but most important interval: and one of his successors in that proud position, the author of 'Conyngsby' and 'Sybil,' has termed him 'the ablest and most accomplished minister of the eighteenth century: the first great minister who comprehended the rising importance of the middle class.' Bentham always said that he was 'the only minister he ever heard of who did not fear the people.'

Lord Shelburne was a patron of all intellectual pursuits, as well as a statesman: he eagerly courted the society of men of letters and philosophers: and he stated shortly before his death that he 'knew Junius and knew all about the writing and production of those letters.'\*

\* The conversation with Sir Richard Phillips about Junius, which Lord E. Fitzmaurice reprints in his Preface, was published in Wade's (commonly called Bohn's) 'Junius' in 1850; so that there is small cause for the apprehension of the leading journal that 'these few words (Lord S.'s) may rekindle the whole Junius controversy in all its vehemence.' But there is one of Lord Shelburne's statements which has recently acquired additional significance: namely, that 'none of the parties ever guessed at as Junius was the true Junius. Nobody has ever suspected him.' This was said in April, 1805, when it was at one time supposed no one had guessed at or suspected Francis. But it is now clear that the identity of Francis with Junius was discussed by Pitt in conversation with both Lord Eldon and Lord Aberdeen. (See 'Notes and Queries' for August 2, 1873.)

served with distinction as a soldier: he was unceasingly engaged in party combinations or intrigues: he was almost invariably behind the scenes when the plot of the political drama had attained the highest point of interest: he was on the most familiar footing with the principal performers; he was thoroughly conversant with their views, springs of action, distinctive qualities and capacity; and we hold it, therefore, fortunate in the extreme that we are enabled to compare his recorded impressions with the contemporary Memoirs, Diaries, and Reminiscences on which historians like Mr. Adolphus, Lord Stanhope, and Mr. Massey have hitherto had no alternative but to rely.

The present volume (as described in the Preface) includes the period between 1737 and 1766, and ends with the acceptance by Lord Shelburne of the post of Secretary of State in the Ministry of Lord Chatham. But exact chronological arrangement of the materials has been disregarded: it probably proved impracticable; and based on observations matured and corrected (if not taken) long afterwards, will be found sketches, more or less finished, of Sir Robert Walpole, Sunderland, Carteret, Lord Chatham, Henry Fox (the first Lord Holland), Pulteney, the Pelhams, Lord Bute, Mansfield, Hardwicke, Lord George Sackville, Barré, Wolfe, and many others. These sketches are comprised in 'A Chapter of Autobiography' and various Memoranda written by Lord Shelburne between 1800 and his death in 1805. The fragmentary character of the Remains imposed a task of considerable difficulty and delicacy on Lord E. Fitzmaurice, which he has executed with judgment and skill. Although occasional exception may be taken to his style, the narrative and connecting portions of the work contributed by him are marked by a complete mastery of the subject, an excellent spirit and tone, with boldness and liberality of opinion, and firmness and comprehensiveness of view.

To appreciate a man's estimates of character we must carefully analyse his own, trace it up through each stage of its growth or formation, and mark the peculiarities of mind, temper and disposition, as well as the accidents of early training and association, by which his future judgments may have been warped. It is laid down as an undoubted fact by James Mill that 'the early sequences to which we are accustomed form the primary habits, and that the primary habits are the fundamental character of the man. The consequence is most important, for it follows that as soon as the infant, or rather the embryo, begins to feel, the char-

acter begins to be formed.\* Assuming this theory to be sound, Lord Shelburne is fully justified in dwelling on his earliest infancy as influencing his mental and moral development:—

‘I was born,’ he begins, ‘in Dublin (20th of May, 1737). I spent the four first years of my life in the remotest part of the south of Ireland, under the government of an old grandfather, who reigned, or rather tyrannised, equally over his own family and the neighbouring country as if it was his family, in the same manner as I suppose his ancestors, Lords of Kerry, had done for generations since the time of Henry II., who granted to our family 100,000 acres in those remote parts in consideration of their services against the Irish, with the title of Barons of Kerry. I have seen the original grant in the possession of my father, and it must be now in my brother’s. It is a curiosity on account of its simplicity and brevity compared with grants of a later date, not being longer than a common writ of subpoena or a summons to Parliament.’

This grandfather, 21st Baron Kerry, was made Earl of Kerry in 1722. He married in 1792 Anne, the daughter of Sir William Petty, whose son was the first Earl of Shelburne. This title, having become extinct by his death without issue in 1751, was conferred on John Fitzmaurice, the fifth son of the Earl of Kerry by Anne Petty, to whom the whole of the Petty estates had been devised by his maternal uncle, on condition of his adopting the name and arms of Petty. He had already been created Viscount Fitzmaurice, the title by which *his* son, the first Marquess of Lansdowne, was known till 1761. To avoid confusion, we allude to the subject of this work throughout as Lord Shelburne.

His grandfather, he states, was the most

severe character that can be imagined, obstinate and inflexible. ‘He was a handsome man, and, luckily for me and mine, married a very ugly woman (Anne Petty), who brought into his family whatever degree of sense may have appeared in it, or whatever wealth is likely to remain in it.’ This lady, whom he describes as a perfect model of sense, prudence, and spirit, educating her children well, furnishing several houses, supporting a style of living superior to any family whatever in Ireland, and with all this improving the fortune of their house, died within a few months of his birth; so that he lost the benefit of her personal superintendence, and was left entirely to the uncontrolled tutelage of the grandfather.

‘He kept that barbarous country in strict subordination. He protected strangers and their property, and took care that the laws should be executed, and all violences repressed. He governed his own family as he did the country. In consequence his children did not love him, but dreaded him; his servants the same.’

This statement is confirmed by tradition. The Baron of Lixnaw lived in feudal state, and held a court in which he distributed rude justice and hospitality; a curious example of the paternal or patriarchal rule, without which neither life nor property would have been safe in the district he ruled over; nor was his the only territory in which the same state of things had existed for centuries. Indeed, traces of it survived till within living memory. Not fifty years since a territorial magnate of herculean proportions, when presiding at petty sessions, instead of imposing fines or periods of imprisonment for offences, was wont to quit the judgment seat, and inflict an appropriate number of lashes with a hunting whip, which (like the Roman fasces) lay on the table before him, the instrument of punishment and the emblem of authority.

Referring a little farther on to the grandfather’s love of honour, justice and truth, as a counterpoise to excess of severity, he adds, ‘that so far as he can learn both were the characteristics of the House of Lixnaw for many generations, and are distinguishable to this day in the small remains of it, although he hopes he has introduced a degree of softness into it.’ His father was forty-five when the grandfather died; and with formed habits, cramped notions and broken spirit, fell under the control of his mother; a woman of restless activity, irritable temper, fond of power, and still fonder of money. There are plausible

\* ‘Encyclopædia Britannica,’ article Education. We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity to direct the attention of our readers to the new (ninth) edition of this great work, of which the first volume has recently appeared under the editorship of Professor Baynes, of St. Andrews. A great part of it has been re-written; and so far as we have been able to examine the articles, we congratulate the Editor upon the success of his undertaking. He has secured the co-operation of many of the ablest writers in all departments of Literature, History, Philosophy and Science; and most of the subjects have been brought up to the present state of knowledge. If completed in the same manner in which it is commenced, it will be the most valuable Encyclopædia in our language. We would only suggest to the Editor that he should, in the forthcoming volumes, omit, even more rigorously than he has hitherto done, some of the old materials. We have, in a few cases, noticed some articles left from the former edition that should have been re-written.—EDITOR.

grounds for supposing that all the faults of the son's character were owing to her.\*

'Under the circumstances I have described, I had no great chance of a very liberal education; no great example before me, no information in my way, except what I might be able to acquire by my own observation or by chance; good-breeding within my own family which made part of the feudal system, but out of it nothing but those uncultivated, undisciplined manners, and that vulgarity which make all Irish society so justly odious all over Europe.'

This is a strange statement. Whatever the home-bred Irish may have been, surely the travelled Irish were even more remarkable for ease and pliancy of manner, ready adaptation to foreign habits, and facility in acquiring languages, than the English or the Scotch; and Irish society, as represented by the expatriated or exiled nobility and gentry, stood on the best possible footing at almost every European capital.

'I must, however, make one illustrious exception to all that has been said within and without my family, in the person of Lady Arabella Denny, to whose virtues, talents, temper, taste, true religion, and goodness of every kind, it is impossible for me to do sufficient justice, any more than to the unspeakable gratitude I owe her. If it was not for her I should have scarce known how to read, write, or articulate, to being able to do which I am indebted, perhaps, for the greatest part of the little reputation I have lived to gain in the House of Lords. It was to her alone I owed any alleviation of the domestic brutality and ill-usage I daily experienced at home. She was the only example I had before me of the two qualities of mind which most adorn and dignify life—amiability and independence.'

The husband of this incomparable woman was a good sort of man, uninformed and ignorant; her brother-in-law, Sir — Denny, a coward, a savage, and a fool, who set himself to make her life unhappy. Her mode of counteracting him, original and ingenious, was by playing off one of his bad qualities against the others, by using his cowardice to subdue and neutralise his brutality. She practised pistol-shooting till she had become a capital shot, and then, after a display of her dexterity, she told him that she had made up her mind to give him the benefit of it unless he mended his ways, his ill-usage having made her regardless of life. The brute was so effectually cowed that he took care never to exasperate her again.

From four to fourteen Lord Shelburne's education was irregular and desultory. He

was first sent to an ordinary school, and then placed under a private tutor, an incapable, narrow-minded man. Soon after fifteen he came to London, where he was suffered to go about and pick up what acquaintance offered, or amuse himself as he thought fit, with no restraint except in the article of money, of which, he says, he should never have had enough to answer the commonest purposes if it had not been for cousins and old aunts.

'I have dwelt on the manner in which I passed my early years, because it cost me more to unlearn the habits, manners, and principles which I then imbibed than would have served to qualify me for any rôle whatever through life. I am conscious of the force of several of them to this hour, which I have not been able to root properly out.'

At all events he had the advantage of a University education, being sent to Christ Church, where again he unluckily fell under a narrow-minded tutor, and remarks that by one or other accident it has been his fate through life to fall in with clever but unpopular connections.

'I should mention that my father, before I left London, used to carry me when he made visits, and introduced me to several old people, telling me that they might be dead when I left Oxford, and I might hereafter be glad to have it to say that I had seen them. I saw by this means Lord Chesterfield and Lord Granville, and was wonderfully struck with the difference of their manner. . . . He likewise carried me to the House of Commons, and I shall never forget the scolding he gave me for not staying to hear Lord North speak a second time, having heard him once, and disliking his manner. My father inferred from it to me that I never could be anybody. Lord North was then rising into reputation as a speaker.'

He appears to have done his best to make up for lost time at Oxford. He read with his tutor a good deal of natural law and the law of nations, some history, and part of Livy. He also translated some of the Orations of Demosthenes. He attended Blackstone's Lectures, and profited considerably by them; but complains rather unreasonably that he got little or no knowledge of the world, which is not exactly what a young man is expected to get at a University. The Dean, however (Dr. Gregory), gave him notions of people and things which were afterwards useful to him, and he 'fell into habits' with Dr. King, President of St. Mary Hall, of political and Jacobite celebrity.

'I was likewise much connected during all the time I was at college with Mr. Hamilton Boyle, afterward Earl of Cork. As to the rest, the college was very low; a proof of it is,

\* So stated in a letter from Lord Kildare to Lord Holland.

that no one who was there in my time has made much figure either as publick man or man of letters. The Duke of Portland is the only one I recollect to have his name come before the publick.'

Pausing at 1756, the year when he quitted Oxford, he suspends his personal narrative, and proceeds thus:—

'Previous however to my giving any further account of myself or of such things as may have come within my knowledge, I shall give some account of the condition of politics about the time I entered public life.

'It is common to attribute the happiness and comfort which this country enjoyed from the period of the Revolution till the commencement of the present reign, to the excellence of our constitution, to the Whigs, and to a variety of other causes, whereas I conceive the true cause to have been the existence of a Pretender with a very just right to the Throne upon all Tory and monarchical principles and all old prejudices, but without sufficient capacity to disturb the reigning family, or to accommodate himself to the new principles which have been making a slow but certain progress ever since the discovery of the press. Cardinal Wolsey, upon the first discovery of printing, told the clergy to be on their guard, for if they did not destroy the press the press would destroy them. The consequence was that, during the period alluded to, there was a King and no King. Instead of all that fine theory which Montesquieu and all the admirers of the English constitution suppose, and all the theory of action and reaction, the Hanover family never imagined they would continue, and as their only chance threw themselves into the arms of the old Whigs, abjuring the rights and the manners of Royalty, in other words, telling the people, "We are your slaves and blackamoors."

In this and another passage to the same effect his Lordship assigns to the Pretender the part which the Lord (in the Prologue of *Faust*) assigns to Mephistopheles: 'Man's activity is all too prone to slumber: he soon gets fond of unconditional repose: I am therefore glad to give him a companion, who stirs and works, and must as devil be doing.' Certainly the Pretender kept both the Court and the nation on the *qui vive*, but we fail to see how this added to the happiness and comfort of the country. These were surely owing to the development of commerce and industry under an equal administration of the laws, and in no slight degree to the peaceful policy of Walpole. The national prosperity must have been checked and impaired instead of being advanced or promoted by a divided allegiance, the frequent threat of invasion or insurrection, and the actual existence of civil war in the heart of the kingdom. To

contend that the rising of 1715–1716, or the rebellion of 1745, was a wholesome stimulant to a sluggish people would be much the same as saying that the improved cultivation of the wine, corn, and wool-producing provinces of Spain is owing to the Carlists and the revolutionary proceedings at Madrid.

As to the Hanover family throwing themselves into the arms of the Old Whigs, abjuring the rights and manners of Royalty, his Lordship has simply anticipated Mr. Disraeli's theory of the British Constitution when describing it as essentially Venetian under the two first sovereigns of the dynasty.\* But it may be shown from this very Autobiography, as well as from all other authentic sources of information, that they were more like Eastern Satraps than Venetian Doges; that, except at rare intervals, no compulsion was put upon them; and that place and power were sought by intrigue and flattery, through male or female favourites, because notoriously dependent on royal inclination and caprice.

The prolonged tenure of power by Walpole, who started as a country gentleman of moderate estate, goes far to refute the theory; and as regards the alleged dictation, we need only refer to what took place on the accession of George II., when Walpole waited on the new king to be informed who was to draw up the speech to the Council, in other words, who was to have the chief conduct of affairs. He was referred to Sir Spencer Compton, who was clearly intended for the post, had he possessed the smallest amount of qualification. He broke down at the outset, being unable to prepare the required form without Walpole's aid, and his inefficiency becoming known, things gradually fell into the old train. Still, Walpole was never strong enough to dis-

\* 'King, Lords and Commons, the Venetian Constitution,' exclaimed Sir Joseph. 'But they were phrases,' said Coningsby, 'not facts. The King was a Doge: the Cabinet the Council of Ten. Your Parliament, that you call Lords and Commons, was nothing more than the Great Council of Nobles.' 'The resemblance was complete,' said Millbank, 'and no wonder, for it was not accidental: the Venetian Constitution was intentionally copied.'—*Coningsby*. 'When the excitement of this great event (the Revolution of 1688) had a little subsided, when the rights and liberties of the nation had been secured by its Parliament, the leaders of the Whigs, including many of the most powerful and ancient families of the kingdom, commenced a favourite scheme of that party, which was to reduce the King of England to the situation of a Venetian Doge.'—'Vindication of the English Constitution in a Letter to a Noble Lord.' By Disraeli the Younger, p. 168.

pense with female or backstairs influence ; and his power, which resisted all attacks, open or underhand, whilst Queen Caroline lived, was perceptibly weakened by her death. This is stated in so many words by Lord Shelburne ; and we shall see as we proceed how utterly powerless the Whig aristocracy, split into petty factions, really were, and how at the most critical period of our annals there was more danger to be apprehended from an absolute monarchy than from a Venetian oligarchy.

Next to Walpole, the man who exercised most personal influence was the 'Great Commoner.' He, backed by the people, in times of public excitement and alarm, did dictate to both King and nobles ; and the most powerful of the Whig magnificoes (as Mr. Disraeli calls them), the Duke of Newcastle, was content to act under him. But this is no more than has happened repeatedly, and might happen again, if in any threatening conjuncture of affairs any popular statesman should be imperatively summoned to the helm.

Turning to the Continent, his Lordship remarks that in the seventeenth century France was on the whole systematically and wisely governed :

'Louis XIV. was a King in every sense of the word. He identified himself as few Kings do with the public, with whom he was one and the same. Monsieur de Montyon sent me several original letters which passed between Louis and Colbert and his other Minister, which evidently prove his great economy and that he never let go his authority—a great point. He had great qualities if not great talents. Over-devotion and religious prejudice are to be excused in an old man, and are to be attributed more to the monarchy than to the man, at least more to the combination of both than to the man alone.'

When we remember to what the over-devotion and religious prejudice of Louis XIV. led, it will be difficult to find even plausible excuses for them, and the condition to which his ambition, vanity, bigotry, and extravagance, reduced France is the best answer to all that ever was urged in praise of his system of government or economy.

'England, on the other hand, was left in great measure to nature, for the feebleness, the prejudices, and the total incapacity of the Stewarts, did not deserve to be called an administration, and only served to give the popular party time to form itself. Cromwell has never had justice done him. . . . England was never so much respected abroad, while at home, though Cromwell could not settle the Government, talents of every kind began to show themselves, which were immediately crushed or put to sleep at the restoration.'

Since this was written, Cromwell has had ample justice done him. He elevated the English name ; he planned many useful reforms ; and he encouraged literature so far as was consistent with the prevalent spirit of fanaticism, from which he himself was not exempt. He took Marvel and Milton into his service ; he pensioned Usher, although a bishop ; and he favoured his relative Waller, who repaid him in genuine poetic coin.\* But we are utterly at a loss to know what talents had begun to show themselves which were immediately crushed or put to sleep at the Restoration. Creative genius was not crushed, for 'Paradise Lost' was published in 1668. Science was not put to sleep, for the Royal Society was founded in 1663. If Dryden, Butler, Cowley, Congreve, Locke, Newton, were not encouraged, at all events they were not persecuted, oppressed, or kept under in any way.

Lord Shelburne's estimate of the 'great and good' King William is diametrically opposed to that of Lord Macaulay ; indeed, it is enough to make the brilliant historian turn in his grave.

'Nothing can be more false and absurd than the enthusiasm entertained for his character, on account of his supposed love of liberty. He saw too much of it in Holland, where, by his plans for undermining it and by his ambition, he sowed the seeds of a great deal of the confusion and corruption which put an end to the Government of that ill-used country. When Parliament sent away his Dutch Guards, he said, if he had had children or any posterity, he would not have suffered it. I cannot trace a single act of inferior regulation that we owe to him, which did not immediately gratify his ambition.'

By way of comparison, a story (too long to quote) is told of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, which confirms the worst suspicions ever entertained of his Grace's double dealing and meanness. The following is a trait worth preserving :

'Lord Bolingbroke said, when he waited on the Duke of Marlborough sometimes before he was up, he used to be found sitting in the window in a thin linen gown put on carelessly and, without seeming to attend, would hit off a point which had taken them a long time to discuss ; but the worst of it was they never heard of anything else the whole day after. The French have always denied the Duke of Marlborough's military talents, though he always beat them.'

\* Perhaps the happiest repartee on record is Waller's, when Charles II. remarked that the poet's verses on the Restoration were not so good as those addressed to Cromwell : 'We poets, sire, succeed better in fiction than in truth.'

If Lord Shelburne had lived three or four years longer, he would have seen cause to modify his statement that the French have always denied the military talents of the Duke. Napoleon was one of the Duke's most ardent admirers, and the best account of his campaigns was written and published under the imperial auspices in 1808.\*

The position assigned by Lord Shelburne to Lord Sunderland, at the accession of George the First, is higher and more important than has been commonly assigned to that nobleman :

'I have heard old people of good authority say that Lord Sunderland, who was the most intriguing man that ever existed after his father—whether he was as corrupt or quite so bad a man as his father, I cannot tell—first got the Court after the accession, and formed the leading party, consisting of the Craggs, Lord Carteret, the Stanhopes, Lord Macclesfield, and others.

'Lord Sunderland was not only the most intriguing but the most passionate man of his time. In making up one of his administrations, it was recommended to him to nominate Sir James Lowther one of his Treasury, on account of his great property. He appointed him one morning to come to Marlborough House; the morning was bad; nobody came into Lord Sunderland, who at last rang his bell to know if Sir James Lowther had been there. The servants answered that nobody had called; upon his repeating the inquiry the servants said that there was an old man, somewhat wet, sitting by the fireside in the hall, who they supposed had some petition to deliver to his Lordship. When he went out, it proved to be Sir James Lowther. Lord Sunderland desired him to be sent about his business, saying that no such mean fellow should sit at his Treasury. Henry, Lord Holland, speaking of those times, said he asked Sir Robert Walpole why he never came to an understanding with Lord Sunderland. He answered, "You little know Lord Sunderland. If I had so much as hinted at it, his temper was so violent, that he would have done his best to throw me out of the window."

In a subsequent passage he states that Lord Sunderland 'always had the Court and the Germans with him.' Lord Stanhope, on the contrary, conveys the impression that his ancestor, General (the first Earl) Stanhope, Walpole, and Lord Townshend, stood highest in the confidence of the Court, and were principally entrusted with the conduct of affairs at the commencement of the reign. That Walpole speedily gained the ascendancy is beyond a doubt;

and Horace Walpole says that this was owing to his father's abilities in the House of Commons and his knowledge of finance, 'of which Lord Sunderland and Craggs had betrayed their ignorance in countenancing the South Sea scheme, and who, though more agreeable to the King, had been forced to give way to Walpole as the only man capable of repairing that mischief.\* After pronouncing a deliberate opinion that Sir Robert Walpole was, out of sight, the ablest man of his time, Lord Shelburne proceeds—

'I ought to be partial to one of his rivals, if not his principal rival—the House of Commons apart—Lord Carteret, whose daughter I afterwards married. He was a fine person, of commanding beauty, the best Greek scholar of the age, overflowing with wit, not so much a *diseur de bons-mots*, like Lord Chesterfield, as a man of true comprehensive ready wit, which at once saw to the bottom, and whose imagination never failed him, and was joined to great natural elegance. He had a species of oratory more calculated for the Senate than the people. He was a *bon-vivant* and kept a large, plain, hospitable table. He said that such a man was a stupid man, but an admirable hearer. He said his house was the neutral port of the Finches, who carried on the conversation by each of them addressing him and never each other. He said, when all his other stories failed him, Ireland was a constant resource. During his stay there as Lord Lieutenant, there was no end of the ridicule with which it supplied him.'

Lord Carteret (afterwards Earl Granville) was past middle life and suffering from the gout when he married Lady Sophia Fermor, a celebrated beauty in her third or fourth season, upon which this epigram appeared :—

'Her beauty like the Scripture feast  
To which the invited never came;  
Deprived of the expected guest,  
Was given to the old and lame.'

Lord Shelburne married Lady Sophia Carteret, a daughter of this couple, in 1765. Lord Carteret's memory, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is honourably associated with that of Swift. Frequent and sharp as were the encounters of their wits, the noble Lord was never taken at a disadvantage. Thus, when Harding, the printer of the 'Drapier's Letters,' was thrown into prison, the Dean went to the levée, burst through the circle, and in a firm voice demanded of the Lord Lieutenant the meaning of these severities against a poor industrious tradesman, who had published two or three papers designed for the good of his country. Lord Carteret, with admirable tact, evaded the remonstrance by the apt quotation from Virgil :

\* 'Reminiscences of the Courts of George the First and Second.'

\* Histoire de Jean Churchill, Duc de Marlborough, Prince du Saint Empire, &c., &c., &c. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Impériale, 1808.' In three volumes;

'Res dura, et regni novitas, me talia cogunt Moliri.'

On another occasion, when Lord Carteret had parried, with his usual dexterity, some complaint or request of Swift, the Dean exclaimed: 'What, in God's name, do you do here? Get back to your own country, and send us our boobies again.' \*

After stating that the administration of these realms for upwards of half a century was monopolised by the Whig aristocracy, Mr. Disraeli remarks: 'George II., indeed, struggled for a time against these Venetian magnificoes; but when he found himself forced to resign his favourite minister, the brilliant Carteret, to the demands of the Pelhams and their well-organised connections, the King gave up the effort in despair.' Lord Shelburne does not confirm this statement. Speaking of the same period he says:—

'The King put himself into the hands of Lord Granville, who had full powers for a moment, but the Whigs, at the instigation of the Pelhams, signed a round-robin against him, and the King did not choose to try the experiments which his Grandson is about, nor was that time by any means ripe, I believe, for them, though Lord Granville thought otherwise.'

A round-robin is not a dignified proceeding, nor one likely to be adopted by Venetian magnificoes who treated their King or Doge like a puppet. It is true that the Sovereign, during the proscription of the Tories, was so far in the power of the Whigs, that he could not form a Ministry without them. They were like Curran's fleas, who (he said) would have pulled him out of bed, had they pulled together. But they never did pull together: neither did the Whigs. George I. and George II. had rarely the slightest difficulty in playing one faction against the other, nor, consequently, in carrying out their own personal policy or gratifying their own private inclinations. According to Lord Stanhope, it was because the Pelhams had the House of Commons at their back, and the German subsidies were in danger, that the King gave up Lord Carteret. Two of Lord Carteret's principal supporters are then described:

'The Craggs, father and son, were remarkable men. Old Mr. Craggs used to say it was as rare to meet with men perfectly wicked as to meet with men perfectly honest or perfectly able, but that he was one. Once when he was entrusted with Lord Sunderland's interests while the latter attended the King to Hanover, Walpole and his party got hold of some story very much against Lord Sunderland, which it was impossible to counteract by any common

means. Old Craggs sent to Sir Robert Walpole to see him, and acknowledged the fact, but told him if the least use was attempted to be made of it, he would that moment go before the Lord Mayor and swear that he, Walpole, had a conversation with the Pretender. Walpole said it was a gross falsehood. Craggs said that might be, but he would swear it, and accompany it with such circumstances as would make it believed, and that Walpole knew he was able and capable of it.'

Old Craggs had been footman to Lady Mary Mordaunt. As Arthur Moore, who had also worn a livery, was getting into a carriage, Craggs turned to him and said: 'Why, Arthur, I am always going to get up behind. Are not you?' Craggs was supposed to have poisoned himself under the pressure of pecuniary embarrassments brought on by the South Sea scheme.

Lord Shelburne's estimate of Pulteney agrees with the received and traditional one: 'He was by all accounts the greatest House of Commons orator that had ever appeared.' But, alas! for House of Commons oratory, if it can effect no more than was effected by this master of the art:

'Examine his long opposition, and it will be seen he never did any good nor attempted any. His great occupation was to raise the mob in order to turn out Sir Robert Walpole. He not only did no good, but he did a great deal of mischief by dint of clamour and abuse. Never was faction carried such lengths.'

The state of things, when his object was obtained, when Sir Robert was actually and definitively turned out, speaks volumes for Whig organisation or disorganisation, and shows how far any particular combination of them was from being able to dictate to the Crown: as well as how low in motive, object, and character, the vast majority of public men had sunk. Smollett tells a story of a troop of monkeys, that, under the management of an able trainer, had been taught to go through a succession of military movements with surprising precision, till one evening, in the midst of their evolutions, a spectator threw a handful of nuts amongst them, and in an instant they were scattered about the stage, clattering, screaming, biting, scratching, in hot contention for the spoil. Something of the same sort took place when the whole patronage of the Crown, the places, pensions, honours, and emoluments, were suddenly (on the fall of Walpole in 1742) flung down before the (no longer) compact opposition:—

'The town was taken. All was anarchy and confusion. Places and Pensions, as always happens, lay at the bottom of all that passed, the distribution of which requires no extraordi-

\* Scott's 'Memoirs of Swift,' sect. 6.

nary capacity, and consequently lets in everybody into consultations, where the greatest fool has as much to say as the wisest man of the party and often more. There was little or no principle anywhere, and very little real grievance to be complained of except Hanover and the German influence, which nobody, however bold in the height of opposition, cared to touch, when every man thought himself upon the eve of having something, and consequently did not care to make himself personally odious at Court. I asked Lord Bath once, why more was not done for the public, upon which he flew into a degree of passion, and said there was no comprehending or describing the confusion that prevailed; that he lost his head, and was obliged to go out of town for three or four days to keep his senses, which I, well remembering, was upon my guard when I found myself in somewhat of a similar situation in 1782.\*

'The Diary of Lord Melcombe,' he adds, 'gives not only a very just idea of the manner of carrying on the Government of England during his own time—1749–1761—but of the English Government for a long time to come, in short, till some public event alters the ordinary course of things.' Now, from one end of Lord Melcombe's Diary to another, there is not the smallest reference to a public interest, a national policy, a principle, a loyal or honourable obligation of any kind. Places and pensions were the universal objects of pursuit; and that the means justified the end was the recognised creed regarding them. The editor of the Diary has most appropriately printed by way of mottos on the title-page a sentence from the Diary: '*All for Quarter Day*,' and a sentence from Rabelais: '*Et tout pour le trippe*.'

Speaking of the national enthusiasm on the junction of Lord Granville and Pitt in 1756, Glover says: 'The *only* discontented were the King and *both* Houses of Parliament: the first grossly retaining his ancient prejudices, the two last dreading a change, which might lessen the price of corruption.\*'

Unluckily only a passing notice is taken by Lord Shelburne of contemporary customs and modes of life:

'As to the manners of that time, an old servant at Whetham, near Bowood, told me that when her master went up to Parliament, her mistress used to go up to a small farm-house within a quarter of a mile, to stay till Mr. Earnley, her master, came back, and the great house was meanwhile shut up, though no very large one now, notwithstanding that it is considerably enlarged since that time, the beginning of the reign of George II.

'Lady Shrewsbury was the first who, in Queen Anne's time, began card parties in a small house, which belonged afterwards to General Conway, and now to the Prince.

'In my time, at Devizes, when families visited each other, the men were shown upstairs to the men, the women to the women. The men immediately sat down to wine or beer, and when they had done sent to tell the women. Several of the best gentlemen, members for the county, drank nothing but beer.'

Nearly the same modes of life continued down to the end of the century. 'No man' (says Miss Berry) 'intending to stand for his county, or desirous of being popular in it, would have permitted his table at his country-house to be served with three-pronged forks, or his ale to be presented but in a tankard to which every mouth was successively to be applied. Sofas conveyed ideas of impropriety, and baths, and every extra attention to cleanliness and purity of person, were habits by no means supposed to refer to superior purity of mind or manners.\*' At a country dinner-party, the gentlemen did not rejoin the ladies till the carriages were ready to take them home, and were rarely in a condition for rejoining them. Billy Butler, the sporting vicar of Frampton, who died past eighty some forty years since, used to say that he had known three generations of Dorset clergy: the first dined at one, and drank beer; the second at three, and drank port; the third at seven, and drank claret.

The manner in which the troubled sea of politics temporarily calmed down is clearly and succinctly told:

'Sir Robert Walpole having been everything for so many years, Mr. Pulteney being nothing and Lord Granville being got rid of, a gap was left which Mr. Pelham very naturally filled for some years, long enough to tempt such talents and ambition as existed among the younger part of both houses, to look forward. He lived just long enough for the purpose, and died (in 1754) just in time to save himself the misery of fighting battles to which he was unequal, and the disgrace of retiring wounded and marked.

'Immediately upon his death three parties made their appearance, and there happened to be just as many courts.'

The three parties were the Duke of Newcastle's, and those of Pitt and Fox, *i. e.* those of which Pitt and Fox were the animating spirits respectively. The Courts were St. James's, the Duke of Cumberland's, and Leicester House, the residence of the Princess Dowager, the mother of George III.; the Prince (Frederic) having died in 1751. This

\* *Memoirs of a Celebrated Literary and Political Character*, &c. p. 68.

\* *'Comparative View of the Social Condition of England and France*, &c.

speedily became the main centre of intrigue, and on it hung not only the hopes and fears of a time-serving generation of courtiers, but the future of the British Monarchy and the fate of the free constitution of these realms. To the earnest student of history, who wishes to ascertain the precise scope and tendency of the policy formed and developed at Leicester House, Lord Shelburne's revelations will be replete with interest; but as the train was laid whilst he was in his nonage, he was obliged to rely on hearsay, and has fallen into an occasional inaccuracy. Thus, in his description of the Princess:

'It may be judged by a single authentick anecdote what an adept she was in these tricks. When he (Prince Frederick) was ill the Queen, his mother, upbraided her son in such terms that very high words were known to pass, and that they parted upon the worst terms. This did not, however, prevent her attending Her Majesty to her coach. When in full view of an immense mob she knelt in the kennel to ask Her Majesty's blessing before the coach drove away. It is said to have enraged the Queen beyond all measure.'

Walpole relates that on the notable occasion when the Prince removed the Princess from Hampton Court to St. James's Palace on the eve of her confinement and at the risk of her life, the Queen paid her daughter-in-law a visit at seven in the morning. 'The gracious Prince, so far from attempting an apology, spoke not a word to his mother; but on her retreat gave her his hand, led her into the street to her coach—still dumb! but a crowd being assembled at the gate, *he* knelt down in the dirt, and humbly kissed Her Majesty's hand. Her indignation must have shrunk into contempt.' According to Lord Hervey, it was on a subsequent occasion that the Prince enacted this scene.\*

There are few points on which so much difference of opinion exists as the nature of the connection between the Princess and Lord Bute.† Lord Chesterfield, Lord Stanhope and Mr. Massey take the charitable side; Walpole, the uncharitable; and Lord Shelburne improves upon Walpole: 'If fame says true, the Princess did not want for society, and it is supposed had more admirers than one.' She is generally allowed to have played her part before the public with admirable prudence and dexterity. So, prior to the death of George II., did Lord Bute; and considering the turn they gave to the young Prince's character, and the ascendant-

cy they acquired over him, Lord Shelburne was fully warranted in exclaiming:

'Thus was laid the foundation of a building, which has withstood every attack which the constitution and people of England could devise for thirty years, of so hard a composition as to resist the effects of the greatest misfortunes and the grossest misconduct known in any country except Spain, and not qualified, as when a breach has been made and the assailants entered, it has been but for a moment till they have been expelled again, the Earl of Bute having contrived such a lock to it as a succession of the ablest men have not been able to pick, nor has he ever let the key be so much as seen by which he has held it.'

In reference to the conduct of the Princess in 1755, however, Lord Stanhope says: 'Surrendering herself to the guidance of Bute and Doddington, her former caution and prudence appeared to forsake her. She affected to treat with contempt the King's principal ministers, while Pitt, and Pitt's followers, were most graciously received; nor did she scruple to connect herself—and, as far as she could prevail, connect her son—with opposition cabals.' This is confirmed by Lord Shelburne, who says that she met Pitt privately at Mr. George Grenville's.

The ensuing sketch of Pitt presents little absolutely new, except a few traits or touches based on personal communication with the illustrious statesman or his family. He told Lord Shelburne that, before turning him out of the army, Walpole offered him the troop in the Blues which was afterwards given to General Conway; and that, during the time he was Cornet of Horse, there was not a military book which he did not read through.

'It is remarkable that neither he nor Lord Granville could write a common letter well. Of his imagination he used to say himself that it was so strong that most things returned to him with stronger force the second time than the first. He was so attentive to forming his own taste, that he would not look at a bad print if he could avoid it, wishing not to hazard his eye for a moment.'

Wilkes termed Pitt 'the best orator and the worst letter-writer of our age.' With the same attention, probably, to the formation of his style, he confined his reading to a small number of books. His sister, Mistress Anne, said of him, that the only thing he knew perfectly was Spenser's 'Faëry Queen.'

'It was the fashion to say that Mr. Pitt was violent, impetuous, romantick, a despiser of money, intrigue, and patronage, ignorant of the characters of men, and one who disregarded consequences. Nothing could be less just than the whole of this, which may be judged by the

\* *Memoirs*, vol. ii. 409.

† We are informed that the Bute Papers, in the possession of the Earl of Harrowby, lead to the conclusion that the connection was one of pure friendship and regard.

leading features of his life, without relying on any private testimony.\*

There was nothing, it must be admitted, sentimental about his marriage, nor in the circumstances of his retirement in 1762. He could control his temper when he thought fit, and could turn its supposed violence to account, as he draped his flannels with a view to effect and converted his crutch into an oratorical figure. When the Duke of Newcastle was questioned by Lord Halifax touching a promised place in the arrangements of 1757, 'he owned he had not spoken to Pitt about it, and that his reason was, Pitt looked so much out of humour, that he durst not.'\*

Apropos of a dispute with Sir Fletcher Norton in the House of Commons, he told Lord Shelburne with some warmth that a particular expression which he had used could not be excepted against, for he had tried it on paper three times before he determined to use it. His retired habits of life were calculated, like everything else about him—

'For well had Conrad learn'd to curb the crowd,  
By arts that veil, and oft preserve, the proud.'

He told Lord Shelburne that, independently of the consideration of his health and circumstances, he should, for reasons of policy, have always lived as he did a few miles out of town.

'I never found him when I have gone to him, which was always by appointment, with so much as a book before him, but always sitting alone in a drawing-room waiting the hour of appointment, and in the country with his hat and stick in his hand.'

What adds weight to Lord Shelburne's comments on character is that they are frequently based on some acute observation of mankind: *e. g.*:—

'He (Pitt) likewise mixed into his conduct strict honour in details, which I have often observed deceived many men in great affairs, as the multitude have no great compass, and provided a man does not play false in the common intercourse of life, and is punctual in common dealing, if he be a cunning, dexterous man with loose views, he will escape detection in large views by sacrificing lesser. The Duke of Newcastle was at bottom an honest man, but he lost the reputation of one by good nature and want of resolution in conducting the common patronage of the Treasury.'

We do not understand how the Duke of Newcastle can be called an honest man, as there was no sort of meanness or duplicity to which his Grace would not resort upon occasions, and Lord Shelburne invariably

mentions him in the most depreciating terms:

'Thus the war produced a strong Council and a strong Government. The Cabinet Council' (June 1757) 'was composed of the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pitt Secretary of State, Lord Keeper Henley, Lord Hardwicke, Lord Mansfield, Lord Granville, Lord Holderness, Lord Anson, and Lord Ligonier. There were no party politics and consequently no difference of opinion. I have heard Lord Chatham say they were the most agreeable conversations he ever experienced. The Duke of Newcastle, a very good-humoured man, was abundantly content with the whole patronage being left to him, in consequence of which he enjoyed full levées, promised and broke his word, cajoled and flattered all mankind, and, like the fly upon the chariot-wheel, imagined that he carried on the Government.'

As this Administration, commonly regarded as the most glorious in our annals, is that with which the fame of Pitt is imperishably associated, it is instructive to mark what immediately after its formation was thought of the prospects of the country under it by those best qualified to judge. 'Of all political observers then in England,' says Lord Stanhope, 'there were certainly none shrewder than Horace Walpole and Lord Chesterfield.' Turning to their letters, we find Lord Chesterfield writing to Mr. Dayrolles, July 4th, 1757: 'Whoever is in, or whoever is out, I am sure we are undone, both at home and abroad: at home by our increasing debt and expenses; abroad by our ill-luck and incapacity. . . . We are no longer a nation. I never yet saw so dreadful a prospect.' In a letter to Mann, Sept. 3rd, 1757, Horace Walpole writes:—'It is time for England to slip her cables, and float away into some unknown ocean.'

The personal composition of the Cabinet of 1757 is a fertile subject for the caustic pen of the Autobiographer. His father-in-law, Lord Granville, took the lead in those conversations, which Lord Chatham found so agreeable:

'In one of the short lived administrations at the commencement of the war, Lord Granville, who had generally dined, turned round to say, "I am thinking that all over Europe they are waiting our determination and canvassing our characters. The Duke of Newcastle, they'll say, is a man of great fortune, who has spent a great deal of it in support of the present family; Fox, they'll say, is an impudent fellow who has sought his way here through the House of Commons; as for me they know me throughout Europe, they know my talents and my character, but I am thinking they will all be asking, *Qui est ce — de Chancelier?* How came he there?"'

*Ce — de Chancelier* was Lord Hard-

\* Lord Melcombe's Diary, April 6, 1757.

wicke. Of Lord Mansfield, besides much that is popularly known, we learn that, 'when he came out of Scotland, he spoke such broad Scotch that he stands entered in the University books at Oxford as born at Bath, the Vice-Chancellor mistaking Perth for Bath.' Both the national and personal imputation in the following passage will be indignantly, and with reason, repelled by our fellow-countrymen of the North:

'Like the generality of Scotch, Lord Mansfield had no regard to truth whatever. Sir Thomas Clerk, Master of the Rolls, said to Sir Eardley Wilmot, "You and I have lived long in the world, and of course have met with a great many liars, but did you ever know such a liar as Will Murray, whom we have seen capable of lying before twelve people, every one of whom he knows knows also that he lies." But the worst part of his character as a judge was what Mr. Pitt called inventing law, and no fond parent could be more attached to his offspring than he was to such inventions. He had a most indecent habit of attending the appeals against his own decrees in the House of Lords.'

We never heard before that Lord Mansfield was especially wanting in veracity. The charge of inventing law, so perseveringly repeated by Junius, was based upon the greatest of his judicial merits—upon the fact that the commercial jurisprudence of England was substantially his work. As to attending appeals against his own decrees in the House of Lords—Lord Eldon frequently sat, the sole judicial member of the appellate jurisdiction, to hear appeals against himself.

Lord Holderness, we are told, 'supported himself, as many a man has done before him and since, by his insignificance.' Lord Ligonier was 'an old woman, supported by the routine of office, and having no opinion of his own.' Lord Anson the same. He had married Lord Hardwicke's daughter, and Lord Hardwicke, 'with great deliberation and sanctity,' sacrificed Admiral Byng, to stem the public clamour, and save his son-in-law:

'Such was the Cabinet which had to carry through the war, under the direction of Mr. Pitt, who did it by the following means: first, by leaving the Duke of Newcastle the undisturbed enjoyment of the whole patronage of the Crown, the only idea he had of power; secondly, by indulging Mr. Fox's love of money, which took full possession of him as soon as Mr. Pitt had shut the door on his ambition; and, thirdly (having, by this time, secured the public confidence, and got rid of his rivals by one means or another), by applying himself to gain the Court through the surest channel, Lady Yarmouth, and determining to go every length to please the King in his ruling passion

and that of the Hanover family, viz., German measures and personal avarice. He unsaid everything with which he had made the House of Commons and the public echo in order to get into power. The King told him that confidence was a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom,\* yet, by perseverance, the success of his measures, and an assiduous cultivation of Lady Yarmouth, he made his ground so good that, if George the Second had lived longer, he would have become sole Minister, and have had the sole power.'

The great statesman, in fact, was, like Gulliver, tied down by a multiplicity of threads, and was only able to obtain the required freedom of action by compromises. Nor is he the solitary example of greatness under similar difficulties. The hero of Blenheim, hampered by Dutch commissioners and petty German princes, owed his victories, at all events the means of winning them, quite as much to his temper, tact, and conciliating manners, as to his strategy. The heaven-born orator, who was supposed to bear down everybody and everything by the thunder of his eloquence, had apparently no alternative but to sacrifice the policy which involved his own and his country's glory, or to humour, bribe, and flatter, a king, a mistress, and a ridiculous old borough-monger whom he despised.

At the same time we are disposed to regard Lord Shelburne's studied depreciation as simply one proof amongst a hundred that the real greatness of Pitt was rather felt than understood by his contemporaries. His was a character that required to be viewed as a whole, and viewed from a distance which should bring out its true proportions, instead of giving undue prominence to its inequalities. To quote the splendid eulogy of Grattan: 'The Secretary stood alone. Modern degeneracy had not reached him. No State chicanery, no narrow systems of vicious politics, no idle contest for ministerial victories, sank him to the low level of the great; but overbearing, persuasive, and impracticable, his object was England—his ambition was fame. Without dividing, he destroyed party: without corrupting, he made a venal age unanimous.' This unanimity was shortlived: the corruption went on in his despite: party revived

\* This phrase was remembered, adopted, and applied with admirable effect by Lord Chatham. 'These (the Ministry) would do me the justice to own I advised them to engage, but notwithstanding—I love to be explicit—I cannot give them my confidence. Pardon me, gentlemen (bowing to the Treasury bench), confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom: youth is the season of credulity.'—(Speech on January 14, 1766.)

and degenerated into faction; but from June, 1757, to the accession of George III., all that Grattan says was literally true of Pitt. It was no idle boast when he said: 'I know that I can save the country, and I know that no other man can.' It was no mere pretence or affectation of principle when he declared: 'I will not go to Court, if I may not bring the Constitution with me.'

At the formation of the Pitt and Newcastle Ministry, Lord Shelburne (still Lord Fitzmaurice) was in his twenty-first year:

'It became necessary for me to take some resolution for myself (1757); home detestable; no prospect of a decent allowance to go abroad, neither happiness nor quiet. The war broke out; I determined upon going into the army; luckily, my father, by the advice of Mr. Fox, placed me in the 20th Regiment, where I came under General Wolfe. The brilliancy of his conduct as an officer, his figure, his address, the circumstances of the times, his being taken up by Mr. Pitt, his victory at Quebec, his death, will give him a considerable place in history. He was handsome in his person, thin, tall, well-made, with blue eyes, which rather marked life than penetration. He asked me what allowance my father gave me, and, upon finding it did not exceed £600 a year, *he told me I must borrow, and not touch my pay, but give it among distressed officers as occasion offered.*'

Lord Shelburne could not obtain permission to accompany Wolfe on the Canadian expedition, and what he states in reference to it was probably told him by Barré:—

'Colonel Barré wrote his letter from Québec, where he was worn down by the factions and want of discipline among our own troops, promoted by General Murray and Lord Townshend, upon no plan but madness in the last and mischief and malignity in the first.'

This was the memorable letter dated 'On board The Sutherland, at anchor off Cape Rouge, September 9, 1759,' which concludes: 'I am so far recovered as to do business, but my constitution is entirely ruined, without the consolation of having done any considerable service to the State, *or without any prospect of it.*' The battle was fought on the 13th. Thus, four days before the grand event, he had neither hope, plan, nor prospect; and if the brilliant exploit on which his high reputation almost exclusively rests is to be regarded as a conception of military genius, it can hardly be justified except as the last effort of despair. No amount of courage or gallantry could have overcome the physical difficulties without a concurrence of happy accidents which it would have been the ex-

treme of rashness to count upon. But the essence of heroism is to defy all ordinary calculations of chances; and there are times when discretion is *not* the best part of valour. Lord Stanhope relates, on the authority of Mr. T. Grenville, that, at a dinner with Pitt and Lord Temple, Wolfe behaved so extravagantly as to elicit, on his leaving them, the exclamation from Pitt: 'Good God! that I should have entrusted the fate of the country *and of the Administration* to such hands.' We agree with Mr. Wright, the biographer of Wolfe, that this sounds apocryphal or exaggerated at best; but, in reference to some story of the sort, the Duke of Newcastle ran to tell George II. that Wolfe was mad. 'Is he?' said the brave old King; 'then I hope he will bite some of my generals.'

Lord Shelburne served in the expedition to Rochefort in 1757; he was present at the battle of Minden in 1759; and was engaged as a volunteer in the affair of Kloster Kampen in 1760, where he was so conspicuous by his courage that, on his return to England, he was rewarded by the rank of colonel, and made *aide de camp* to the King. Nor can it be doubted that his promotion was fairly earned, although Walpole says that it disgusted the army, and Lord Melcombe sets down that it gave great displeasure to the Newcastle Whigs, 'already indignant at the measure of bringing country Lords and considerable gentlemen about the King.' Probably the ill-feeling shown by them on this occasion had something to do with the line he took in politics, which it is otherwise difficult to reconcile with his patriotism, his military spirit, or his principles. These, we should have thought, would have led him to sympathise with Pitt, to the extent, at all events, of continuing the war till its uniform series of successes had culminated in an honourable peace. Strange to say, he places his most humble services at the disposal of Lord Bute, and makes it his principal business at the outset of his career to bring about a junction between the rising favourite and Fox: the political adventurer (for he well merits the name), who was perfectly content to fill a subordinate office under his haughty rival, so long as the secure enjoyment of its large emoluments, legal and illegal, was secured to him.

Lord Bute had lost no time in claiming or assuming the principal voice in the loyal Councils. On the next morning but one after the accession of George III. he was sworn of the Privy Council, and speedily (to use Lord Shelburne's phrase) got the wind of Mr. Pitt, who resigned on the 5th of Oc-

tober, 1761. The day after Lord Shelburne writes to Lord Bute :

‘I can see nothing for my life in Mr. Pitt’s character, which can be called a *sine quâ non*, but am astonished to find other people upon various pretences of that opinion ; no one person feared but him, and now he is out of place, everyone playing a little game for themselves, temporizing and still thinking they can come about. So that if this is not stopped, or the least given into, I conceive it may have the strongest consequences, and may make a thing of no consequence very material.’

\* \* \* \* \*

‘Your Lordship must be Minister, and he (Legge) explain the measures : Fox, Oswald, &c., support him in the House with as much vigour as possible. Mr. Fox by this measure brings no odium.’

This arrangement, it will appear, did not fall in with Fox’s views : he was not disposed to quit his retirement, except for a more definite position and a stipulated reward. The negotiation was complicated by the personal pretensions of Lord Shelburne, who in the preceding April had applied for the Comptrollership of the Household, which the King refused on the ground of some expressions used in the application. He succeeded to the peerage by the death of his father in May ; and vexed by the refusal, or under the influence of his newly acquired independence, he began to talk of retiring from public life, and devoting himself to country pursuits. Whether seriously entertained or not, this scheme of retirement was dropped ; and besides resuming the negotiations for strengthening the Bute party, he brought in Colonel Barré as his successor for Wycombe, after a contest surreptitiously promoted by Lord Melcombe, whose interference he vehemently resented, vowing never to speak to him again. They met at the Coronation and paired off together.

‘As we are to walk two and two I thought it stupid to pass so many hours together without speaking. I broke my resolution, and as he was more than ready on his part we conversed very freely during the whole day. In the warmth and openness of my temper I could not help asking him what could possibly tempt him to try and raise an opposition against me at Wycombe. He made the same answer as he did to Lord Bute, “that he conceived I was too young to trouble my head about such things.” I told him that “it was that which provoked me the most of anything, for he knew the contrary most intimately well.” “Well,” said he, “when did you ever know anybody get out of a great scrape but by a great lye.” After this it was impossible to “formaliser avec lui,” and I lived afterwards upon very familiar terms with him to the time of his death. He desired

Mansfield and me to introduce him into the House of Lords, telling every one as he went up the House that he asked one to get him into every scrape, the other to get him out. His *bons mots* were numberless, if they had been collected ; I should not be surprised if he had collected them himself, for he was a perpetual writer and collector of political anecdote.’

We do not remember a solitary *bon mot* of Lord Melcombe’s in his Diary, and the value of the anecdotes does not consist in their humour or wit. Walpole describes Barré as the bravo selected by Shelburne to run down Pitt. The bravo produced an extraordinary effect at starting. The attack is graphically described by Walpole, and a correspondent of Mr. Mitchell (quoted by Lord Stanhope) writes : ‘I shall give you a specimen of his philippics. Talking of the manner of Mr. Pitt’s speaking, he said : “There he would stand, turning up his eyes to Heaven that witnessed his perjuries, placing his hand in a solemn manner upon the table, that sacrilegious hand that had been employed in tearing out the bowels of his mother country.” Would you think that Mr. Pitt would hear this and be silent, or would you think that the House would suffer a respectable member to be so treated ? Yet so it was.’

The explanation is, that both Pitt and the House were taken by surprise, and such rant hardly called for a reply. Moreover, Barré’s known motive must have cast a shade over his *début*. He had served with distinction under Wolfe, and was at his side when he fell. Finding himself passed over in promotion, he wrote directly to Pitt : ‘The trophies I can boast only indicate how much I suffered ; my zealous and sole advocate killed, my left eye rendered useless, and the ball still in my head.’ The application was refused ; and Barré, professing to be ‘bound in the highest gratitude,’ returned to England, animated by feelings which no extent of self-delusion could have made him mistake for public spirit.

As Lord Shelburne’s opinion of Lord Bute and Fox was far from favourable, it is difficult to understand the zeal with which he pushed on the negotiation between them. ‘Do not’ (he writes to Lord Bute, October 12, 1761) ‘make me fail in being the means of uniting two persons whom I have long since endeavoured for both their interests (and am persuaded every day will show it more and more) to cement and make connected.’ The correspondence proceeds throughout on the assumption that Lord Bute (who did not formally assume the premiership till May 26, 1762) is paramount in the Royal Councils, and may move the members

of the Cabinet like so many pieces on a chessboard. But he could not get on without an organ or representative capable of defending his measures in the House of Commons. A large majority of the Members would have agreed with Ferguson of Pitfour, who said he had heard many speeches that altered his opinion, never one that had the least effect upon his vote. At the same time, for form's sake, and with a view to public opinion low and weak as it was, they required that a plausible case should be made out for a course of policy before they were required to vote for it. This was more than ever indispensable in the case of the contemplated peace, towards which Lord Bute had been quietly feeling his way since the accession. 'The style this was carried on, till such time as Lord Bute opened it to the Council, must do Lord Bute the greatest honour as a Minister.' If this, written many years afterwards, was Lord Shelburne's opinion at the time, it would go far to explain, if not quite to justify, his eagerness to engage Fox; and it should be remembered that he himself was favourable to the termination of hostilities, or to reducing the scale on which they were carried on. He spoke in this sense on February 5, 1761, and voted in a minority of 16 to 105. This, his second parliamentary effort, was pre-arranged with Fox, who writes:

'As to the mode of debating, follow your own; it never happen'd that three or four speakers ever kept to the same. And if they agreed to do so, two or three of them would speak the worse for it. You'll speak very well, and I am glad it will not be against this Ministry, and I'll come and hear you.'

Not a scrap of any of his speeches during the period covered by this volume has been preserved; and we must turn to other sources to obtain some notion of his oratory. Lord Camden (quoted by Lord Stanhope) 'considered Lord Shelburne, as a debater in the House of Lords, second to none, with the single exception of Lord Chatham.' This is obviously too high an estimate. Lord Holland (Henry Richard), in the course of a carefully drawn character in 'Memoirs of the Whig Party,' says: 'In his (Lord S.'s) public speeches he wanted method and perspicuity, and was deficient in justness of reasoning, in judgment, and in taste; but he had some imagination, some wit, great animation, and both in sarcasm and invective frequently rose to eloquence.' The impression of Bentham, who was warmly attached to Lord Shelburne, is still less favourable: 'His manner was very imposing, very dignified, and he talked his vague gen-

eralities in the House of Lords in a very emphatic way, as if something grand were at the bottom, when in fact there was nothing at all.' We suspect that the gracefully rounded periods of Murray and the splendid declamation of Pitt would have been similarly described as vague generalities with nothing at the bottom by the philosopher.

The speech of February 5th, although carefully meditated, was in one sense a mistake, as it displeased Lord Bute, whom neither Fox nor Lord Shelburne meant to weaken or counteract. 'Lord Bute' (writes Fox, February 14) 'says that Friday se'n night gave delight and strength to his enemies at Court. I do not see why it should, but it is the real opinion of many very impartial people.' On the same day Jenkinson (the first Earl of Liverpool) writes to Lord Bute: 'Lord Shelburne is a mad politician.' The matter was speedily set right by Lord Shelburne not merely refraining from pushing his views on military expenditure in the House of Lords, but employing his influence to prevent a threatened motion in the same spirit in the House of Commons. In a memorandum on these events, after stating that Lord Bute was all the time in favour of a diminution of expenditure, he remarks:

'Lord Bute alleged it to those who were of opinion against the German war as a proof of the sincerity of his intention in that respect; but as men mostly are not without two motives, and men of his character especially, one which they tell the world and at last persuade themselves is the true one, the other, which they scarce venture to own to their own minds, I should imagine one of the latter kind operated on this occasion, which weighed somewhat in the resolution of turning out the Duke, viz., that he panted for the Treasury.'

If Fox had suspected this keen analysis of motive and familiarity with the more recondite springs of action in his noble friend, it may be doubted whether he would not have been a little more upon his guard; unless, indeed, he had become utterly case-hardened, utterly insensible to delicacy or shame. On December 29, 1761, he writes:

'I thought and indeed understood from you that you would see him (Lord Bute), or you would have heard this before. Pray do see him as soon as may be. *Delay between two honest men does not help reconciliation.*

\* \* \* \* \*

'I have no desire to read any treatise upon honesty. It is native, not taught, honesty that I admire, of which, indeed, my dear Lord, there is more than you at present seem to me to think there is. A man who follows his own interest, if he makes no undue sacrifices, either private or public, to the worship of it, is not dishonest or even dirty. I wish your Lordship

whom I love and admire, would not be so free of thinking or calling them such. Whoever goes on with what I have left off—ambition—must wish for such supporters, and it would be an additional curse on that cursed trade to have a constant bad opinion of one's most useful friends and most assiduous attendants.'

Translate this into plain language and to what does it amount? 1. That delay between two men who have a common interest does not promote an understanding for their common benefit. 2. That those who make their own interest their primary object are the most desirable supporters for an ambitious man, and that to say what you think of them is to create the bad opinion you express. And then the unconscious coolness of the assumption that he had left off ambition! meaning, we presume, that he had left off all that makes ambition virtue; for he writes in the thick of an intrigue to obtain high office and a peerage. Lord Shelburne having expressed a wish for an employment in which he could act and feel as a trustee for the public, Fox treats the bare notion with scorn:—

'You'll never get it from that Trusteeship that you speak of; nor to say truth should you get it till you have got rid of such, to say no worse of them, puerile notions. I am not wiser than you, my Lord, but I am older. Don't think you have taken my advice if you get the promise without the place. It is in place that I long to see you; and *it is the place-man, not the independent Lord, that can do his country good.*'

Fox and Lord Bute were brought together at last, but not without an infinity of coquetting, and an interchange of professions, which between 'honest men,' as defined by Fox, seemed superfluous, if not ridiculous. Thus Fox thinks fitting to put on a show of diffidence. 'Can I do any good? May I not do a great deal of harm? And if the experiment fails, the King is lost; and what a King!' This was on October 10th, 1762. Two days afterwards (the 12th) he writes to Lord Shelburne:

'I will be at twelve in Audley Street (Lord Bute's), and wherever I am desired to be from this day forward. The part is taken, you shall hear no more of fears; I shall not deceive you, but nobody else shall see that I am not fond of my situation. I am quite sure I shall please my superiors; it is a chance as to others (particularly Tories) but the dye is thrown and I will stand the hazard as if I had thrown it myself.'

The day before Fox was definitively fixed (October 11th), he had an interview with the Duke of Cumberland, who proposed that Lord Bute, after receiving the highest honours at the disposal of the Crown, should

retire from the Treasury in favour of Fox, who, to the lasting displeasure of his Royal patron, refused. It was to this proposal that Lord Bute alludes in the letter to Lord Shelburne, closing with Fox: treating the proposal as one rather kindly meant to save him from responsibility:

'No, my dear Lord, if the storm thickens and danger menaces, let me stand foremost in the ranks, I claim the post of honour, and will now for the first time fling away the scabbard. Next to my little experience of business my unwillingness to punish has been no little drawback to me as Minister; I know it; I know the constructions put upon my conduct; few, very few, indeed judge of me as I am, and even my noble Friend may sometimes have imputed actions to my timidity which spring from motives of a more generous nature: but now the King's situation, the perilous condition of the country, the insolence of faction, demand a rougher rein and I have taken my part. The more I reflect on Mr. Fox's conduct at this crisis, the more I admire the noble and generous manner in which he quits retirement and security to stand with me the brunt of popular clamour, in supporting the best Princes against the most ungenerous, the most ungrateful set of men this country ever produced.'

To appreciate this chivalrous spirit of self-sacrifice in retaining the Premiership at so critical an emergency, it will be remembered that the clamour to be confronted was entirely owing to the Princess Dowager and the favourite: that the best of Princes had only to shake them off to become the most popular; and that 'the most ungrateful set of men this country ever produced, were the men (Pitt especially) who, after raising the country to the highest pitch of glory, had been driven into opposition by Lord Bute. All this time nothing could be less flattering or more unfavourable than Lord Shelburne's estimate of the men whose union he was labouring so hard to bring about, for, apparently, no personal object beyond the importance to be acquired and the obligations conferred by such services. One imputation is cast on Fox in the 'Autobiography,' which, though resting on high authority, we deem utterly incompatible with the esteem in which Fox was held by his friends, and his admitted frankness and generosity:

'It was a long time before I could learn from Mr. Pitt his opinion of Mr. Fox's private character. He then told me that he thought him the *blackest* man that ever lived; that he was a great dealer in anonymous letters to set people at variance with each other, and suggest to each such opinions as he thought convenient; that he carried it so far that, to his latter end, whenever he went about purchasing an estate,

he had recourse to such methods of undervaluing it, and deterring others from bidding for it; that he dealt much also in newspaper abuse, though he was continually complaining and crying about it.'

In conformity with the best available information when he wrote, Lord Stanhope thus describes the arrangement:—'Under these circumstances, Lord Bute pitched upon a statesman still in office, yet already well-nigh forgotten, and the survivor of his own brilliant reputation. It was decided that Mr. Fox, while retaining his post of Paymaster, and only adding to it a sinecure for life,\* should be admitted into the Cabinet, and be considered the responsible Minister of the Crown in the Lower House. His ill-health appears to have been the main obstacle to his acceptance of the Seals.'

It will presently appear that the sole obstacle to his acceptance of the Seals (of Secretary of State) was his reluctance to abandon the more profitable post of Paymaster; and there is no allusion to the sinecure in the correspondence. The King's assent to the arrangement was expressed in terms which speak more for his Majesty's sagacity than for his desire to promote public virtue or integrity. 'We must call in bad men to govern bad men,' are his recorded words to George Grenville.† Fox put the case as well as it well could be put both for himself and the King when he wrote: 'His Majesty was in great concern lest a good peace, in a good (i.e. manageable) House of Commons, should be lost, and his authority disgraced for want of a proper person to support his honest measures and keep his closet from that force with which it was so threatened. *I was that person who could do it.*' He was that person; because it could only be done by a person, however able, who was utterly unscrupulous as to means.

A man whose fondness for paradox has often caused his real sagacity and fine humour to be overlooked, the late Mr. Henry Drummond, used to say that there were only two effective modes of governing mankind; by grapeshot or French cookery, by

corruption or force. Fox fully believed, openly professed, and consistently acted on this theory. He left no art untried, no stone unturned, no weapon unemployed, to secure the needed majority in both Houses. There was no time to be lost, for Parliament was to meet within six weeks, the 25th of November, and the gathering cloud must be dissipated, the hourly swelling and closing ranks of the Opposition must be broken before that day. The King did more than approve or second the policy, he anticipated or outran the wishes, of his Ministers. The Duke of Devonshire, the 'Prince of the Whigs,' as he was termed by the Princess Dowager, suspected of adverse tendencies on the strength of his having been seen in a coach with the Duke of Newcastle, was summarily dismissed from his post of Lord Chamberlain, and the following entry figured in the Council Book:—

'At St. James, 3 November, 1762. This day His Majesty in Council called for the Council Book, and with his own hand struck the name of William, Duke of Devonshire, out of the list of Privy Councillors.'

It has hitherto been taken for granted that this marked indignity was inflicted with the concurrence, if not at the instigation, of Lord Bute, at whom the Duke was reported to have levelled a pointed sarcasm. 'The mob,' writes Lady to Lord Temple, 'have a good story of the Duke of Devonshire—that he went first to light the King, and the King followed, leaning upon Lord Bute's shoulder, upon which the Duke turned about and desired to know *which he was waiting upon.*'\* But on November 3, the day of the occurrence at the Council, Lord Bute wrote to Lord Shelburne:

'MY DEAR LORD,—In a few hours after I saw you I received a note from the King, telling me had executed his intentions concerning the Privy Councillors, and this he explain'd in a manner that shows me no man alive could have prevented it, nor would I for the world hint to Him Mr. Fox's opinion, not only as the thing is over, but as He looks on this whole affair as a personal insult to Himself. . . . The King is insulted on every side. I own I feel for Him, I know you do; I wish all who serve Him did the same; and then we should not hear these lamentations, these timid half-measures.'

The lamentations were loud and palpable enough; but it is difficult to understand what is meant by half-measures; for if an official, a courtier, a member of either House, or any one who might influence a vote, could not be reached in his own proper

\* \* Writer of the Tallies, and Clerk of the Pells in Ireland.' From the Commons Journals, November 25, 1762 (to which Lord Stanhope refers), it appears that, at the opening of the Session on that day, a new writ was moved for Fox's borough, Dunwich; he having accepted the sinecure in question. But the reversion of it had been granted to him in 1757, and he came into possession on the death of the prior holder (Lord Melcombe) in July. It could have formed no part of the bargain with Lord Bute.—(Walpole to Mann, April 7, 1757.)

† 'Grenville Papers,' vol. i. p. 452.

\* 'Grenville Papers,' vol. ii. p. 22.

person, he was made to feel or tremble through his dependents or his friends. 'Far from being satisfied (says Jesse) with dismissing Lord Lieutenants of Counties, and removing Tellers of the Exchequer and Lords of the Admiralty, Fox and his inquisitors extended their searching scrutinies and their inhumanity even to the humblest departments of the State. It was only necessary to ascertain that a clerk in a Government office owed his situation to being related to an Opposition Member of Parliament, or that a Whig Opposition Peer had obtained a messenger's place for his wife's footman, or an exciseman's situation for the son of his gamekeeper, and these unfortunate underlings were frequently sent about their business in order to provide places for the friends and relatives of the advocates of peace.' Lord Macaulay concludes a declamatory paragraph on the same topic by stating that 'the proscription extended to tide-waiters, to gaugers, to doorkeepers.' But both Mr. Jesse and Lord Macaulay are a little too broad in their generalisations, although an individual case of each class of alleged oppression might be produced, and although quite enough was done to give plausibility to the witty remark that 'Bute had turned out every one whom Whig influence had brought into office, with the exception of the King.'\*

Nor was this course pursued with a sole view to terrorism or revenge. It formed part of the system of corruption on which the Ministerial manager mainly reckoned; and not much to his credit we find Lord Shelburne writing to Lord Bute, after a skirmish on the Preliminaries (December 1), in which the Opposition divided 74 to 213: 'Before another question comes on let the 213 taste some of the plunder of the 74. Without you do somewhat of that kind, you'll find your cause want a necessary animation, and your friends want encouragement.'

The negotiation between Fox and the Duke of Newcastle for the management of the House of Commons in 1754, had fallen to the ground, because the Duke insisted not only on reserving the distribution of the secret service, but on keeping Fox completely in the dark concerning it. Widely different was the position of Fox in 1762, when, if he is not belied, it bore a striking resemblance to that of the Lord Breadalbane, in 1692, who was entrusted with 20,000*l.* to be distributed amongst the Highland Chiefs;

\* A leading member of the Reform Administration proposed and urged on the Cabinet a similar course of proceeding in 1831.

and on being required by the English Minister to account for the money, made answer: 'My Lord, the money is spent—the Highlands are quiet—and this is the only way of accounting among friends.'\* 'Leaving the grantees to their ill-humour (says Walpole) Fox directly attacked the separate members of the House of Commons; and with so little decorum on the part of either buyer or seller, that a shop was publicly opened at the Pay-office, whither the Members flocked and received the wages of their venality in bank-bills, even to so low a sum as two hundred pounds for their votes on the treaty. Twenty-five thousand pounds (as Martin, Secretary of the Treasury, afterwards owned) were issued in one morning, and in a single fortnight a vast majority was purchased to approve the Peace.'†

The Preliminaries were submitted to both Houses on the 9th December, and approved in both; in the Lords without a division, in the Commons by 319 to 65. Lord Shelburne moved the approving Address in the Lords in a speech of which not a sentence has been preserved. The great event in the Commons was the reappearance of Pitt, who, in the middle of the debate, and when he was least expected, was carried by his servants to the bar, from whence, leaning on his crutch, and supported by friends, he crawled and hobbled to his seat. He was dressed in black velvet, with his legs swathed in flannel. He spoke for three hours and a half, languidly and feebly during most of the time, but at intervals with much of his original force and fire, and the sustained nature of the effort was accepted as a substantive merit by the mob, who shouted, as he passed through them, 'Three hours and a half! three hours and a half!' Fox replied with spirit and ability; but the really convincing arguments were those already delivered at the Pay Office.

That the majority was bought, and bought for this particular purpose, is clear from the disposition of the House on other questions involving the influence of the leader or the credit of the administration. 'On the Committee of Accounts' (says Walpole) 'Elliott and Lord North had been so personal

\* Scott's 'Prose Works,' Art. 'Culloden Papers.' Lord Macaulay gives a different account of the transaction, which he connects with the Massacre of Glencoe. 'Hist.' ch. xviii.

† Lord Stanhope doubts this statement, but admits that there was no other solution of the ensuing majority in a House so adverse to Fox. Mr. Massey states that the same means were put in force to procure addresses from Municipal Corporations in favour of the peace. 'Five hundred pounds were stated to be the lowest price for an address.'—'Hist.' vol. i. p. 182.

to him (Fox) that he lost his temper; and Beckford desiring him to save appearances, he replied he never minded appearances but—he was going to say—realities, when a loud burst of laughter from the whole House interrupted him. His rage was so great, that, sitting down, he said to Onslow (son of the late Speaker) though an enemy, "Did you ever see a man so treated in my situation? but, by G—, I will have an explanation and ample submission, or I will never set my foot in this House again."

His bargain with Lord Bute through Lord Shelburne was that he should be at liberty to retire at the completion of his job; and so soon as the crisis was over, there was no wish in any quarter to retain him. He was an object of marked aversion to the Princess, who suspected him of having favoured the King's passion for his beautiful sister-in-law, Lady Sarah.

'The majority,' writes Shelburne, 'on the side of the government may be fairly said to have turned Mr. Fox's head. He thought he had performed everything he promised, and that he could not be sufficiently rewarded. He therefore, being still determined to retire at the end of the year, that is to go to the House of Lords, no longer took any trouble about the individuals or the business of the House of Commons.'

Lord Bute was no less eager to retire from the exposed and dangerously responsible position which he occupied; preferring rather to drop into the background and manage the wires. It would seem from a letter of Calcraft to Lord Shelburne (March 15th, 1763) that Lord Bute offered the First Lordship of the Treasury to Fox\* by way of reply to a series of suggestions for a reconstruction of the ministry; amongst which we find:—

'The persons I would put into great places now, and give access to His Majesty that he might observe and know them, are Lord

Gower, Lord Shelburne, and, I think, Lord Waldegrave. Your Lordship will add to these such as occur to you. These are men of honour and veracity.'

\* \* \* \* \*

'The second, Lord Shelburne, has uncommon abilities, great activity, and loves you sincerely. I need say no more to you of him than that he cannot with decency or ability remain as he now is; if he has an employment it must be a very high one, and he will fill it well.'

Fox's stipulated reward was a peerage for himself, in addition to the one already conferred on his wife. So far, all were agreed. But Lord Bute was under an impression, confirmed by Lord Shelburne, that Fox, on receiving the peerage, would resign the Pay Office, and this he positively refused, declaring that such a sacrifice formed no part of the understanding, express or implied. Hence the curious episode entitled 'The Pious Fraud,' to which Lord E. Fitzmaurice has devoted a chapter; rightly judging that his ancestor's reputation for candour and straightforwardness is most materially involved in it. The current versions of the story (to which we recently drew attention\*) are conflicting. Lord Russell's, adopted by the Princess Marie Liechtenstein, runs thus: 'He (Fox) stipulated for a peerage with the rank of Earl as the reward of his success. A barony was given him, but the earldom was withheld. When Lord Bute, being reproached by Mr. Fox with this breach of faith, said, "It was only a pious fraud," Lord Holland quickly replied, "I perceive the fraud, my Lord, but not the piety." Lord Shelburne is not mentioned; and Lord Bute is made to apply the term 'pious fraud' to his own admitted evasion of a pledge.

Walpole's version is more plausible: 'Shelburne had told the Earl that Fox would quit the Pay Office for a peerage: but Fox had only stipulated to give his support for that reward. He now broke out against his scholar, reproached him for concealing Lord Bute's intention of retiring, and spoke of Shelburne to every one as a *perfidious and infamous liar*! These were his usual words. The probability was that Shelburne intended to slip into the Pay Office himself.' . . . 'The favourite, who would have declared Fox his successor, excused Lord Shelburne to him, and in his pedantic style, called the secrecy he had observed a pious fraud; Fox, he said, he knew would not have engaged in the management of the Parliament, had he been

\* Referring to a letter from Lord Bute to the Duke of Bedford, dated April 2, 1763, Lord Stanhope thinks, 'it appears certain, as other circumstances always seemed to me to prove,' that neither Pitt nor Fox was at this period offered the lead of affairs before it devolved upon George Grenville. Lord Bute writes to the Duke: 'I have often talked with His Majesty on the subject of a new Administration, and he is come to the final resolution of putting the Treasury into Mr. Grenville's hands, as the only person in the House of Commons in whom he can confide so great a trust: Mr. Fox having taken the King's word when he first entered in the management of his affairs that, the peace made, he might be permitted to go to the House of Lords.' ('Bedford Correspondence.') This does not appear to us to negative the alleged offer to Fox.

\* 'Quarterly Review' for Oct. 1878. Art. 'Holland House.'

apprised that he (Bute) intended to retire.’

Lord Bute’s positive intention to retire (suddenly announced, April 7th) was as much a surprise to Lord Shelburne as to Fox; and Fox has placed the real ground of complaint beyond a doubt. On the very 7th of April he writes to Calcraft:

‘As every mortification I meet with, and they are many, is the consequence of Lord Shelburne’s conduct, I believe it were better we should have no conversation together on the matter. I do not mean that he intended what has happened, it may be quite the contrary, but nothing disagreeable could have happened had I been trusted with my own affair. He ought to know what I take ill. That he should for months together know that the Minister and the King imagined I intended to resign and never tell me that they thought so, was not fair, and has been fatal, unless to a man determined to leave the world it may be some advantage to be quite sick of it.’

Lord Stanhope, after correctly stating the point of difference between Lord Bute and Fox, proceeds, ‘Both parties now appealed to Lord Shelburne, who, much embarrassed, was obliged to own that he had in some degree extenuated or exaggerated the terms to each, from his anxiety to secure at all events the support of Fox, which he thought at that period essential to the Government. These misrepresentations Lord Bute, now forgiving, called a pious fraud.\* We are not aware on what authority Lord Stanhope describes Lord Shelburne as ‘much embarrassed,’ or owning that he had extenuated or exaggerated the terms; but it is clear from the correspondence in this ‘Life’ that he had no cause for embarrassment, having been a faithful and accurate interpreter of Fox’s precise intentions at the time. On October 18th, 1762, Fox writes to his friend Nicholl, who held a subordinate situation in the Pay Office, to think of the arrangements that would be required in the contemplated case of his leaving it; and in a subsequent letter, to the same gentleman, his subsequent change of purpose is placed beyond dispute. Calcraft confirmed Lord Shelburne; who, March 22, 1763, writes to Lord Bute:

‘Calcraft is as much vexed as I am, and thinks it depends a great deal on your representing to him (Fox) with firmness, how unreasonable it is for him to expect to go to the House of Lords, and to go abroad with a great

place, and 10,000*l.* a year for himself, his brother, and Lord Digby, and that that will not fail to change matters, whatever appearance they make at present.’

This passage has been cited as referring to the Irish sinecure, which was only 1600*l.* a year, Irish currency.\* This was not a great place; and had it been so considered, Fox, retaining the Pay Office, would have been accused of expecting to go to the House of Lords and to go abroad with two great places.

Another of Fox’s intimates was equally strong against him. Stopping Rigby’s carriage in St. James’s Street, and leaning on the door, Fox was proceeding to expatiate on his grievance, when Rigby pushed him aside, and told the coachman to drive on, saying, ‘You tell *your* story of Shelburne; *he* has a damned one to tell of you: I do not trouble myself which is the truth.’

Fox persisted, and carried his point. He was made a peer, and allowed to retain the Pay Office till the Grenville ministry turned him out in 1765. But he never forgave Lord Shelburne, and never let off complaining that he had been betrayed.

The question is ably treated in all its bearings by Lord E. Fitzmaurice, and his refutation of Fox’s charge of dissimulation or duplicity is satisfactory on the whole; but it has come too late if, as he suggests, the traditional impression of his ancestor’s Jesuitry originated with and mainly rests upon that charge. No imputation sticks like one associated with a popular anecdote, and there are two popular anecdotes embodying the general belief in Lord Shelburne’s insincerity. The one is Goldsmith’s naive remark: ‘Do you know, my Lord, I never could conceive the reason why they call you Malagrida, *for* Malagrida was a good sort of man.’ Lord Shelburne had been nicknamed Malagrida, after a Portuguese Jesuit. The other is the story of Gainsborough flinging down his pencil in despair, after a second failure to hit off a likeness of his Lordship, and exclaiming: ‘D— it, I never could see through varnish, and there’s an end.’ In the ‘*Rolliad*,’ again, when he is supposed to speak in character:—

‘A noble Duke affirms, I like his plan,  
I never did my Lords! I never can!  
Plain words, thank Heaven, are always understood,  
I *could* support, I said, but not I *would*.’

Lord Stanhope suggests that one cause (perhaps the only one) of this general imputation on his sincerity was the overstrained

\* ‘Hist.’ ch. 41. Lord Stanhope, after referring to Walpole in a note, adds that some clearer and fuller details (including Fox’s exclamation) were given in conversation by Fox’s grandson, the late (the third) Lord Holland.

\* Thom’s ‘Tracts and Treatises,’ vol. ii. 241.

politeness of his address; the complimentary style having never proved successful in this country, where we are apt to pride ourselves, right or wrong, on our honesty of purpose and plainness of speech. The Duke of Marlborough, who was said to gain hearts as readily as towns, writes to the Duchess: 'You know I am not good at compliments;' and the courtly Chesterfield would fain have made his son a proficient in the less obvious kind of flattery:—

'That flattery which attracts the proud,  
Rather by deference than compliment,  
And wins even by a delicate dissent.'

In one of Madame du Deffand's letters, written when she was blind and eighty-two, she says: 'Lord Shelburne has flattered me extremely: he assures me that he shall come again next year, singly and solely for the pleasure of seeing me.'

According to Lord E. Fitzmaurice, the quarrel between Lord Shelburne and Lord Holland was destined to have more important ulterior consequences than either of them could have foreseen. Charles Fox was taught to believe that the man who had betrayed his father was never to be trusted again; and this feeling of repulsion largely contributed to bring about the junction of Lord Shelburne and the younger Pitt in 1782. But the third Lord Holland says in his *Memoirs of the Whig party*: 'I was diverted at observing that Lord Lansdowne throughout attributed the backwardness of the Whigs to advances made by him in 1792) to Mr. Fox's jealousy of him, whereas Mr. Fox was of the whole party, with the exception of Mr. Grey, the least disinclined to him, and the others had not only a distrust, but an unwarrantable hatred of his very name.' The quarrel was clearly the cause of his immediately drawing closer to Lord Chatham.

That Lord Bute's confidence in his young coadjutor was confirmed, instead of being shaken, is shown by his continuing to employ Lord Shelburne as a negotiator in the formation of the new Government, and proposing him for Secretary of State to the Premier elect, George Grenville, who objects his youth, his inexperience, and the envy and jealousy of the old Peers:

'Were Lord Shelburne (writes Grenville) the dearest friend I had in the world, I do protest I would advise him for his own sake to decline for the present the high office of Secretary of State, and to accustom the public by degrees to see him acting in business in some office lower than what is now proposed. In such a situation he might ripen for the seals, so as to take them whenever His Majesty shall be disposed to give them, without that offence

which such a sudden and unprecedented elevation I think must occasion.'

He does not, he adds, pretend to put a negative on those whom the King should approve, nor presume to suggest who is the most proper for the office:—

'If your Lordship had allowed me to consult with some of those who must bear the greatest share in it, I should then have either verified my opinions or, from being convinced, should have changed them. *But since I am not at liberty to do this*, I must entreat you, in the meantime, to inform yourself how this will be received by the principal persons you mean to confide in, and to ask the cool opinion of neutral and indifferent people.'

Lord Bute, omnipotent as he must have been when his nominee writes to him in this fashion, did not press the point; and Lord Shelburne, after twice refusing the Presidency of the Board of Trade, ended by accepting it, and (April 7th) writes to his noble patron: 'As to myself, be assured there will not be a more good-humoured and less complaining member of the Cabinet, and very decided.' In less than three months he had managed to come to more than one decided difference with the Secretaries of State, and, towards the end of June, 1763, he was with difficulty dissuaded from resigning by Lord Bute. In the summer and autumn of that year he is again busy as a negotiator, with the view of reforming or strengthening the Ministry, which had become contemptible to the country as well as distasteful to the King. Grenville, formal and long-winded, bored his Royal master to extinction; and Lord Chesterfield writes: 'there is not a man of the Court side in the House of Commons who has either abilities or words enough to call a coach.' But the negotiations proved abortive; neither the Duke of Bedford nor Pitt could be brought to terms, and the nation was left to what Pitt termed a 'rash and odious Ministry' at a moment when a prudent and popular one might have prevented the dismemberment of the empire, and saved the constitution from a strain which shook it to and fro like a rocking stone. It was the Grenville Ministry that passed the Stamp Act; and one of its earliest measures was the issue (April 24, 1763) of the general warrant against Wilkes:—

'By November (1763) (writes Lord E. Fitzmaurice) the Court had finally resolved to plunge into that obstinate career of unconstitutional and illegal persecution, which ended by shaking the throne itself and immortalising a worthless man. The House of Commons was full of converted Jacobites and soldiers,

whilst the House of Lords, undoubtedly the most liberal assembly of the two during the first half of the century, was rapidly losing that character.'

All historians are agreed that a scheme for making the Royal authority predominant and supreme, had been formed at the accession. The uniform tone of the King, the Princess Dowager, and the favourite, leave no doubt upon the point. When the parliamentary approval of the Peace, carried, as we have seen, by bribery and intimidation, was announced at St. James's: 'Now,' exclaimed the Princess, 'my son is King of England.' He was very near becoming so in her sense of the word. Blackstone has called attention to the prophecy of Montesquieu, 'that, as Rome, Sparta, and Carthage have lost their liberty and perished, so the constitution of England will in time lose its liberty, will perish; it will perish whenever the legislative power shall become more corrupt than the executive.' If this be so, it must have been tottering to its fall when the most arbitrary proceedings of the executive were not only approved by both branches of the Legislature, but exceeded or outrun by the representative branch, notoriously under corrupt influences. 'To enter a man's house,' exclaimed Lord Camden, 'by virtue of a nameless warrant, in order to procure evidence, is worse than the Spanish Inquisition; a law under which no Englishman would wish to live an hour.' No less incompatible with free institutions was the power arrogated by the House of Commons to condemn without trial, and create disqualifications by a vote.

Wilkes' services in 'the cause for which Hampden died on the field and Sydney on the scaffold,' have been unduly depreciated on the score of his private life and character, especially by those who would fain secure a monopoly of public virtue to the Whigs. Earl Russell does not scruple to designate him as 'a profligate spendthrift, without opinions or principles, religious or political; whose impudence far exceeded his talents, and who always meant licence when he cried liberty.' But he had personal, civil and moral or (if Earl Russell prefers it) immoral courage of the highest order; and we have heard a statesman of equal eminence maintain that he did quite as much as Hampden for that cause. Pursue the parallel, and this ceases to sound paradoxical. If Hampden had quailed or failed, there were others prepared to take his place: Wilkes stood alone. The national spirit was thoroughly alive when Hampden refused to pay shipmoney: that spirit was

crushed out, sleeping, or dead when Wilkes began his almost desperate struggle for what we are pleased to call our inalienable rights. Above all, the evil councillors of Charles I. were compelled to shake off the controlling presence of Parliament by way of preparation for their work; the evil councillors of George III. found in both Houses the readiest and most effective instruments of high-handed oppression and arbitrary power.

'The triplet union of Crown, Lords, and Commons against England displays itself with a violence and a candour which statesmen in other conspiracies seldom have adopted.' . . . 'What was an Englishman now to hope for? He must turn from King, Lords, and Commons, and look up to God and himself if he means to be free.\*

\* Junius. Wilkes, although a profligate, had warm sympathies, high spirit, classical knowledge and taste, polished 'pleasantry, and wit. This may be collected from his private letters, one of which, hitherto unpublished, may be taken as a specimen. It is addressed to M. Suard of literary note. The autograph is in the possession of Lord Carlingford :

*'Calais, Monday, October 27, 1766.*

'I have just finished, my dear friend, a short prayer to Eolus for a propitious passage to my native island, and am now going to embark with a very favourable wind. The Prince of the powers of the air you see is not suffered to prevail against such piety as mine, and the very winds seem Whiggish, and of our faction. I may say too, *et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.*

'Should I own it? I dare to you,—I have no joy in the near prospect of being in my capital. My friends there are ten times more impatient to have me, than I am to return to such a scene, when I have known so much better. My die, however, is cast, and I am to stand the hazard of it. If I find that I command my fates, instead of being led by them, I shall quit the politics of the day, and return the first week in November to Paris, to you, to pleasure. I am already growing grave. I sent the English coast. I have the spleen. I am every hour going farther from my daughter, and drawing nearer to my wife. I cannot bear the thought. It makes me more sick than the rolling of the packet-boat can do. The captain of it tells me that my acquaintance, Ayscough of our Guards, offered him ten guineas to put back to Calais when he had about a league from hence—the sea ran so high—yet he was under orders to return immediately. If ever I am Minister in England, Ayscough shall never command a single regiment against you. Pray remember this. I remember Byng would not take a country house near Finchley, because he must sometimes traverse a common, where now and then robberies were committed. An English admiral afraid of being robbed! I declared he was a coward, and from this circumstance, before he was sent into the Mediterranean. I am more convinced of it from this, than the folio trial: so artful in his defence, so perplexed to a landsman. I am a very Plutarch.

'If my dear Monsieur Suard does not tell me

Lord Shelburne had just (April 20th) become a member of the Cabinet when Lord Halifax issued the famous warrant; but the heads of departments then acted independently of one another, and it was the mode of executing the warrant, combined with Wilkes' spirited resistance, that roused the people from their lethargy, and taught scheming politicians that something more than a place or pension was at stake. On the 18th of November, 1763, Pitt requested an interview with Lord Shelburne, which lasted three hours. The result speedily followed. On the 24th, when the House of Commons resolved that the privilege of Parliament does not extend to seditious libels, Lord Shelburne's three members voted in the minority against the government; and when the same resolution was discussed in the House of Lords, he voted against it. Although no longer in office, he was still one of the royal aides-de-camp; and on Grenville reminding the King of the fact, and asking if he was to be continued, the King paused a moment and then said: 'No, I will remove him; he has acted like a worthless man, and has broke his word with me.' This imputation, repeated by the King and echoed by the King's friends, although utterly groundless, may have helped to give currency to the charge of insincerity originating with Fox.

For more than a year after these events, Lord Shelburne lived in comparative retirement. 'Whilst his enemies at Court were blackening his character, he was buying MSS., entertaining his friends, making a lake at Bowood, and restoring order on his estates.' During occasional visits to London, he cultivated the society of men of letters, became the centre of what Walpole calls 'the little knot of young orators,' and made the acquaintance of Johnson, Goldsmith, and Reynolds. 'By a curious coincidence (remarks Lord E. Fitzmaurice) the Stamp Act was passing through Parliament at the time that the statesman, whose whole career was to be influenced by it, was being married.' The marriage, which took place in February, 1765, did not detain him long from the political stage, nor prevent him from taking a prominent share in the opposition to the Stamp Act. He divided with four Peers (Camden, Cornwallis, Paulet, and

Torrington) against the Declaratory Resolutions. 'With these five,' says Bancroft, the American historian, 'stood the invisible genius of popular reform.' Lord Shelburne steadily refused to join the Rockingham Ministry, partly (it is suggested) out of a rooted dislike to act with Lord George Sackville, but mainly (we believe) from a determination to throw in his fortunes with Pitt, through whom (July, 1766) he received the long coveted appointment of Secretary of State, notwithstanding the strongly expressed dislike of the King.

The Duc de Choiseul, writing from Compiègne to Guernsey in London, after expressing his surprise at Pitt's acceptance of a peerage and suggesting some changes in the arrangements, proceeds: 'Then the English Ministry will have a certain consistence; otherwise, what with the opposition of Lord Temple, the ineptitude of General Conway, the youth and possibly the giddiness (*étourderie*) of Lord Shelburne although governed by Pitt, it will not be much stronger than the preceding one. Lord Chatham has undertaken too heavy a charge in being the Governor of all the world and the Protector of everybody.'

Here, for the present, we leave Lord Shelburne, under the chief of his predilection and in the office of his choice:

'I hope (says Lord E. Fitzmaurice) in another volume to give an account of the political life of Lord Shelburne in office and in opposition, to explain how it was that Mr. Pitt in 1788 did not have Lord Shelburne for his colleague, to give some new details as to the condition of the Whig party during the French Revolution, to draw a picture of the society of which Bowood was the centre during the latter part of the century, and to describe the connection of Priestley, Price, and Bentham, with Lord Shelburne.'

This is a tempting programme; and entertaining no doubt of its being faithfully and ably carried out, we anticipate, in the completed work, a most valuable and interesting contribution to our political, literary and social annals. But we hardly think that the noble and accomplished author will succeed in obtaining for his ancestor a much higher place in the temple of Fame than he has traditionally occupied, or will realise that beau idéal of the farseeing philosophic statesman with which the glowing fancy of 'Young England' was impressed.

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everything which can give him pleasure from England, I shall never forgive him. You do not yet know me enough, or you would not refuse me that satisfaction.

'I beg my best respects to Madame Suard, I desire she would do one thing more for you, that she would make you pulchrâ prole parentem.'

- ART. IV.—1. *The Reports of the Commissioner of Education*, Washington. Government Printing Office. For the Years 1868–1873. 6 vols.
2. *The American Journal of Education*. Published Quarterly. Edited by Henry Barnard, LL.D. 1856–1872. 21 vols. Hartford, Connecticut.
3. *History of the Common-School System of the State of New York. From its Origin in 1795*. By S. S. Randall, Superintendent of Public Schools in New York. New York and Chicago. 1871.
4. *Public Education in the City of New York: its History, Condition and Statistics. An Official Report to the Board of Education*. By Thomas Boese, Clerk of the Board. New York, 1869.
5. *Thirty-First Annual Report of the Board of Public Instruction of the City and County of New York*. New York, 1873.
6. *Manual of Discipline and Instruction for Primary and Grammar Schools of the City of New York*. New York, 1873.
7. *Nineteenth Annual Report of the State Commissioner of Common Schools to the General Assembly of the State of Ohio*. For the year 1872 (ending August 31). Columbus, Ohio.
8. *Annual Report (Forty-first) and Handbook of the Common Schools of Cincinnati*. For 1870–71. Cincinnati.
9. *Annual Report (Forty-fourth), &c., of Cincinnati*. For 1873–74. Cincinnati.
10. *Seventh Annual Report of Public Schools of the State of Missouri*. Jefferson City, 1873.
11. *Rules of the School Committee and Regulations of the Public Schools of the City of Boston*. 1872. Boston, 1872.
12. *Twelfth Annual Report of the Vermont Board of Education. With the Report of the Secretary*. Made September, 1868. Burlington, 1868.
13. *Thirteenth Report of the Vermont Board, &c.* 1869.
14. *Report of the New Haven City School District Board of Education*. Made September, 1872. New Haven, 1872.
15. *The Charities of New York, Brooklyn, and Staten Island*. By Henry J. Campman and Hugh N. Camp. New York, 1868.

AMERICAN and English people have, in good part, community of race; there is also a strong resemblance, speaking generally, in their temper and characteristics as nations; and they may be fairly said to have a common literature. But in some

other respects, and in respects not less important, the conditions under which the two nations respectively have come to be what they are, have been and are so strongly in contrast as to invalidate all inferences which proceed on the assumption of a general analogy, in regard to social or educational questions, between the United States and our own country. Ignorance or forgetfulness of this has led to very wide-spread misunderstanding in both countries in regard both to matters of fact and to points of theory.

The material prosperity of the people in the United States opposes great difficulties in the way of the systematic or thorough education of the people. There is no class in the States, except the coloured people and the Chinese, that takes naturally or congenially to service. Certain classes of the Irish of recent importation act as servants in the Eastern cities. But in the second generation this is at an end. In the middle and Western regions, and on the farms generally, domestic servants are almost unknown, and hired 'helps' are very few and very far to seek. Hence it results that the whole family, from a very early age, have to work on the farm. The labour of the lads on the land, of the girls in the house—often, indeed, also on the land, or in the farmyard—is too precious during the greater part of the year to be spared. As respects vast territories, this is the case of the whole population. Under such circumstances school-attendance is scarcely possible for most of the elder children, except when farm-work is suspended. That is to say, they can only go to school—especially the boys—in winter. The school-term is often but four months in the year; or, if there are two terms, the summer school is for the younger children, under a summer mistress, and the winter term is for the elder children, under a superior female teacher or under a master; the two schools being quite distinct. Of course, under such circumstances the school cannot enjoy the services of a trained teacher. The teacher, throughout the States, except in a few of the largest cities, is paid by the month, and engaged by the term. A female teacher is paid on an average about thirty dollars a month, a male teacher about forty-five dollars. This could never remunerate trained teachers in a country where wages are so high, and where living is so dear as in the States.\* As a matter of

\* In frugal and agricultural Maine, a State in which economy in matters of public education appears to be carried, not seldom, to the length

fact, we have it on the authority of the Federal Commissioner of Education that only three per cent. of the public school teachers in the States are trained.\* The country teacher is, commonly enough, a farmer's daughter of the neighbourhood, considered to be a smart scholar, who takes the school during the term. If the teacher is a man, not seldom he is still—as in the young days of Daniel Webster, who was himself such a school-teacher—a college-student, who supports himself at college during one or two terms by what he is enabled to save from his teacher's stipend during the rest of the year; or he may be a minister who has not yet found a charge. It is still the custom in many parts of the Union—in some parts even of New England—for the school-teacher to board, month by month about, with the farmers of the neighbourhood.

It is difficult to ascertain with accuracy how many Normal Colleges, correctly so called, there are in the States, and impossible to arrive at any estimate as to the number of teachers in training in such colleges. Normal Colleges in cities are commonly, as in New York, High Female Schools, with a Teacher-Training Department, but a small proportion of the students generally have any thought of becoming teachers. Besides which, many of the college-students in training as teachers in different parts of the Union only remain at the Normal College for ten or twelve weeks—one short term—while comparatively few are under training for more than six months.

of a public vice, the average payment of the female teacher is, or was, according to the last returns that have reached this country, \$14.4. In Rhode Island, partly a manufacturing State, the average is \$39.72; in Massachusetts, it rises no higher than \$32.39; in Connecticut, it is nearly the same—\$32.69; in Maryland, it is \$45.83; in golden California, it rises to \$60.69; in Iowa, it is \$29.32; in Michigan, 26.75; in Minnesota, \$24.57; in pleasant and careful New Hampshire, one of the old New England States, it is only \$24.33; in central and prosperous Ohio, it is \$29; in North Carolina, it is \$20. The average payment of a male teacher in the same States is as follows:—Maine, \$33.17; Rhode Island, \$39.72, the same as for female teachers; Massachusetts, \$35.09; Connecticut, \$66.56; Maryland, \$45.83, the same as for female teachers; California, 74.58; Iowa, \$30.04; Michigan, \$49.25; Minnesota, \$37.39; New Hampshire, \$37.56; Ohio, \$42; North Carolina, \$25 ('Commissioner's Report, 1872,' pp. 608-9). The averages are not given for New York. The exchange value of the American dollar is about 3s. 8d.; but its purchasing power can hardly be more than 3s. in England, and is probably not so much, except in the remotest parts of the country.

\* 'Commissioner's Report' (1872), p. xxix.

We know, in general, that in proportion to the number of schools and teachers, the Normal College provision in the States for training teachers is but a minute fraction of what is provided in this country. In all but ten of the thirty-three States, however, there is at least one Normal College, and in most of the leading cities of the Union there is a City Normal College—such as has just been described. In these institutions the students are not lodged or boarded; or, if some of them are, it is at their own expense.\*

In default of regular training, the teachers of the States commonly form themselves into Teachers' Institutes, which provide for frequent periodical branch meetings and for aggregate meetings once in the school term, in order that the teachers may compare notes, discuss methods, and hear lectures. These Institutes are, no doubt, very useful aids to earnest teachers.

The following quotation will illustrate the statements which have just been made. It is taken from the 'Nineteenth Annual Report of the State Commissioner of Common Schools, to the General Assembly of Ohio, for the School-year ending August 31st, 1872.' It will be noted that these passages suggest an apology, perhaps it should be said they furnish the reasons, for the very scanty provision of Normal Colleges in the United States, and, in particular, for the backwardness of the great State of Ohio, where, as yet, there is no Normal College:—

'Nearly one-third of our teachers leave the profession each year to engage in other employments. Of the many thousands required to supply our schools, a few hundreds only intend to become professional teachers. The expediency of establishing special Training Schools of high grade with complete exhaustive courses of study, for the large non-professional class, may be questioned. It will be difficult to convince the tax-paying population of any State, that a scheme providing for the thorough professional training of even one-fourth of this class, is either practicable or advisable. It will be equally difficult to demonstrate to them that the value of the product is greater than the cost of the production. They demand less expensive agencies than these and it is the duty of statesmen to ascertain, if possible, what they are, and whether they cannot be successfully employed.

'The class of professional teachers in our country will long be comparatively small. The substantial prizes to be won are few. Teaching, therefore, in the near future, as in

\* The names of the ten defaulting States are Ohio, Delaware, Kentucky, Oregon, Iowa, Virginia, South Carolina, Arkansas, Alabama, and Louisiana.

the past, will in most cases be a temporary calling engaged in by young men while "getting under way;" and by young ladies unable to find some other more attractive or more remunerative employment.'

A striking illustration of the actual state of things in the United States, as respects school-terms and school-attendance, has been afforded by the legislation of New York State during the past year. The first legislative attempt in the State of New York to carry out 'compulsory education' was passed into law on the 11th of last May. The provisions of the act are remarkable, and to an English reader very instructive and suggestive. They may be commended to the particular attention of Mr. John Morley and others, who have set up the United States as an example to England in the matter of public elementary education. The following is the first section of the Act:—

'The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows: Section 1. All parents, and those who have the care of children, shall instruct them, or cause them to be instructed, in spelling, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, and arithmetic. And every parent, guardian, or other person having control or charge of any child between the ages of eight and fourteen years, shall cause such child to attend *some public or private day-school, at least fourteen weeks in each year, eight weeks at least of which attendance shall be consecutive, or to be instructed regularly at home at least fourteen weeks in each year*, in spelling, reading, &c., unless the physical or mental condition of such child is such as to render such instruction inexpedient or impracticable.'

The second section proceeds to enact that no child under fourteen shall be employed in labour or business during the school-hours of any school-day of any public school in the school-district, or the city where such child is, unless the child shall be certified by the school-teacher, or by a public school trustee, to have attended, during the fifty-two weeks preceding, a public or private school, or to have been regularly instructed at home, for at least fourteen weeks.

The text of the Act is given in the 'New York Christian Advocate' for last May 28th. Such a measure as this would be of no value in this country. But it is the only sort of enactment that could have any suitableness or force in the State of New York. Even so much could not be secured in the great majority of States. In some of the New England States, where manufacturing towns are frequent, and where population is comparatively dense, compulsory laws have been

enacted, and to some extent put in force.\* But New York State has set the example as regards the larger States of the Union; and by educationists in that State, feeble and inadequate as the law may appear to us, the recent enactment is boasted of as an important step in advance.

It has been referred to here, however, as an apt illustration of that signal difference between English and American social conditions which makes it impossible for the great majority of the people in the United States, even though they may be well-to-do persons, and many of them independent freeholders, to spare their children from work to go to school regularly through the year.

There is one provision which we have quoted from the Act that should not be overlooked; it is that which requires that at least eight of the fourteen weeks of instruction must have been consecutive. This points to the probability that in certain cases the parent or employer would prefer to send the child to school at two different seasons—two months, perhaps, in the winter, and six weeks during the summer term, where there are two school terms in the year.

When the best is made of the matter, however, the flaws and the weakness of this Act are very evident. Who is to guarantee the regularity or the quality of the home instruction? and what sort of a total education must that be for any child which is given by an untrained, by an amateur teacher (such must generally be the case), in snatches of three or four months once a-year, or of six or eight weeks, twice in the year? Such compulsory education as that of New

\* *E. g.* Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. But direct compulsion in the United States assumes a totally different form from what is found in any other country, and such as would by no means agree, either with the ideas or the needs of this country. The truant officer is a kind of educational policeman, and is not an officer of the School Board, but of the State. He is appointed to deal directly with the boy as an offender against the State law, being neither at school nor at work. The offender is sent, on the sentence of a magistrate, to a penal school, sometimes called a truant school, sometimes a house of industry, or a place of detention, sometimes a reformatory school. The parent is not proceeded against, and no account is taken of mere irregularity of school attendance as such. The boy is found idle—neither at school nor at work—that is his offence. Of course very young boys are not thus dealt with; but very young boys in the States it is not as yet thought to be of much importance to send to school. Truant officers are hardly known anywhere out of the New England States, and are only to be found here and there in New England.

York State would be counted almost worthless in this country.

And yet there can be no doubt that the great American people, as a whole, are an intelligent and reading people. The Americans are a middle-class nation, who have for the most part had little school-teaching, but whose intelligence has to the very utmost been stimulated and developed by circumstances. They are born into a world of active, eager, restless enterprise, and of universally diffused individual responsibility—commercial, social, political;—where the ready change of general information is in continual circulation; where knowledge and quick faculty pay a thousandfold, and pay at once; where there is every incentive to enterprise, every opportunity for talent; where the cheap newspaper has for some generations been in every man's hand; where the best literature of England is the cheapest book-reading to buy, and the easiest to get; where no dead-weight of hereditary pauperism has for ages dragged down the general standard of intelligence, and held back the development of the national energies and resources. The rising population of such a country, if they have but learned reading, writing, a little commercial arithmetic, and the lowest rudiments of geography, during their school-years, can hardly fail outside of school, and after school-days are over, however short they may have been, to learn enough besides to carry them forward in life, as their opportunities open before them, and to enable them in some fair proportion to cultivate their general intelligence. The Americans are accordingly an intelligent and well-informed people, although this is by no means the result of anything like a widely-diffused or superior system of school-education. One of their great wants is such a system. Intelligence and ambition, without thorough culture or educational discipline, stamp the character of very much of the conversation, the oratory, the newspaper-writing, of the States. There would be less of 'highfalutin,' and less of slang, if there were better means of national school-education.

One of the most striking features of the schools in the United States is the extensive employment of female teachers. In New York, of about 2400 public school-teachers employed, no fewer than 2100 are female teachers. Young women may commonly be seen teaching scholars of the other sex little younger than themselves. This has sometimes been lauded as one of the admirable points in what is spoken of as the American school system. In simple truth, however, it is the result, not

of theory or of choice, but of necessity. Men do not give themselves to teaching, because it does not pay to do so. The remuneration of school-teachers in the States is, as a rule, very low, \$45 a month being, as we have seen, about the average pay for men. Even in the immense organised school-system of the city and county of New York, \$1000 per annum is considered high pay for a public school-teacher, being, in purchasing power, not equal to more than 150*l.* English. \$3000 is the highest salary for any male principal of a Grammar School, 1600 is the lowest. These amounts are much less in proportion than experienced masters of our large public schools in this country of the corresponding classes are paid, whether masters of Board Schools, or voluntary schools, or public endowed, or Grammar Schools;\* whereas wages and salaries in general rule much higher in New York than in England.† On the other hand, the large excess of females over males throughout all the Eastern States of the Union having for some generations past driven women into every avenue of employment which seemed at all possible, they have come in crowds to seek for situations as teachers at salaries which could never have been offered to men in the hope of retaining their services permanently.

Here, too, opens forth a special view of the condition of society, and especially of women, in the Eastern States, which has seldom been understood in this country, but which is fruitful in the explanation of anomalies otherwise unintelligible. While in the States in the Far-West, especially the gold and mining regions, women are but in numbers a fraction as compared with the men; in the Eastern States so large a proportion of the men, especially the most manly and energetic among them, have, for several generations past, been continually drawn away to the exuberant and boundless West that the women have found themselves everywhere crowding each other very inconveniently, and constituting a surplus quantity which above all things needed to be absorbed or provided for in some way of honest employment. Even 40 years ago this

\* According to the last returns (1872) the average annual salary for each teacher in New York State was, for the cities, \$645.37; for the rural districts, \$273.38; for the State generally, \$372.86.

† House-rent in New York is at least double in proportion what it is in London. New York gentlemen consider that not less than one-third of their annual expenditure should be calculated for rent. A gentleman's dress-suit costs 20*l.*, and all other articles of apparel are in proportion.

fact had produced one striking result which appears to have been misunderstood by many English authorities. The reputable and energetic daughters of New England freehold farmers, finding at that time few other probabilities of fairly remunerative employment, came in from the country to the factories, then but recently established, as at Lowell, for example, and became factory-workers. They lived together in respectable boarding-establishments, suitably organised by themselves. These factory-workers and their boarding-establishments were, 30 or 40 years ago, the admiration of British travellers, who, after visiting them, lamented the terribly inferior condition of English factory-workers, and moralised as to what superior education and republican institutions had done even for factory-operatives in model Massachusetts. It seems never to have occurred to them that if the daughters of decent Scotch farmers, or thrifty and self-respecting Westmoreland 'statesmen,' had agreed to migrate in hundreds to obtain work in Lanarkshire or Lancashire cotton-factories—supposing such factories to have been suitably organised and managed—they would have formed as intelligent and every way superior a body of factory-workers as were ever gathered at Lowell. The glory of Lowell seems now to have greatly waned. As female education in New England improved and developed, the young women found school-teaching to offer better and more congenial attractions to them than the mills; they found also other ways of employment in every respect more suitable. At the same time the influx of Irish labour to the manufacturing centres, especially as the trade developed, supplanted the New England girls, and lowered the whole tone and style of the factory community.

But the movement of female population had begun, and it was not likely to cease or to be intermitted. It came on with the power of an invasion. The women must and would find and have work. Whatever they could do to get themselves a creditable living, that would they not be barred from doing. They invaded the stores; not only behind the counter, but in the cashier's desk they took their place. They manned, not seldom, the merchants' offices; they poured into Government departments, whether in the different States, or at the national Capital. Alike at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, the departments of public service, the post-offices, the bureaux, have long been chiefly occupied by women. In the Bureau of Education, for instance, at Washington may

be seen, in room after room, young women at work, reading, writing, preparing documents, answering letters, making abstracts, or writing *précis* for the use or under the direction of the few gentlemen—commissioners or secretaries—employed in the Bureau. So also in the Post Office in the same city, ladies are employed in many departments of service, notably in the foreign translation and correspondence department. Of the ladies thus employed, there can be no question that many are from New England; although, no doubt, at Washington, Philadelphia contributes its due proportion. It need hardly be said that the telegraphs throughout the country are very largely worked by female operators.

The passion for literary distinction, and the demand for medical education and diplomas which have been so characteristic of American women, are traceable to the same origin. Both these forms of female energy appear to have originated in New England. There literary distinction had become to women a means of livelihood, because the teaching profession was virtually almost in their hands; and there the universal necessity for remunerative female employment led women to press into the medical profession. Why should they not have the opportunity and the right to minister medically at least to their fellow-women? If nurses must be women, and if nurses, being women, must receive a quasi-medical training, why might not women pursue the same direction somewhat farther?

Hence, again, the special passion for abstract and somewhat masculine studies which took hold first of New England girls, and then of American women generally. If these girls were to be teachers—teachers, if they could win their way, in high schools, and teachers not only of girls but of boys, they would need to have their faculties braced and disciplined by severe study, and indeed would have immediate need to be instructed in specially masculine subjects of study, including in particular mathematics and exact science. That all this has been often carried much too far there can be no doubt. No writers have said and shown this with so much emphasis as American writers. The American system, at least the New England system of educating women, is one-sided, and has been overstrained. This is no doubt one among various causes which have contributed to that physical deterioration of the race, and especially that imperfect physical development of the women, which is now one of the troubles of New England, and full of sinister omen for the future of the population, whether in respect of

its increase or its quality. But the point now under our attention is the condition of things which has led naturally to the sort of education for women that has been so prevalent during the last thirty years in the Eastern States of the Union.

All this brings us back, however, to the point from which this digression arose, viz., that the prevalent employment of female rather than male teachers in the States is the mere result of natural causes, and not any point of theoretic calculation, or of practical excellence. It would, beyond question, be better on all accounts if the young women were in much larger proportion destined to be given in marriage, and to devote themselves to family cares and child-training at home, and if public school-teaching were far more largely in the hands of trained and able masters. But whilst the remuneration is so low, and there are so many women in the Eastern States for whom, apart from family life, employment must be found, this feature of American schools is not likely to change.

There never has been any such thing as a national system of public school education in the United States. The responsibility of providing and regulating public education rests mainly and directly with the school district, or the town or township, or the city or municipality, or the county, as the case may be. The State has no power to enforce any method or law of education either on school-district or on town or township, on city or on county. The country is covered with many thousands of independent, or all but independent, educational republics. There never has been any national law of education; nor was there, until the year 1868, even any national department or bureau of education. The reports of this department, since 1868, are before us as we write. All that the Bureau has power to do is to collect and diffuse information, and to intimate general views in its Annual Report. It has no *authority* whatever, not even to insist on information, from the parties to whom it makes application. The Reports, however, issued by the Bureau, not only give very valuable information, but cannot fail to have great moral force and great directive value. They embrace national education in the widest sense, primary, secondary (to use the English phrase), and Collegiate or University; and also technical education in its different branches.

There is more illiteracy in the States than has been generally supposed in England. There were altogether in the United States, according to the Census of 1870, of the

population ten years old and upwards:—unable to read, 4,528,084; unable to write, 5,658,144; of whom 4,880,271 were native-born Americans. Of the 5,658,144 unable to write, 4,648,439 were over fifteen years of age. It is not surprising to find that in the Southern States illiteracy greatly prevails; that in Alabama, for instance, more than half the population over ten years are unable to write. But it will surprise many to learn that so large a proportion of the population of the Northern and Central States, 'enlightened free States,' are illiterate. In Massachusetts, 8·42 per cent. are unable to write; in Vermont, 6·84; in New York State, 7·08 per cent., being a total of 239,271 illiterates over ten years old; in Ohio, 8·86 per cent., being a total of 173,172 illiterates; in Indiana, 10·61 per cent., being a total of 127,124; in Illinois, 7·38 per cent., or 133,584; in Pennsylvania, where, however, there is a considerable sprinkling of colored people—where, also, are the chief seats of heavy manufacturing labour—the percentage is 8·56, and the total number, 222,356; in Rhode Island we find the high average of 12·62 per cent., or 21,921 illiterates. In these States, speaking generally, the vast majority of the illiterates must belong to the white population. It is remarkable that in the two States in New England, where school-teachers are the worst paid, and where parsimony in school provision the most frequently passes into niggardliness, the percentage of illiteracy is lower than elsewhere; in New Hampshire, the percentage is 3·81; in Maine, 3·86. This suggests that the abundance of fairly educated young women, joined to the absence of manufacturing industries in these States, has, by keeping the market for school-teachers continually supplied from the families of the farm-settlers, kept down the rate of payment for teachers.

The first Census returns of illiteracy made in the States were in 1840, when the Union was rudely disturbed from its self-complacency as to the subject of education, by learning that within its limits there were more than half a million of white citizens over twenty unable to write. Since that period there have been returns at three Censuses; but yet it appears difficult to come to any conclusion as to the increase or diminution of illiteracy in the States. In Barnard's 'American Journal of Education' for 1869, Dr. Leigh discusses the question in an elaborate paper, but seems to arrive at no settled conclusion. It appears, indeed, that there are strong suspicions as to the trustworthiness of all the Census returns, and especially that of 1860. Since Dr. Leigh's

paper appeared the Census returns for 1870 have been published.

The comparative result for the four Censuses is as follows:—In 1840, the percentage of white adult illiteracy to the total adult population was 9; in 1850 it rose to 11; in 1860 it fell to 9 again. In 1870, the percentage of total adult illiteracy for white and coloured people is returned at 17 for men and 23 for women. This, however, includes, to give a round approximate estimate, which is as near as we can come, two millions and a half of adult coloured persons. The total number of male adults is given by the last Census returns as 18,536,000. If the 2,500,000 coloured adults be subtracted, there remain, in round numbers, 16,000,000 of white adults. The total number of illiterate adults, male and coloured, is returned as 3,715,196. Let us now assume that of the 2,500,000 coloured adults, nearly all are still, as in the former days, illiterate, and subtract these coloured illiterates from the total amount of adult illiteracy for the nation, there will then remain, in round numbers, a million and a quarter adult white illiterates out of an adult white population of 16,000,000, showing a proportion of nearly 8 per cent. If we have materially over-estimated—as it is not unlikely we have—the present illiteracy of the coloured people throughout the States, the 8 per cent. estimate for white illiteracy must be proportionately too small.

Dr. Leigh sums up the revelations made by the three first Censuses. As to that of 1840, he says:—

‘The common impression that white illiteracy is to be found especially among the “poor whites” of the cotton or plantation States, is at once seen to be an error. In the six Northern Slave States—Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri—which are rather farming than plantation States, there were much larger numbers who could not read. The very general idea, also, that the free North is free from this calamity is seen to be a mistake, there being twice as many white illiterates in the Northern tier of States—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois,—as there were in the plantation Slave States. And we were evidently by no means indebted to our foreign-born population for any very large part of this evil, for it is seen to have existed at that time chiefly in those States into which the immigrant had then hardly begun to penetrate; and besides, the great tide of unlettered immigrants had then hardly begun to flow toward our shores.’

As to the Census of 1850, Dr. Leigh says:—

‘This map holds up before our eyes the same great painful fact—ignorance, widespread and spreading—not limited to unfavoured regions,

but uniformly diffused: an evil of native growth rather than of foreign origin. Still the bookless white population, though standing by tens of thousands in the plantation States, are more multitudinous in the farming Slave States and in the Northern States. And now we see, directly and definitely, that it is mainly among the people born and bred in our own country. The great increase of this calamity is conspicuous here. All over the country we find our American-born citizens growing up untaught.’

During the decade, 1850—1860, the number of illiterates largely increased, but the proportion appears to have diminished, especially among the native-born illiterate. All these statistics, however, according to Dr. Leigh and Horace Mann, require to be taken as liable to large correction in one direction.

‘The numbers,’ says Dr. Leigh, ‘must be understated—largely understated. Very many who could not read were, doubtless, unwilling to be so reported. Many who could read but a few words would, doubtless, report themselves as able to read. We may safely take Horace Mann’s judgment, and add 30 per cent. to the figures of the Census on this point for its undoubted under-estimates.’

Whoever has lately conversed with the candid and intelligent officials of the Bureau of Statistics, at Washington, will be fully prepared to believe that the Census returns of illiteracy not only were in 1860 and former years, but are still quite as far below the truth as these high American authorities state.\* In the Commissioner’s Report, no attempt is made at comparison with former Censuses. The Commissioner states the bare facts as they are given to him, 17 per cent. male illiteracy on the whole population,

\* The general accuracy of the Census returns is seriously impeached by the following authoritative statement:—‘At no one of the three Censuses (1850, 1860, 1870) taken under the Act of May 23, 1850, has the aggregate number of deaths returned by the assistant marshals risen above two-thirds of the deaths probably occurring, as that number is deduced from the experience of other countries, from the experience of sections of our own country having an established system of registration, and from the ascertained law of the national increase.’ So we are informed in the ‘Report on the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870.’ We further read that ‘the Census of the United States does not afford the material for determining exactly the death-rate of States and sections, and for deducing the effect of the various conditions of life on the duration of life.’ From a letter by E. B. Elliott, Esq., the able and courteous chief clerk of the Bureau of Statistics, which is published in the Census, it appears that the actual error in the returns is not less than 41 per cent. With this demonstrated fact in view, it will appear tolerably certain that Dr. Leigh and Mr. Horace Mann are right as to the under estimate of illiteracy in the Census.

white and coloured; 23 per cent. on the female population. This condition of things is too manifestly a national evil. Foreign immigration scarcely enters into it as an appreciable element. The Commissioner, for patriotic reasons, tries not to make the best, but rather the worst of it. He extends his estimate of illiteracy proportionately below children of ten to children of five years old (five to nine inclusive). He accordingly estimates as either now illiterate, or as now in such circumstances, between their fifth and tenth year, that they are sure to grow up illiterate, no less than 6,621,086 of the population. After excluding children under five, his conclusion is that the proportion of the entire population now professing to be able to read and write is 68·58 per cent. But he adds: 'How many [of these] have any instruction in reckoning, or know anything of the grammar of our language, or the history or geography of our country, we cannot tell as yet.\*'

To any one who will realize the actual situation of thousands of American settlers, buried and sequestered many and many a mile away from any town or any railway, in the depths of vast regions only inhabited at very distant intervals by lonely settlers like themselves, it will be easy to understand how such settlers may become utterly ignorant and almost savage. These are not ideas which we are accustomed to associate with American citizenship. We think only of smartness and restless activity. But not the less are they true ideas. Those who have crossed the Alleghanies, between Philadelphia and Cincinnati, will not have forgotten the glimpses there obtained of the country stretching far to the South. There away, between West Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky, and still down South, amid similar desolate mountain ranges into Eastern Tennessee, through a stretch of country which has been preserved from the contamination of slavery by its ruggedness and comparative infertility, American walking tourists found, only a year or two since, as they have described to the writer of this paper, a condition of primitive rudeness, which beforehand would have been thought impossible. In this region common schools are indeed few and far between, and whatever may have been learnt at school is very likely to be lost in after-life, for want of any accessible literature. Even the newspaper finds its way very seldom indeed into the homesteads of that region. In a map of the comparative illiteracy of the United States, in its different portions, published in the last

Census Report, and reproduced in the 'Education Commissioners' Report' for 1872, the illiteracy of West Virginia generally—not a Slave State, it must be remembered—is marked in the third grade of darkness, and set down as averaging at least 21·39 per cent. of the whole population; while the black tract of ignorance, which lies in the deep interior of this district, the intermediate border-ground between the western part of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, has a field of darkness all to itself, its minimum average of illiteracy being rated at 40·59 per cent. Nor is it necessary to go so far away into the depths of the Continent in order to find seclusion as deep as in East Tennessee. There are districts in the State of New York which are completely shut out from the life-current of the world, and which often do not hear of the most great and startling events until months after they have taken place. Instances of this are stated, on undeniable authority, in New York, which would be pronounced incredible if repeated in this country. It is largely, no doubt, to this condition of things that the illiteracy of the United States is owing.

Few of the States, indeed, appear to have made any efforts in the matter. The individual States, for the most part, have no natural centre or unity; and Congress, though it is a national Assembly, has no power of direct interference or control, or if it has, does not exercise it, over the individual States respectively, in regard to this matter of public education. The State requires, at least most of the States require, that a school-house be provided; and some require, further, that school shall be kept not less than so many months. But there, for the most part, the matter ends, except so far as good advice from the State Secretary and the State Board may go. In 1869, the State Report on the Common Schools of Vermont, thus describes the manner in which the system works in that long-settled and reputable New England State.

'Here (in Vermont State) are over 2000 little educational republics, practically independent of each other and all the world, a large number of them being remote from intellectual centres, and wedded to practices which were necessitated by sparseness and poverty in early times. They (the school districts) have been able to say to all projected improvements, "Keep off! we manage our schools in our own way; and, if it is a poor way, it is a cheap one, and we mean to perpetuate it."—*Report*, 1869, pp. 5, 6.

The entire absence of central authority appears in every part of the Commissioner's Reports. Matters, indeed, are mending; the

\* 'Commissioner's Report,' 1872, pp. vii., viii.

statistical returns and the information obtained are much more complete than they were at first. But still, although the Bureau was established in 1868, the Commissioner, in 1872, had to report that seven States, headed by Kentucky, made no return of the number of scholars in the State, and that sixteen did not give the 'enrolment,' during the year, nor the average attendance.\*

In many of the Southern States, as might be expected, notwithstanding that ten years have elapsed since the war, the school-organisation remains in something like a chaotic condition. As we advance northwards, however, we find enlightened energy and high moral influence struggling hard on behalf of education against all difficulties. In the great State of Missouri, with St. Louis for its capital, the intelligent and vigorous State Superintendent seems to have a hard fight. There is a great and, it would seem, a growing dislike to the school-tax and to the principle of 'free schools;' moreover, it is admitted that the school-funds have, in the past, been very discreditably wasted. Besides which, the claim of the coloured children to attend the common schools creates grave difficulty. 'One at present insuperable difficulty attends all attempts to develop the coloured children of the State. About half of them are so widely scattered that it is impossible to collect them in sufficient number to warrant the expense of a school,' i.e. of separate coloured schools to meet their case, the rule being, where the population is sufficient, to provide schools for both classes, but in any case to provide an adequate number of schools to meet the wants of the white population. 'The coloured people themselves are forcing a question upon us which, sooner or later, must be faced; that is, whether the two or three dark faces in any sub-district may slip into some corner of the white school.'

A sentence occurs in the course of the State Report, from which the foregoing quotations have been made, illustrating one of the points already spoken of in this paper. 'With all the heavy weight of tax under which our people groan, the average yearly term of school is but four and a-half months, just what it was sixteen years ago.'

If we turn from Missouri to the neighbouring State of Illinois, in which is included the wonderful city of Chicago, in some sort the rival of St. Louis, although much its junior, we find a great and wealthy free State, with comparatively little dead-

weight of coloured population, the leading State of the mighty West. Here, again, there appears to be much dissatisfaction, though for a different class of reasons, with the existing system, and considerable opposition to be overcome. The State Superintendent of Education for Illinois thus sums up the current 'complaints against public schools':—

'It is considered,' he says, 'an undeniable fact that the confidence of the people in the public school system is in danger of being disturbed. Questionings and murmurs of discontent, direct opposition, or appeals for reconstruction, are coming from every quarter of the Union; and these not alone from theorists, abstractionists, misers, and chronic fault-finders, but from men who are actuated by none but the worthiest motives, and who have no personal or selfish ends to subserve. Among the points which a comparison of statements shows to be held in common are the following:—(1.) That the course of study in the common ungraded schools of the country needs revision, both as to the branches of study embraced therein, and as to the relative amount of time devoted to each one. (2.) That many of these schools are not doing their elementary work well; that the pupils rarely become good and sure spellers, or easy and fluent readers, and are deficient in penmanship, and especially in a knowledge of the primary rules pertaining to punctuation, the use of capitals, and the common proprieties of letter-writing and English composition. (3.) That the teaching is too bookish, narrow, and technical, being largely defective in method, dull in manner, and therefore devoid of inspiration, attractiveness, and zest. (4.) That there is too much isolation in schools and school-work; too little sympathy between the world within and the world without the school-house; too little apprehension of the fact that schools are places of apprenticeship, wherein to learn the use of a few necessary tools and implements wherewith to fight the battle of life and duty in the world. (5.) Finally, that the attention paid to the manners and morals of the pupils is unsatisfactory.'

The superintendent himself brings a very heavy charge against the existing methods of instruction.

'From eight to ten years,' he says, 'are devoted to spelling and reading in school. About one-tenth of the extreme allotted span of human life to learn to read, pronounce and spell a few hundred words of the English tongue in which he was born! Does it not seem absurd? It is confidently affirmed that, with proper instruction, every child of good health and fair natural abilities can, and should, in four years or less, of six school months each, acquire such a practical knowledge of reading and spelling in his native English, that he may thereafter lay aside and dispense with both of those studies, so far as formal lesson-getting

\* No statistical summary as to these points is given in the Report for 1873.

and recitation therein is concerned, and devote his time to other things.'

Many other passages in this Report show how deficient in trained knowledge and skill must be the ordinary teachers in the great State of Illinois. Indeed, the writer comes to the conclusion 'that not more than one in three of the teachers is fit for the place he occupies.' He complains also that less than one-half of the total number of scholars enrolled during the year were, on an average, in daily attendance during the school terms, which for the State of Illinois average nearly seven months. It must be remembered that the common schools of Chicago are included here, which probably average about ten months, as well as of Springfield and other large cities.

An attempt had been made during the year to pass a State compulsory law for Illinois, but had not been successful. This project of law was yet more modest than that which passed the New York State Legislature. The legal minimum of school instruction which it would have fixed would have been *twelve weeks*, 'if,' as the Bill guardedly added, 'the school should continue so long;' and of this twelve weeks' minimum 'at least six weeks' were to be 'consecutive'!

In studying the annual statistics of American schools it is necessary to bear always in mind what has already been stated in regard to winter and summer schools. The teacher is engaged by the term, and the male teachers very seldom teach more than one or two terms. There is, moreover, only one teacher, as a rule, to the school. In the cities, however, of course professional teachers are generally employed, and the engagements are of a much more permanent character. In the city schools, also, the rule is a teacher to a class, and not a teacher to a school.

Female teachers are most extensively employed in New England and in New York City, but they are also employed in large proportion in the Mid-Western and North-Western States. In the South, male teachers are generally found; and as we go towards the South the number of female teachers becomes smaller. In Connecticut—a model New England State—there are 1630 common schools, taught by 699 male and 2194 female teachers, and open during the year on an average 8 months 12½ days. In Rhode Island, where the schools are steadier in their work than in any other State, and where a law of compulsion has of late been enforced with some strictness, there are 727 schools, which are kept open

34 weeks 2 days, and are taught by 177 male and 579 female teachers. These two States are largely manufacturing. If we turn from them to Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, farming States, we find a marked difference. In Maine there are 4171 schools, kept open 106½ days (actual working days), being about 21 weeks, it may be supposed, and taught by 1800 male and 4200 female teachers. In New Hampshire the return is, 2452 schools, open 4 months 4½ days, and taught by 585 male and 3241 female teachers. In Vermont there are returned 2503 schools, open 6 months, and taught by 671 male and 3544 female teachers. The return for New York State gives 11,350 schools, open on an average 35 weeks 1 day (City and State together), and taught by 6481 male and 21,773 female teachers.

Illinois, including Chicago with a population of 300,000 souls, shows 11,231 schools, open 6 months 27 days, taught by 9904 male and 11,830 female teachers. Indiana shows 9100 schools, open 5 months 16 days, taught by 7430 male and 4816 female teachers. Ohio, including Cincinnati with 250,000 inhabitants, and other smaller but thriving cities, shows 14,201 schools, open 152 days, taught by 9718 male and 12,343 female teachers. Missouri has 29,398 schools, which are open on an average 4½ months, but furnishes no return as to its teachers. The great majority of schools in this State are only winter schools, and are open four months. In St. Louis, of course, with its immense population, there is a powerful and well-worked organisation of common schools, duly graded, and open through the year in three terms. The schools in St. Louis and some other cities bring the general average of school duration for the State up to 4½ months in the year. The schools still further South are open, on an average, for a yet shorter time than in Missouri. Florida reports 2 months 15 days.

West Virginia, the educational condition of which has already been particularly noted, returns a singularly short average of school duration, for a State so far towards the North and East, but which must be explained by reference to its special situation and circumstances, as already described: its schools are open 3 months 25 days. It is evident that, except at Wheeling, its capital city, and a place or two besides, it can only have winter schools. The neighbouring State of Virginia (slave-ground and strongly pro-slavery though it was) returns six months; but many summer schools must be included in this return; and it will be understood that the country is for the most

part much less difficult and better settled than in West Virginia.

Returning to the Far-North and Mid-West, we find Wisconsin reporting 5031 schools, open 7 months, and taught by 2885 male and 6283 female teachers. In that energetic State it is evident that there are many summer schools. It is probable that the large influx of recent German immigrants into that State has brought with it a rooted regard for education. In Michigan, lying somewhat nearer to New England, we find a similar condition of things, but apparently rather more strongly marked. There are returned 5365 schools, open 7½ months, and taught by 3052 male and 8610 female teachers. The instincts and habits of New England are largely reproduced in these two States, which have derived both ideas and population predominantly from the elder Eastern States. It is a proverb in the States that the 'best blood of the East has gone West.'

Where population is so sparse as in the country districts of the United States—and throughout almost the whole territory it must be remembered that populous towns are very rare indeed—the schools must often be very small. This is the case, not only in the recently-settled States, but also in most of the older States. For example, in the Vermont State 'Report on Education for 1869,' it is stated that about '1600 of the 2824 schools have an average attendance of less than 15 pupils; 800 of these 1600 have less than 10; and not a small number have less than 5 in average attendance.' No wonder that such schools are left in charge of women, and that professional teachers are comparatively so few.

The social and educational circumstances of the United States being such as we have seen them to be, it will be anticipated that school attendance must be very far indeed from what can be regarded as satisfactory. Not only are the schools, speaking generally, open during a much shorter period than would ever be thought of in this country, but even during the period they are held the attendance is very scanty. If it be good for one term, very often there is no attendance at all during the rest of the year. If the cities must be excepted from this statement, we shall presently see that, as respects some of the largest of them, the attendance notwithstanding is very defective indeed. Some statistics gathered from the same Report of the Commissioner (1872), which has already been so often laid under contribution, will illustrate the statements which have now been made.

In the State of New York, the population

which is regarded as of school age is returned as 1,502,684, the 'number enrolled' as 1,028,110, the 'average attendance' as 493,648, the 'average absence' as 534,462. In Massachusetts the returns are as follows:—School population, 282,485; enrolled, 276,602; average attendance, 205,252; average absence, 71,350. In Pennsylvania the returns are:—School population, 975,753; enrolled, 834,313; average attendance, 536,221; average absence, 298,092. In Illinois:—School population, 882,693; enrolled, 662,049; average attendance, 329,799; average absence, 332,250. In Indiana:—School population, 631,549; enrolled, 459,451; average attendance, 286,301; average absence, 173,150. In Connecticut (one of the best educated States in the Union):—School population, 128,468; enrolled, 113,588; average attendance, 79,511; average absence, 34,077. In Ohio:—School population, 1,073,274; enrolled, 1,028,110; average attendance, 493,648; average absence, 534,462.

These specimens may suffice. The States selected in this statement are not backward States, such as Arkansas or Alabama; not such as Tennessee, where the 'State system' is said to be altogether in abeyance; or Delaware, where the report laments that 'there is no State supervision, nor as yet any legal provision for the education of coloured people;' or the other States, not a few, where educational matters are in a chaotic condition. These statistics show that, even during the brief school year, which, except in cities, varies from three or four months to six or seven, the attendance is very unsatisfactory. It must be remembered, too, that this is the return for the school population of all classes.

Let us particularly examine the case of New York, as shown by the statistics of attendance, given in the Report for 1873 of the Board of Instruction for the City and County. We learn that the total number of scholars taught, during the year 1872, in the Primary Schools, the Primary Departments (of graded systems of schools), and the Grammar Departments, was 187,198; while the average attendance for the year was 88,407. Let us now compare this with our experience in London. In a fair inspected school (we do not mean a superior school) in London, where 300 children have been present at all and on the rolls during the year, 200 may be taken as the average number on the rolls, and 140 as the average number in daily attendance. In a superior school, where 300 have been present at all during the year, the average number on the rolls might be set down as 210, and the average daily at-

tendance at 160. The proportion, that is to say, of average daily attendance in a good London inspected denominational school to the number of children present at all and on the rolls during the year, ranges from 47 to 53 per cent. In New York City, where Mr. Morley's ideal system is found in its highest perfection, the proportion of average attendance to the aggregate number on the rolls during the year is 88,407 : 187,198; that is to say, not quite 42 per cent.; and yet the New York schools are for all classes, and include not only 'primary' but 'grammar departments.'

Another point needful to be recognised in any review of the educational condition of the States, is the age at which the children leave school. It is commonly supposed by English people that in that country it is the rule for the children to pass upward, from grade to grade, through a magnificent series of schools, till after six or seven, or even eight or nine, years of schooling, they come forth admirably educated for life. Nothing, however, can be farther from the truth.

Let us turn again, for example, to the case of New York, where the common educational provision of all grades is so complete and so magnificent, and study the statistics given in the Report of the Board of Public Instruction for 1873, to which reference has already been made. We leave out of account coloured schools, evening schools, normal schools, and corporate or charity schools, and find the following to be the proportion of attendance at the primary and the grammar schools respectively, the grammar schools being schools which are no way like our grammar schools, but beginning at about the same grade of instruction as the third standard in our public elementary schools, carry the scholars upwards till, in the highest classes, they may have obtained a good general school education. In the primary schools and primary departments, the whole number enrolled and taught at any time during the year is returned as 127,651, and the average attendance as 53,344; while in the male and female grammar schools the whole number is returned as 59,714, and the average attendance as 30,477. This would show, if other things were equal, about twice as many attending the primary as the grammar departments. But other things are not equal. The primary schools include only six grades, and involve a minimum attendance of three years; whereas the grammar schools include eight grades, and imply a minimum attendance of four years. And yet the aggregate number attending all the grammar departments is

only half the number attending the primary departments.

If we pass from New York to Cincinnati, we find statistics which tell their tale more clearly and precisely than those of New York; illustrating more fully the truth that school education in the States, as in this country, is brought to an end, so far as a very large proportion of the population is concerned, at an early age—the age of transition from the primary to the 'grammar' schools, as the nomenclature goes in New York, from the primary to the 'intermediate' schools, to use the phraseology which obtains in Ohio.

In the Annual Report and Handbook for the Common Schools of Cincinnati, for 1870–71, we have a table showing the average number attending the three grades of schools, viz., district, intermediate, and high schools; and also those who have graduated, that is, successfully completed the final course in the high schools during eighteen years, that is, from 1853 to 1870 inclusive. The totals are:—District (primary), 219,122; intermediate, 15,359; high schools, 6608; graduates, 673. It is evident from these statistics that in the famous and well-organised inland city of Cincinnati, one of the most beautiful and enlightened of American cities, the great bulk of the population have never had any schooling but what was obtained in primary schools. But another table brings this point yet more distinctly into evidence. 'How rapidly pupils are withdrawn,' says the Report, 'is shown by the following table, which exhibits the number entered in three higher grades of the district (the primary) schools, A, B, and C (12, 11, and 10 years of age, respectively), and the two intermediate grades, A and B (14 and 13 years, respectively).' The table shows that, whereas the number of pupils who, during 11 years (1859–1870), had been enrolled at one time or other in the lowest (or C) grade of the district schools was 26,621, the average age being about 10, the number transferred to the B grade (age 11), fell to 20,975; and the number transferred to the A grade (age 12) to 14,144; while only 7873 passed forward to the B grade of the intermediate schools (age 13); and only 3498 to the A grade (age 14). This may be taken as a good average for the larger cities of the States. Boston, indeed, shows more favourably; but then Boston is the Edinburgh of the States, without the Irish and Gaelic squalor of the low old town, with its Cowgate, Canongate, and the rest. In Boston we find the remarkable fact that the total number of children in the primary

schools is less than the number of those in the grammar schools, although the course for each school is a three years' course, and although many of those who have been scholars in the primary schools never pass into the grammar schools. The explanation, no doubt, is that many of the citizens of Boston prefer to have their young children taught at home, or to send them to private schools, rather than to send them to the common primary schools. Boston is a refined city, and parents in Boston have often, and naturally, the same objection to their young children attending promiscuous public schools that is felt among parents of a similar class and character in England. These same children, however, are very often sent to the grammar schools, the children attending which are already disciplined, and from which already the children of the lowest classes have been almost entirely eliminated. The average number of scholars in the Boston primary schools for 1872 was 15,232, in the grammar schools, 19,605, and in the high schools, 1723. Of the children in the primary schools, 20 per cent. were in the lowest (and youngest) class—the sixth class—15 per cent. in the fifth, 16 per cent. in the fourth (here some children must have come in from without), 15 per cent. in the third class, 18 per cent. in the second class (here again a number of scholars must have entered the schools from without, having previously been under private instruction, or in private schools), 16 per cent. in the first class. Of the scholars in the grammar schools, 26 per cent. are in the lowest class (age about 10 or 11), and afterwards the numbers in the different classes gradually run down, the proportions being 23 per cent., 17, 15, 12, and 7, respectively. From which it is evident that even in Boston many children leave school at 12, and many more at 13. There can be no doubt, however, that Boston is very superior in this respect to any other American city.\*

\* In regard to the school attendance in the United States, as well as to many other matters connected with education, it would seem as if the theory of American educational *doctrinaires* had misled the world as to the facts of the case. The theory is, that children should not enter school before the age of six, or better still, seven, and that they should continue at school to the age of at least fifteen, and in some cases (as the letter of the law in various States presumes and suggests) to the age of eighteen or twenty-one. Infant schools do not enter into the theory of American school organisation. But the fact, unfortunately, is—and this is in part the result of the theory—that many of the children are neither taught early nor late, that they enter the school quite ignorant at eight or nine, and leave with a sadly inadequate modicum of edu-

It will be gathered from what has now been seen respecting Boston, that private schools are still in use in the States, especially for the children of the more refined and highly educated classes. This is the case, to some extent, in large cities in all parts of the States; and such schools are naturally found in the largest proportion where the cities are largest, and where the organisation of society is the oldest and the highest. They abound in such cities as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Not seldom, again, high denominational schools attract scholars from the best families. The Methodist Episcopal Church, being the largest church in the States, has many such schools, or, as they are commonly called, colleges. The Protestant Episcopalians, also, in proportion to their numbers, have many such. The Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Congregationalists, have their share. Female colleges especially are often denominational. It need hardly be said that among the Roman Catholics denominational schools and colleges of every grade are very numerous. Indeed, the Catholic primary school organisation pervades almost every part of the Union—every part where Roman Catholics are found in any numbers. The Roman Catholics are strongly supported by many of the Episcopalians in demanding that a denominational system of rate-aided schools should be established throughout the Union as a lawful alternative where the common school does not meet the demands of all classes. In some places denominational primary schools, which are nearly always Roman Catholic, constitute a powerful opposition to the common-school organisation. The Methodists, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, and the Congregationalists, generally combine to support the common-school system, although this is not always true of the Presbyterians. Although, however, the Methodists and Presbyterians support the common-school system, they are exceedingly energetic and liberal in providing secondary and collegiate education, organised on a denominational basis. Not only Methodist

cation at twelve or thirteen. Nevertheless, the notion of an extended school-age still prevails in many parts, and especially in New England. The result, in some cases, is shown in the following passage from the Report of a School Superintendent in Vermont:—'Boys from ten to eighteen years of age often spend their evenings at the store, grocery, post-office, or surprise-party, when they should be busy preparing their lessons for the next day' ('Vermont State Report, 1869,' Appendix, p. 39). Surely high theory has lost itself here. Such boys of eighteen ought years before to have done with school, and to have been at business.

'Colleges,' Male and Female, but Methodist 'Universities,' are springing up in all directions. Ordinarily, indeed, the State College or University, however liberally conducted, is set within a denominational framework, and is regulated by a faculty, for the most part, of one denominational colour, and connected with a particular church. This is the case with Yale College, Connecticut, at the head of which is the able and accomplished Dr. Porter, and which is Congregationalist; with Princeton, New Jersey, which has Dr. McCosh at its head, and is Presbyterian; with Dickinson College, of Pennsylvania, with the Methodist, Dr. McCauley, at its head, and with Methodist staff and connections; with the North-Western University, Evanstown, Illinois, with Dr. Fowler, at its head, which is fully Methodist. These are State Universities; but all are imbued with a denominational character. In this respect they appear to resemble our own national Universities.

In New York City what are called the corporate schools, and, with these, the 'denominational schools,' do no inconsiderable share of the work of primary education. The Report of the Board of Public Instruction for 1872 shows that the percentage of increase in the average attendance at the common schools has steadily diminished since 1862, having been 61 per cent. increase for the period 1857 to 1862, 21 per cent. increase from 1862 to 1867 (inclusive), and no more than 9 per cent. from 1867 to 1872; whereas during the same intervals the average attendance at the corporate schools had increased successively 34 per cent., 47 per cent., and 36 per cent. The average number now taught in the corporate schools is 23,418—these schools being foundation schools, chiefly in the nature of charities, which provide aid in the way of food and clothing for children who are, or are alleged to be, in very needy circumstances. But, apart from the corporate schools, the Report informs us that the increase of attendance in the denominational or parochial schools—these schools in New York being chiefly Roman Catholic, Dutch Reformed, and Episcopalian, the first class being much the most numerous—has during the same period been much greater; and that the increase in the corporate and parochial or denominational schools, taken together, accounts for the comparatively small attendance at the public schools.

In fact, from such causes as have now been intimated, the dominion of the common-school system in the States, as it has hitherto existed, appears to be almost everywhere more or less threatened. The

Roman Catholics insist that the existing schools are virtually Protestant schools, and demand that their children should be taught in Catholic public schools. It becomes increasingly evident that things cannot remain as they are. Either the common schools must become purely and professedly secular, or else special provision must be made for the Catholics. In no country, indeed, as yet has it been found possible to maintain permanently a system of unsectarianly Christian common-schools, against the pleas and persistence of the Roman Catholics. In Holland their zeal and pertinacity in insisting on their claims led, eighteen years ago, to the conversion of the former unsectarian system of Protestant common schools into a secular system. That experiment remains at present at best a doubtful success. In Canada, the price paid for the maintenance of common schools on an unsectarian Christian basis for the rest of the population, is separate and special provision for the Roman Catholics. In Germany, in France, and in Ireland—alike—the experiment of combined literary and moral, and separate religious instruction has been thoroughly tried, and in all it has proved alike a failure. No combination, no fusion could be effected; and in each case the combined system has worked into thorough-going denominationalism, whether so called or not. In America it would seem that similar results must follow, at least in many parts of the Union. The matter will, of course, be settled by each State for itself; in the end it will probably be decided in each city or county, or school-district, according to the circumstances and feelings of each locality. But it is impossible to mingle anywhere with real educationists in the States without learning that they justly feel the pressure of the question, and are, in growing numbers, becoming convinced that in many parts of the country the problem must be solved in one of the two ways that have been indicated. Roman Catholics, of course, are in favour of a denominational solution, and if adequate guards against abuse could be taken, very many Protestant Episcopalians, many Presbyterians, and some Methodists, would go on the same side. On the other hand, an influential and increasing party among the Methodists, some Presbyterians, some 'liberal' Episcopalians, and probably the Congregationalists and Unitarians, generally favour the secular solution. The great body, however, as yet of the Methodists, and also, probably, of the Presbyterians, still cleave fast to the principles of the 'common school,' as generally organised a generation since; and maintain that it ought to be an unsecta-

rian Bible school, organised on the basis of regular Bible reading, and pervaded by Christian principles of moral teaching and influence.

Already, indeed, the case of the Roman Catholics is met by special concessions in some places. In New Jersey, where in some parts there are dense masses of Roman Catholics, it is not by any means an unexampled thing to find what can only be called 'Catholic common schools,' where not only is the teacher a Roman Catholic, but some Roman Catholic emblems are allowed in the school. So also, even in Connecticut, when a liberal Catholic priest hands over his Church school to the Board of Education, not only is the teacher retained, but other substantial concessions are made, so as to retain the children and secure the co-operation of the priest in keeping up the school. Any traveller who will make it his business to enquire, will find the case to be as we have now stated. Doubtless in many other parts of the Union similar arrangements are made in similar circumstances. At the same time, where the Roman Catholic element in the population is very small, or perhaps does not exist at all, the old fashioned common school will be maintained.

We have had occasion, as we have proceeded, to correct a number of prevalent errors respecting school education in the United States; but perhaps no error is more common than the one we are now about to deal with. It is commonly supposed that the public schools of the States give an education, at any rate an English education, much sounder, wider, and every way better than is easily to be obtained in England, and very greatly superior to such education as is to be obtained in our English inspected, or public elementary schools. The American schools being intended expressly and ostensibly for all classes of the citizens, and not having been organised with any special thought of a neglected working-class population—having also been fostered and unsparingly sustained and developed by the leading statesmen of America, and never having been deliberately degraded and reduced by a rigid Vice-Presidential economist, we should naturally expect that they would be in every way superior to the despised and depreciated—and, we must frankly add, the imperfectly developed and uneasily managed—public elementary schools of this country. Yet the reverse is the case.

The best public schools in the States are confessedly those of New York, Cincinnati and Boston, the three school-systems of these cities being each sharply and

typically distinct. Philadelphia has never ranked very high in its provision of public elementary instruction, being an old-fashioned and Conservative city, with prejudices of birth and position stronger than in almost any other large town in the States. We propose, accordingly, to give a brief view of the condition of public education in New York, Cincinnati, and Boston, dealing with each case respectively according to its special conditions and characteristics.

The legal school-age in New York ranges from 6 to 21; but the theory here, as elsewhere in the States, is that children should enter school late rather than early, and few enter school so young as six years. This educational theory is natural enough in a middle-class nation which is predominantly agricultural, a nation of freehold farmers, tradesmen, and superior and independent artisans, and it is one of the points of contrast between the United States and this country. In 165 cities of the States, it is even against the law to admit children younger than six to the public schools.

The New York system of free education embraces four gradations of school or college provision. First, there are the primary schools or departments, in which the ages of the children vary in general from seven to twelve, though sometimes, as we have ourselves learnt on the spot, children of thirteen are found in these primary departments. These schools include six 'grades,' and their course, for a good scholar, should include three years, although for a slow or dull scholar it may extend to four years, or even more. Next come the grammar schools, in which the ages of the scholars range, in general, from ten or eleven to seventeen, and which are organised in eight 'grades,' implying, for a good scholar, a course of four years. These grammar schools prepare, in their highest classes, for the City College or High School, in the case of boys, and for the Normal College in the case of girls; the course in these two colleges being a three years' course, and the range of age extending from sixteen or seventeen to twenty-one. The colleges confer degrees or diplomas, and include a three years' course, one year introductory, and two years properly collegiate, the former being called the freshman and the latter the senior year.

Such being the complete scheme and provision of public education in New York for all classes of its citizens, except, indeed, the very lowest, of which the children are not found in these public schools, we should naturally compare the highest classes of the grammar schools with the all but highest

classes, the fourth and fifth forms, of such schools as the City of London School, or the Manchester Grammar School, and the lower classes with the middle and upper classes of the City of London Middle Class, or the Manchester Middle-Class Schools, while we should expect the primary schools to compare favourably with our inspected public elementary schools up to Standards IV. and V.

We should the more confidently expect to find such a parallelism as has now been sketched, when we learnt what is stated in the following passage from the 'Report of the New York Board of Public Instruction for the year 1872.'

'The advanced studies in the first or highest grade of the new course have not as yet been entirely introduced, inasmuch as the necessity of preparing pupils for admission into the College of the City of New York, or into the Normal College, has greatly interfered with the carrying out of this part of the course. It is provided by the bye-laws that the first grade may be so modified as to enable such pupils to pursue only the studies required for admission.'

Nor would our high expectations as to the scope and range of the studies pursued in the higher classes of these City Grammar Schools be lessened by learning on the testimony of 'Assistant-Superintendent Harrison that, in a large number of instances, he finds scholars of the first or highest grade,' instead of pursuing the *first grade* with the necessary modifications, pursuing the *second grade*, and, in a few instances, the *third grade* with '*modifications*.'—(p. 195.)

What, then, are these 'advanced studies of the new course' of the grammar schools which so few young New York people of sixteen or seventeen years of age can attempt, even though they may be destined for college? They include—we quote from the 'Manual of Discipline and Instruction' for the use of teachers of Primary and Grammar Schools in New York for 1873,—'Reading, Spelling, and Etymology, continued,' 'Arithmetic, continued, with Mensuration,' 'English Grammar, continued, with Composition,' the latter, now for the first time, 'to include Impromptu Exercises.' 'Practice,' also, 'is to be afforded in Letter-writing, with instructions as to folding, directing, &c.' The 'Outlines of Astronomy' are to be 'continued.' Algebra is to be carried as far as 'Simple Equations.' The outlines of Ancient and Modern General History are to be taught. Bookkeeping, the Constitution of the United States, the Rudiments of Plane Geometry (according to Legendre), and the Elementary Facts

and Principles of Chemistry, complete the outline of the 'advanced studies of' this highest grade of the New York Grammar Schools, according to the 'new course.' It will be noted that no foreign language is included; indeed, the rudiments of English grammar and composition have scarcely been mastered.

This 'grade' being so decidedly too 'advanced' for most of the scholars who have taken their way right up through the public schools of New York, it is necessary to explain what are 'second' and 'third' grades, the two lower grades; which, as we have seen, constitute the real consummation, in practice, of the public school education of New York. The third grade, then, to take the lower first, introduces the New York scholar of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen years of age, into the heart of commercial arithmetic, takes him, or should take him, through percentage, interest, and profit and loss. It introduces, for the first time, written composition, 'writing short compositions under the inspection of the teacher.' It extends History from 1753 to 1789, for the United States only. It introduces the scholar to the simple elements of Natural Philosophy, which are to be familiarly explained, with homely and practical illustrations. English Grammar, which had been introduced in the grade next below, that is, in the fourth grade, is continued. The second grade introduces to Square Root and its simple applications, and brings in, for the first time, the 'outlines of Physical Geography.' Grammar and Composition are continued. The History of the United States is completed. The Elementary Astronomy of the Solar System comes in as a subject; in good inspected English elementary schools it is always taught to children of the upper Standards (IV. to VI.) in connection with Physical Geography. The simple outlines of Natural Philosophy are carried forward.

Such is the theoretic standard of a complete public education for the young citizens of New York, remaining at school till they are sixteen or seventeen years old. Let it be compared with our English code for children of thirteen and under—itself the representative not of educational perfection but rather of educational difficulties and obstructions—and especially with the list of specific subjects, now paying subjects, in the appendix of that code (1874), which subjects may be regarded as representing not only the aspirations, but in a fair measure, also, the actual achievements and performances of English teachers in spite of difficulty and discouragement, and it

will be seen how strangely backward and inferior is education in New York as compared with education in England. We should have expected New York Grammar Schools to vie with the civic educational institutions of Manchester and London; as a matter of fact they are far outdone by our best elementary schools. We have seen that the children of New York well-to-do citizens, who enter the grammar school or department at the age of ten or eleven, do not begin to learn grammar in any form till they have reached the fourth grade, that is, have been two years at the school. Let us add that the highest arithmetic aimed at during the first year of their grammar school course is the four simple rules. Enough will then have been said in regard to the public schools of New York to show how low throughout is the graded instruction given in these schools as compared with that given, age for age, in our English public schools, whether elementary or higher.

The school system of Cincinnati, as we have intimated, is famous throughout the States. That beautiful city, indeed, regards itself as decidedly more modern and more enlightened, as respects education, than either New York or the far-famed capital of Massachusetts; and indeed Cincinnati, as we shall see, is not unwarranted in claiming a high educational position in the Union.

The district schools in Cincinnati have five grades, each grade representing not half a year, as in New York, but a year. The intermediate schools have three grades. The school-system is crowned by high schools. The average age of the children in the first or highest grade of the district school is twelve, in the second eleven, and in the third ten. The age of children entering the intermediate school is thirteen.

The course of instruction in these schools is very comprehensive. Grammar is introduced very early, in the fifth grade; drawing and music (*i.e.* singing by note) are also taught almost from the beginning, and with great success. Composition is taught from the first along with grammar; and Cincinnati being in large part a German city, German is taught always where it is desired. Object lessons, under that unpretending name, and not under the designation Elementary Science, are taught almost from the first. Geography is introduced in the third grade. The arithmetic for this grade is thus defined: 'They shall read and write numbers as high as 10,000, and the fractions  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{5}$ ,  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{10}$ . They shall use numbers and figures as high as 5's as follows:—1st. Mental addition and subtraction as high as 100; 2nd. Mental multiplication and division as high as

50; 3rd. Slate exercises in the four fundamental rules to amounts not exceeding 10,000.' Drawing includes practice in vertical, horizontal, and oblique lines, and the construction of elementary geometrical figures. Grammar, besides elementary analysis, includes punctuation, and the distinct knowledge of the different parts of speech. This grade must be compared with our English Standard IV. It is manifestly inferior as to arithmetic, but otherwise compares not unfavourably. The second grade of the district-school extends geography to the great divisions of the globe, and includes some leading elements of physical geography. A special study is made of the principal physical features of North America. In arithmetic it is laid down that the scholars shall use numbers as high as 10's in mental exercises in the four fundamental rules to amounts not exceeding 100, and figures as high as 9's in 'slate exercises to amounts not exceeding 100,000.' Rectilinear drawing is gently carried forward. The grammar course is thus defined: 'They shall be taught to speak and write correctly any sentence they may be required to use. They shall review the work of F grade, adding the semicolon to the punctuation marks for that grade. They shall also be taught to distinguish the subject and predicate of simple sentences; the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs; the object of verbs and prepositions; the kinds of nouns (common and proper); personal pronouns; the properties of nouns and personal pronouns (person, gender, number, and case); and the distinction of present, past, and future time, in the use of the verb.'

For the first grade of the district-school the geography course is no otherwise defined than as 'selected portion of the text book.' In arithmetic the scholars are carried on to 'read and write numbers as high as 1,000,000,' and 'to complete long division and United States money.' The following are the directions as to grammar:—

'They shall review the work of the previous grades, adding the quotation marks, the colon, and the dash, to the punctuation marks previously taught.

'They shall also be taught the comparison of adjectives, the formation and comparison of adverbs, the distinction between regular and irregular verbs, and all the tenses of the indicative mood; active voice. The following prefixes shall be used in this grade: *en, er, in, mis, out, pro, re, sub, and un.*'

On the whole, comprehensive and excellent as the general scheme of education in those schools is, we think it will not be followed by any who know what a good Eng-

lish elementary school is and does, who know what Standards IV. V. and VI. mean in such schools, that these Cincinnati district schools in their three upper grades—as just described—are superior to our good English schools for corresponding ages. That a few years ago the Cincinnati theory in general was found far too high for practice we know from the fact that within the last two or three years it has been greatly reduced at various points, notably as regards geography and arithmetic, as may be seen by a comparison of the Annual Report and Handbook for 1870-1 with that for 1873-4. It is not impossible that even yet it may be found too high at points; at all events it presents a theory, an ideal standard, not a legal minimum examination standard. The arithmetic course and gradation, however, is as low as some other parts of the scheme—the composition grades in particular—appear to be high.

The Cincinnati intermediate schools have now a three years' course; till within two or three years it was only two years. Scholars are there prepared, if they desire it, for entrance at the High School. As yet Cincinnati has no University.

From Cincinnati we turn to Boston. Cincinnati dispenses very much with lesson-books and with rote-lessons, especially as respects grammar, and charges Boston with clinging to obsolete and ineffective methods, and, in particular, with relying too much on text-books as used by the teacher and learned by the scholar, instead of oral instruction. We must say that the long lists of school-books in the Boston School Committee's manual of rules and regulations for the public schools of the city, including such items as Worcester's spelling-book, seem strongly to favour this view. Nevertheless, there is a more general sense of the value of a thoroughly 'liberal,' and not a merely modern or utilitarian, education in Boston than elsewhere in the States. The scheme of public schools includes primary schools, which are of a nature between infant and juvenile schools, and which are arranged for a three years' course; grammar schools, the course in which is also three years; and for those who have passed through the grammar schools, a two-fold higher provision, either the Public Latin or the English High School. No scholar can be admitted to the Latin School who is not at least twelve years old. There is also an excellent Girls' High or Normal School, a very interesting and effective institution, though perhaps too largely scientific and mathematical in its cast of studies.

We have seen that scholars who proceed from the Grammar School to the Latin

School are obliged by law to be 'at least twelve years old.' This being so, we may fairly compare the first or highest grade of the Grammar School with the English Standard VI., the third grade with Standard V., and the fifth grade with Standard IV., the removes being half-yearly in the Boston Schools. It will not be forgotten that Boston is the Edinburgh of the States, and that the public schools are for all classes of the young citizens of that city of intelligence and culture.

Ascending from below, we find that the Arithmetic of the fifth grade or class (Boston speaks of classes instead of grades) includes vulgar and decimal fractions; that Geography includes 'Reading Warren's "Primary Geography," with conversational illustrations,' drawing outline maps from memory of each of the New England States, and physical lessons from the globe; that Grammar extends to 'distinguishing the parts of speech, and sentence-making.' Letter-writing on paper is taught fortnightly as composition, with occasional abstracts of geography lessons. In Boston, as in Cincinnati, Singing, and Elementary Linear Drawing are taught. In the third class the Arithmetic includes 'percentage and its applications;' Geography includes 'the United States, with the physical features and productions of the different sections, the thirty largest cities, with all their special features and circumstances,' and also map-drawing from memory of each State; Grammar includes 'parsing, correction of errors, and sentence-making;' History is entered upon—the History of the United States. Essays on subjects of oral instruction and business-letters and papers serve as exercises in composition. In the first class the Arithmetic includes only cube root as new, but requires a review of what has been done before, including proportion and square root, and a thorough discussion of principles; Geography is confined to a 'few lessons of review of the Continents and the United States,' with map-drawing; History includes the 'History of England,' the United States having been done in the two previous years. The oral instruction prescribed for this class recognises, for the first time, some slight elements of science, under the heads of 'air, water, respiration,' and also gives as subjects 'Municipal and State governments, courts of justice, historical sketches of Pericles, Chatham, Jefferson, Samuel Adams, and Lincoln.' Such is the course of the highest class in the Boston Grammar School, which prepares immediately for the Public Latin or the English High School. The municipal provision for education in Boston is supposed to be restricted to

the extreme limit of fifteen, and there is no city college. As a matter of fact, however, one-tenth of all the scholars in the public schools are over fifteen years of age. The Normal School for training female teachers, of course, contemplates a much higher range of age, and is exceptional in its character. From the first class of the Latin School youths who wish to continue their studies have been accustomed to pass on, usually after some private special preparation, to Harvard University, an old Congregational foundation under Unitarian influences, or perhaps to Yale College, Connecticut. Within the last few years, however, the Methodists have established Boston University in the city itself.

The education in New York may perhaps be described generally as being more commercial than at Boston or Cincinnati; at Cincinnati as more scientific and modern than in the other cities; at Boston as being more English and more thorough than elsewhere. The unit of educational government and self-development in New York is the county—as it is throughout the State—the county of New York, however, being one with the city; in Cincinnati, as belonging to Ohio, the like is the case. In Massachusetts there is no county educational organisation; the municipality in cities, the town or township, or, in country parts, the school-district is the unit. Boston, as a municipality, is itself a unit; but the city being divided into school-districts, for each of which a district school committee is appointed, some inconvenient measure of district independence and diversity is said to be in some cases the result. Throughout the country-parts of New England generally school districts act, for the most part, as independent, and often as unenlightened, educational republics.

One conclusion comes out very distinctly from our review of the range and gradations of public school instruction in these three great cities, which, beyond question, stand at the head of all the cities in the States so far as regards school provision and educational organisation and development. The range of education in the States, age for age, is decidedly lower in the graded public schools than in good English schools. If our English public elementary schools were and had been for many years attended by the great mass of the children of our middle classes, with a sprinkling, besides, of those of the higher professional classes, there can be no doubt that their educational results would be far superior to such as we have passed under review in the three American cities. Any one familiar with first-class English private schools for middle-class

children, must know how poor and backward, in comparison, are the results shown by the Boston, or Cincinnati, or New York public schools. And, if we turn to such public schools as the Bedford Schools, the Manchester Grammar School, the City of London School, any thought of comparison is simply ridiculous. What would American schools, on their own statement of studies and results, say to the Oxford and Cambridge examinations? We know, indeed, the worthlessness of many English middle-class boarding-schools, and of the wretched private schools which so thickly stud the less conspicuous streets, often the low by-streets, of our towns. In comparison of these, doubtless, the American public schools in the large cities have been enlightened and meritorious institutions. But no private school in an English town could well be worse than many of the country schools, the district-schools, in the United States. 'A majority of teachers,' wrote the Education Secretary for the State of Vermont, only six years ago, 'are unqualified for teaching school. Many teachers can hardly write their names so as to be read, and yet we employ them in our common schools.' In the Report for the same State for 1869, there occurs the following passage, which is so pertinent to our present discussion, sums up so admirably what should at this point be said, and possesses such decisive authority as coming from the pen of a very competent American official, that we cannot but quote it:—

'We claim,' says the Report (pp. 5, 6), 'as a people, to take great interest in popular education, and in some sort we do. A man by dint of rare native gifts and great industry and perseverance, with only the advantages of a common school education, rises to a leading position among men. We shout at once, "See what the common school can do!" But this is no fair test of the efficiency of the common school. These men learned little more than to read poorly, and to write worse, at the common school. The true test is, What are our schools doing for the masses? Who does not know that a good reader among those who have attended our common schools is a rare exception? Who does not know that a great number of the children of Vermont have left its schools without the capacity to write a letter legibly and intelligibly? We speak of the rural districts, where the great masses of the children attend school, and where twenty-eight out of every thirty children in the United States are to be found.'

It is true that this is not the picture of American education which has been given by many English travellers in America; but

it is the only one compatible with all the facts of the case, as indubitably ascertained. It is the picture painted by the light of truth falling on the facts of American life and organisation; it is the picture painted by real authorities in the country itself. It may be added that nothing is more common than for a cursory visitor to judge a school by its buildings and furniture—of which latter he may be no judge whatever—by its singing, led by a piano, and by its military precision of drill. In these matters New York especially makes a brave show.

Within the last three years free schools appear to have become the law in all parts of the Union. This has arisen naturally enough from the special circumstances of the country. Whether it is a beneficial arrangement is another question. That a good and fit 'humane' and civil education should be costly to obtain can never be a good thing; hence educational endowments, wisely husbanded and administered, ought to be a chief blessing to a country; and hence, in particular, public provision to meet in part the case of those to whom an adequate education for their children is too costly a demand on their means is wise and just. Such provision is most conveniently and equitably made out of public endowments, if such exist. But, on the other hand, a parent is as much bound to provide education for his children, according to his ability, as to provide bread; and any arrangement, which relieves the parents of a nation altogether of this personal responsibility, tends to demoralise the family institute, and introduces a strong taint of communism into the national economy.

It cannot be denied that the American free-school system has very naturally grown up as the result of circumstances. The common school was and is the necessity of young settlements or sparsely populated districts, and was as natural a provision in America as the parochial school in England or Scotland. The common lands—the land as yet unappropriated—of the State, or of the Union at large, constituted a natural endowment out of which to meet more or less the charge of the common school. But the school should not have been absolutely free. In our own country endowed free schools have generally done more harm than good; they have been nests of indolence and abuse. So has it also been in the States. 'It requires a good deal of nerve,' as the Vermont secretary writes, 'for a man to deny the daughter of his friend a certificate (as teacher), especially if the parent should chance to be a member of his parish, or on the list of his patients, or to be trad-

ing at his store.\*' In a free school there is no direct or obvious reward for efficiency, no personal loss to the teachers in case of inefficiency. Nor does the parent feel that, if his child fails to go to school when he ought, or receives no effective instruction at school, he is losing his money's worth.

In many cases, indeed, till within the last few years, the common schools were not always or absolutely free. The money derived from the public funds was applied as far as it would go, and then, when it was exhausted, the balance due was paid by means of 'rate bills' levied on the parents. This arrangement, however, worked so irregularly and so unfairly, that it was the source of perpetual discontent. Often the difficulty was, and is still, avoided by keeping the school open for just so many months or weeks as the funds last, and then closing for the year. The Commissioner's Report still contains lamentations, year after year, that this practice is by no means brought to an end. Here, indeed, we see the reason of the wofully short school-term in some parts of the country. The outcome of the whole matter is, that 'rate-bills' are now universally abolished, and that the schools, be they open for a longer or a shorter term, are free schools. In New York the requisite funds are derived from (1) a State school-tax of one and a quarter millions on the taxable value of real and personal property; (2) an equal amount from the city and county; (3) one-twentieth of one per cent. on the taxable property of the city and county of New York; (4) the balance derived from the municipal taxes and revenue of the city of New York, but not to exceed \$10 per capita on the whole

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\* 'I hope,' says Mr. John B. Thompson, Superintendent for Fagston Township, Vermont, 'the day will soon dawn when only those who are *well qualified* will teach, and those who are afraid of manual labour must meet the foe, or seek refuge elsewhere than in the teacher's desk' ('State Report, 1869,' Appendix, p. 53).

This relates, it must be remembered, to old-settled and highly-civilised Vermont, which has been called the 'Arcadia of the States.' Mr. C. M. Bliss, Superintendent of Public Schools for Woodford, in the same State, thus states his experience:—'I have lived in this town over fourteen years, and during that time I have seen no improvement in the schools. We employ teachers of a low grade. I have given certificates' (as teachers) 'to girls who did not know so much of arithmetic as a boy of ten years old ought to'—in America this is very little indeed, as we have seen—'and who had about as much knowledge of the geography of their country as an Esquimaux Indian. As to grammar, they hardly knew what the word meant. But the question was—these or none' ('Report,' 1869, Appendix, p. 8).

number of children taught. The total cost last year was not less than \$2,800,000, the entire average number of children taught being not quite 108,000; that is to say, the cost per head for each scholar was \$26.

There is nothing, assuredly, in the results of American free-school education to encourage us in this country to adopt so costly an experiment. Neither as to efficiency, nor attendance, does it promise for us any improvement; and as respects compulsion, we have seen how absolutely mythical is the idea that the United States have mastered, or even attempted to grapple with, that problem. Boston may have its truant-officers; New York City a compulsory law, which from the first has been absolutely a dead letter; Rhode Island and Connecticut may be in the infancy of an attempt to carry out a degree and extent of compulsion, which would be futile and ridiculous in this country; New York State may have lately passed the remarkable law to which we have directed attention; but over the great breadth of the States no attempt whatever has been made, even on paper, and no practical attempt has been made in any great city, except Boston; and even there waifs and strays still defy the law and the truant-officers.

Meantime we cannot fail to connect the principle of free education with that weakening of parental influence, and that perilous depreciation, not to say contempt, of family responsibilities and duties, which are at this moment the most painful and portentous symptoms in connection with the fast and ambitious social life of the States. This is a subject on which we dare not enlarge; but it cannot but be felt that for children to be educated, not under any direction or responsibility of the parent, but solely at the charge and under the direction of the State, and for parents to shrink from family responsibilities, are two facts which well agree. Other points, also, may be noted. The youth whom the State has educated, *in loco parentis*, has scarcely left school before he becomes, in most parts of the Union, an independent citizen and voter, from whom an original and individual opinion on civil and political questions is due; and so, under his father's roof, he becomes an independent political power. All these matters go together, and all tend to add intensity to the social evils, over which the wise and good in the United States lament.

It is impossible not to admire the liberality with which, in the foremost cities of the United States, educational institutions are provided and sustained; and the energy which, throughout such vast territories, has

everywhere made some provision, without hesitation or delay, for the education of the young. But the example of the United States is certainly not such as to encourage us to revolutionise our own principles and methods of public instruction, whether elementary or more advanced. Meantime let us hope that the misrepresentations as to American school education, which have been current in this country for so many years, and which, in particular, the party of secular educationists have so diligently propagated, will at length come to an end. The ideas and projects of Massachusetts theorists have been accepted as if they were the facts of universal American law and life; whereas they have never become realities even in New England, and have found no place whatever in the States generally. This illusion has bred not a little confusion and error in the views of English educationists, and it is high time it was finally exploded.

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- ART. V.—1. *A Letter addressed to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, on occasion of Mr. Gladstone's recent Expostulation.* By John Henry Newman, D.D., of the Oratory. London, 1875.
2. *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance.* By Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster. London, 1875.
3. *A Reply to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone's 'Political Expostulation.'* By the Right Rev. Monsignor Capel, D.D. London, 1875.
4. *Vaticanism: an Answer to Reproofs and Replies.* By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. London, 1875.

WE held from the first that Mr. Gladstone had rendered a signal service to the causes of civil and religious liberty by his 'Expostulation' addressed to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. Even those who blame him most for ever raising the controversy stirred by his pamphlet, must admit that it has certainly had the effect of eliciting ample explanations from those best qualified to offer them. The challenge flung down with remarkable vigour has been taken up with as remarkable promptitude. Roman Catholics of all degrees have come forward to vindicate the Vatican Decrees, and to confute the notion that they involve innovations menacing the rights of the Civil Power. Amongst those who have stepped into the arena to do battle for Rome, there are three

whose titles will be universally recognized as spokesmen for their Church, on the score of intellectual eminence, of approved Catholicism and (as regards two) of high ecclesiastical appointments. There could not be found, within the Roman community, three men who more fully represent, by the combination of their characteristics, the shadings of tone and impulse tolerated within the recognised pale of the Papal Church, than Dr. Newman, Archbishop Manning, and Monsignor Capel.

Upon Dr. Newman's merits, as a fervent Catholic, a devoted priest, a theologian imbued with lifelong study of divinity, and above all, as a great teacher and exponent of religious thought, it is superfluous to dilate. His eminence is acknowledged on all sides. In passing through the ordeal of a change of faith, his pious nature never has thrown aside, towards those from whom he separated, conciliatory forms of expression which beam with an air of genial candour, any more than it has contracted, as so often befalls converts, that overwrought temperament which delights in straining bonds of doctrine to intolerable tension. Of this grace of mind, and pleasing avoidance of asperity in argument, his 'Letter to the Duke of Norfolk' is a notable example, offering in this, as in many other respects, a contrast to other publications on the same topics by his distinguished co-religionists.

The hierarchical position of an Archbishop of Westminster would necessarily attach always capital weight to whatever came from his pen in behalf of his Church; but there are grounds why exceptional authority must belong to the words of Archbishop Manning, when expounding acts which emanate from the present occupant of the Holy See. His promotion to the eminent office he occupies was made under circumstances signally illustrative of the esteem he enjoys in Rome, for it was due to the personal action of Pius IX., who deliberately set aside the nominations recommended, in accordance to custom, by the Chapter. Besides, Archbishop Manning was, as he admits, a principal agent in bringing to pass the Vatican Decrees; so that no one should be better qualified to explain their intention.

Monsignor Capel, again, can point, in voucher of the excellence of his doctrine, to a distinction, second only to the high trust for which the Archbishop was selected. When in the Roman councils it was seen fit to attempt in Protestant England the experiment, which has not met with much encouragement even in Catholic Ireland, of an University embodying strictly Papal principles, Monsignor Capel was singled out of

the mass of English Catholics as the man best qualified to preside over a scholastic institution which, it is fondly hoped, will neutralise the deleterious influence of our educational system, and charm away the youth of England from the noxious atmosphere of our national high-schools into the carefully weeded pasture-grounds of an immaculate doctrine:—an ample mark of the implicit confidence which Rome reposes in his judgment and his doctrine. Taking the pleadings of these three champions in the aggregate, we may feel assured of having before us every argument it is possible to adduce in refutation of Mr. Gladstone's allegations. Whatever can be said in disapproval of the Vatican Decrees containing aught contrary to the immemorial customs of the Church, or fraught with possible danger either to its traditional constitution or to its relations towards the State, that will of a certainty be found somewhere in the pages of one or other of these three most competent spokesmen; and whatever does not so stand there, we may confidently assume to have been omitted because these eminent advocates instinctively felt that the plea could not possibly be sustained with any show of plausibility.

One more observation we must make before proceeding to examine the arguments respectively advanced by these advocates. Dr. Newman, conscious of the variance in animus that may be discernible between his pleadings and those of others, gently deprecates as a 'showy and serviceable retort in controversy, but nothing more,' any criticism founded on the 'very considerable differences in argument and opinion between himself and others who have replied to Mr. Gladstone.' Could we persuade ourselves that the force of criticisms founded on such discrepancies were limited to the flash of an empty retort we should certainly leave them aside, but with all respect for Dr. Newman, we cannot bring ourselves to look on them in this light. The discrepancies between his tone and that of his eminent comrades, are characteristic of material differences between them in status and in the elements they represent. It has been the fortune of him, who must be considered the most illustrious acquisition made in our time by the Church of Rome in this country, never to have been advanced to such official distinction as has been freely showered on other converts in the service of the Church of his adoption. While so many have been promoted to offices of dignity and trust, the great Oxford teacher, whose words, more than those of any contemporary, quickened his generation in that remarkable movement

which has carried not a few to Rome, so far from having been made an object of honour, has been left to spend his days in the humble ministrations of a simple Father of the Oratory. Dr. Newman has been allowed to remain (as far as the Roman Curia is concerned) an obscure priest; and his utterances derive weight solely from his personal character, and his recognised religious fervour and illumination. As he takes care to say himself, he writes as one 'not in any sense in the counsels of Rome.' In Archbishop Manning, and in Monsignor Capel, we listen, on the contrary, to ecclesiastics in possession of not merely that degree of theological knowledge which it is within the grasp of every diligent Catholic to derive from authenticated records of public property, but avowedly admitted to the exceptional confidence of the Roman Curia, and addressing us with the full credentials of appointed organs. This construction of the relative values to be set on the respective utterances of Dr. Newman and of Archbishop Manning, is none of our devising. It is claimed for his words by the Archbishop, with a distinctness which has the merit of plain speech. In a passage not the least remarkable among many remarkable passages in his dissertation on the score of boldness, the Archbishop, with a view to impart special effect to a thundering volley of tirade immediately preceding, appends these noteworthy words: 'It may not be amiss to add, lest it should be thought that the statement is merely a private opinion, that the text from which I quote was translated into Italian in Rome, in 1862, was examined by the Censorship, and printed at the Propaganda Press.'—(p. 131.) Here, therefore, the Archbishop not only proclaims his pretensions to have his opinions ranked as very superior to those of a 'private' Doctor, but he furnishes us with what he declares to be canonical tests for this superior authority, namely, that the opinions in question have been scrutinised and allowed to pass unchallenged by the Roman Censorship, and have been printed at the Propaganda Press. It is so rare in discussion with spokesmen of the Curia to pick up from them any distinct statement as to positive tests for what is, and for what is not, of authority, that we are truly beholden to Archbishop Manning for having, in the eagerness to vindicate the transcendent value of his own words, glided into a tangible definition that can be grasped and applied with confidence. We have it now, under Archbishop Manning's hand, that the fact of an opinion having been passed without challenge by the Censorship of the Roman

Curia, and having been circulated through the agency of the Propaganda Press, constitutes a positive test that such opinion is not merely a private one, but is approved of and concurred in by the infallible depository of the authority of the Church, the sublime guardian of Faith and Morals.

In the dedication to the Duke of Norfolk, we meet at the very outset an expression eminently distinctive of the difference in complexion between Dr. Newman's theological views and those of his more thorough Vaticanist co-religionists. 'None but the *Schola Theologorum*,' says he, 'is competent to determine the force of Papal and Synodal utterances, and the exact interpretation of them is a work of time.' These plain words affirm distinctly, that to the body of those who are skilled in the learning of the Church appertains the faculty of determining the import and scope of any utterance emanating with the solemn accent of dogmatic enunciation from the Head of the Church. A definition of that particular process on the part of the *Schola Theologorum*, which can so determine the precise value of a Papal utterance, Dr. Newman does not give. This much, however, is involved in his saying that the canonical import and binding force of a solemn Pontifical sentence are not determined, except through the mature operation of protracted study and interpretation on the part of the illuminated doctors of the Church. But this opinion is quite at variance with the principles laid down by the official representatives of the Curia. It is contrary to the general spirit of their exposition and to the actual terms of particular propositions enunciated by them with laboured emphasis. Indeed, the very expression *Schola Theologorum* would appear excluded, as of evil sound, from Vatican terminology, for it never once occurs throughout Archbishop Manning's disquisition. There is, however, more than the merely negative test of omission to show the incompatibility between any such regulating intervention by theologians as Dr. Newman contemplates, and the direct, immediate, and self-appointed force which Archbishop Manning claims emphatically to be within the competency of the Pope to affix of his own office to any sentence he may deliver. In the pamphlet before us this high authority declares, first, that 'it belongs to the Church alone to determine the limits of its own Infallibility' (p. 167); and, directly after, that, 'by the definition of the Vatican Council, what is traditionally believed by all the faithful in respect of the Church, is expressly declared of the Roman Pontiff' (p. 168). Again, in another place, we read:

'Mr. Gladstone thinks to aggravate the case by adding that the Pope is to be the ultimate judge of what acts are *ex cathedra*, and who else should be? *Ejus est interpretari cujus est condere* is a principle of all law' (p. 17). Beyond dispute these words affirm that, in so far as his title to Infallibility rests on this Vatican definition, the Pope is seised of absolute faculties for determining the range of his own Infallibility; that on him, and him alone, depends the force that shall attach to such utterances as he may be moved at any time to make. This interpretation of what is implied by Papal Infallibility is expressed with even greater explicitness in words, written by Archbishop Manning himself, on an occasion of capital solemnity. Whoever has perused his writings will admit that the Archbishop is a consummate master in the arts of controversy. No one knows better how to state a case in language as forcible by its terseness as it is impressive from a semblance of frankness; nor has any one a keener sense for what can be paraded with effect and what had better be kept out of sight. It is therefore remarkable that in this exposition, avowedly meant to dispel Protestant misconceptions, and to expound without reservation the doctrine involved in the Vatican Decrees, the Archbishop, though referring repeatedly and at length to certain Pastorals of his own, should yet steadily omit to quote from them the passages which bear most directly on the particular points under discussion. It is true that these are not exactly calculated to produce an appeasing effect on minds not predisposed to hail, as intensified messages of sublime truth, theological propositions because couched in the unveiled formulas of extreme Ultramontaniam. That the passages in question are, however, couched in such formulas with all the deliberateness of solemn reflection, is a matter of grave significance; for they occur in a Pastoral spontaneously indited by the Archbishop under a sense that, as 'Head of the Papal Church in England,' he was bound to instruct officially those within his spiritual jurisdiction as to the canonical import and nature of the doctrine that had been just promulgated by the Vatican Council. In this dogmatic document, addressed, not to sceptical ears, but to the sympathetic audience of Papal devotees, we find the following definitions:—

'The privilege of Infallibility is *personal*, inasmuch as it attaches to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, as a *public* person distinct from, but inseparably united to the Church. . . . It is also *independent*, inasmuch as it does not depend upon either the *Ecclesia*

*docens* or the *Ecclesia discens*. . . . It is *absolute*, inasmuch as it can be circumscribed by no human or ecclesiastical law. . . . It is *separate* in no sense, nor can so be called, without manifold heresy, unless the word be taken to mean *distinct*. In this sense, the Roman Pontiff is *distinct from the Episcopate*, and is a *distinct subject of Infallibility*; and in the *exercise of his supreme doctrinal authority, or magisterium, he does not depend for the Infallibility of his definitions* upon the consent or consultation of the Episcopate, but only on the Divine assistance of the Holy Ghost.' \*

Now whatever plea may be set up, with the view of explaining away these words differently from their natural sense, this much we hold to be irrevocably fixed, that an Infallibility of the Pope which, in whatever form, can be considered *personal, independent, absolute, and distinct* from every co-operation on the part of the Episcopate, must perforce be one which decidedly shuts out the *Schola Theologorum* from all part in determining the scope and bearing of its nature.

It is true these terms are not repeated in the Archbishop's present publication; and that the other Vatican theologian, Monsignor Capel, after using in print the expression 'personal Infallibility,' hastened to state it was merely a quotation. The idea may have suddenly occurred, that no amount of ingenuity could possibly evolve any minimising interpretation of the Vatican Decrees that would command the least effect, so long as these obnoxious terms were not got out of sight. We venture on no conjectural explanation as to the motive that may have impelled those in the confidence of the Vatican to eschew at this moment the highly emphatic terms which before they freely employed; but we cannot forget that they have been deliberately employed on occasions of capital solemnity; nor that, though omitted in the plain letter, they yet in substance are smuggled in even now by these adroit controversialists in formulas less ostentatiously conspicuous. Nor can it be denied that a notable difference must exist between the conceptions of a mind that ascribes to the *Schola Theologorum* the function of determining the force of Infallibility, and those necessarily entertained by all who proclaim Infallibility as a *personal, independent, absolute, and distinct* attribute of the Pope's individuality in virtue of his office.

'The key-note of Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet is this,' says Dr. Newman, quite correctly, 'that

\* 'Petri Privilegium: The Vatican Council and its Definitions, a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy,' p. 113.

since the Pope claims Infallibility in faith and morals, and since there are no "departments and functions of human life which do not and cannot fall within the domain of morals," and since he claims also "the domain of all that concerns the government and discipline of the Church," and, moreover, "claims the power of determining the limits of those domains," and "does not sever them by any acknowledged or intelligible line from the domains of civil duty and allegiance," therefore Catholics are moral and mental slaves, and "every convert and member of the Pope's Church places his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another." "I admit," he concludes, "Mr. Gladstone's premises, but I reject his conclusion, and now I am going to show why I reject it."—p. 39.

Our business here is not to judge whether in the heat of argument Mr. Gladstone may not have occasionally used words of unusual severity, but to consider how far the essence of his serious allegations is really neutralized by the substance of what is advanced in rejoinder. Dr. Newman joins issue by alleging that there is nothing in the '*supreme direction*,' claimed by the Pope, 'of Catholics in respect to all duty' which can possibly involve one tittle more interference of an arbitrary kind over human actions than appertains to the attributes of the Law.

'The Law is *supreme*,' he exclaims, 'and the Law *directs* our conduct under the manifold circumstances in which we have to act, and must be absolutely obeyed. . . . Yet no one would say that the Law, after all, with all its power in the abstract, and its executive vigour in fact, interferes either with our comfort or our conscience. . . . Law, to apply Mr. Gladstone's words, "is the shadow that cleaves to us, go where we will." Moreover, it varies year after year, and refuses to give any pledge of fixedness or finality. Nor can any one tell what restraint is to come next, perhaps painful personally to himself. . . . Is not all this enough to try the temper of a freeborn Englishman, and to make him cry out with Mr. Gladstone, "Three-fourths of my life are handed over to the Law; I care not to ask if there be dregs or tatters of human life such as can escape from the description and boundary of Parliamentary tyranny"? Yet though we may dislike it, though we may at times suffer from it ever so much, who does not see that the thralldom and irksomeness is nothing compared with the great blessings which the Constitution and Legislature secure to us?'—pp. 41, 42.

It is to us matter of surprise that an intellect of Dr. Newman's keenness should have committed the error of meeting Mr. Gladstone's charge by a rejoinder that strikes manifestly so wide of the mark. The Law invoked by Dr. Newman, as a case in reply, constitutes no such case. The Law, which he would bring into court as a witness in his favour, is a Law embodying fixed

public principles, and acquiring solemn force through the warrant of public assent to the enactment of its chapters. Dr. Newman himself says, the obligations of the Law he dwells on can only come into operation through the medium of constitutional and legislative agency. But the contingency Mr. Gladstone deprecates is an order of things in which Law, no longer dependent for its utterance on the co-operation of public organs, becomes the exclusive prerogative of individual will, and consequently is liable to be the sport of caprice. His contention is, that by certain decrees of the Vatican Council there has been effected an extension of Papal prerogative, which virtually makes this prerogative quite as despotic as ever was that of the Czar of All the Russias, wherewith to render his subjects the victims of vexatious commands through the arbitrary utterance of Ukases. To attempt the disproof of this allegation, by reference to the action of an authority, which cannot be determined by any individual force, but must be the outcome of the public mind, embodying a code on public principles, is really to put forward a fallacy of transparent flimsiness. Mr. Gladstone's contention, to be demolished, requires that it should be grappled with in its particulars, which are stated by him with sufficient precision to afford the opportunity for closing with them. It would be essential for his opponents to show that the acts, to which he carefully refers in support of his conclusions, do not warrant the constructions he has put upon them. Of such acts there is none on which Mr. Gladstone lays more stress than that Third Chapter in the Dogmatic Constitution '*de Ecclesiâ*,' whereby it is declared (we quote from the translation given by Monsignor Capel):—

'*the teaching of Catholic truth, from which no one can deviate without loss of faith and of salvation*,' that the 'power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, which is truly episcopal, is *immediate, to which all, of whatever rite and dignity, both pastor and faithful, both individually and collectively are bound . . . to submit, not only in matters which belong to faith and morals, but also in those which relate to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world. . . . If then any shall say that the Roman Pontiff has the office merely of inspection or direction, and not full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the universal Church—not only in things which belong to faith and morals, but also in those which relate to the discipline and government of the Church—or assert that he possesses merely the principal part and not all the fulness of this supreme power; or that this power which he enjoys is not ordinary and immediate both over each and all the Churches, and over each and all*

the pastors and the faithful, let him be anathema.'

In our opinion, every word Mr. Gladstone has written on the subject of this Chapter is perfectly warranted by its text. It does decree as an universal ordinance, and renders obligatory by the solemn formula of Anathema, the acknowledgment of the Pope's full and immediate power over every member of the Church, whether cleric or lay, in whatsoever matter he himself may deem to concern its administration or discipline, to the entire abrogation of all existing privileges which, in the case of particular ecclesiastical foundations, might seem to bar this claim of the Pope to direct and immediate jurisdiction. Mr. Gladstone sees in this decree not only the formal inscription in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, but also the incorporation in the dogmatic code of the Church, of pretensions which imperious Popes, in the pride and passion of medieval conflicts, have indeed put forth, but which now for the first time have received the semblance of a Catholic sanction, and have been proclaimed in the mode of an universal ordinance, rendered obligatory on conscience by that most solemn of formulas—the formula of Anathema. In what manner then is it sought by these Vatican advocates to invalidate Mr. Gladstone's charges? By what counter pleas is it sought to refute the allegation that the substance of this Third Chapter is an innovation on the organic articles of the Church, and that for its language no authority can be cited except the utterances of Pontiffs, who were the conspicuous representatives of a spirit of theocratic absoluteness, which claimed to be exempt from all civil ties, and considered the deposing power and the prerogative to impose interdicts the cardinal faculties of spiritual authority?

It was with an astonishment which took away our breath that we read the opening statement of Archbishop Manning on this head: 'Mr. Gladstone has argued from the Third Chapter of the Constitution of the Roman Pontiff, that his powers have received a great extension. Mr. Gladstone, so far as I am aware, is the first and only person who has ever ventured on this statement.' (p. 11.) What is to be thought of a controversialist in the Archbishop's position, who can deliberately write down such a sentence, and deliberately give it to the world? It would be trifling with the reader's time to give proofs of the flagrant incorrectness of such an affirmation. It is notorious to whoever has but glanced at the controversy provoked by the Vatican Decrees—it should, perforce, be as familiar to the Arch-

bishop as the contents of his Breviary—that the particular extension of the Pope's prerogative in this Chapter, as pointed out by Mr. Gladstone, constitutes, and has constituted throughout, the foremost article in the remonstrances of those persons—so vehemently inveighed against by the Archbishop as the machinators of a horrible conspiracy against the Church—the Old Catholics. If Archbishop Manning has written down these words in the simplicity of ignorance, then he must stand convicted of never having even looked at one of those anti-Vatican publications, upon the heads of whose authors he pours so freely the vials of his wrath. If, on the contrary, the Archbishop did acquaint himself with the opinions of those he so hotly denounces, then it is impossible to absolve him from the charge of having, in the above sentence, written down that which he must have known not to be according to fact. And on reading further, though we have much reason to be struck by the boldness—not to say audacity—of statement, we regretfully recognise a repeated absence of conformity to patent facts, which, when occurring in so able an advocate as the Archbishop, cannot but shake confidence in the ingenuousness of his pleading. 'As one of "the astute contrivers"' [of the scheme embodied in the Third Chapter] 'I will answer that these words were introduced because the Pontiffs and Councils of the Church have always so used them. They may be "remarkable" and "new" to Mr. Gladstone, but they are old as the Catholic Church. I give the first proofs which come to hand.' (p. 12.)

Let us then look at these would-be proofs, ushered in with such a tone of absolute confidence. Let it be, however, well impressed on the reader's mind that the allegation of Mr. Gladstone rests distinctly on these points:—That the decree stretches the Pope's prerogative beyond all domain previously sanctioned, through its extension over whatever can be declared by him to appertain to '*regimen et disciplina ecclesiæ*;' that the decree is universal in its scope and obligation; and that the stringent terms in which it is couched are without precedent in any dogmatic sentence put forth with the concurrence and formal sanction of the Church, being imported from expressions to be found only in certain utterances of a much-questioned character, autocratically issued by some medieval Popes, who, however vigorous in action, have been considered, by the consent of even Catholic writers, as types rather of haughtiness than of an apostolical spirit. Now, in refutation, the Archbishop brings

forward one text, and one only that as regards its date could possibly be to any purpose for vindicating the ancient authority of the language employed in the decree, though he began by giving us to understand that he would pour forth at haphazard proof upon proof, out of the abundance of evidence which is to his hand. It is, however, the fact that the single tittle of evidence so adduced proves, on examination, to be glaringly out of point on every count, except, perhaps, that of date. Archbishop Manning does not scruple to pass off, as a warrant 'not less formidable than the Third Chapter' for its 'iron gripe,' a Canon, by no means of an Œcumenical Council, as his words would lead an unwary reader to believe, but of a mere Synod convened in 863 at Rome, by Nicholas I., for the particular purpose of adjudicating on the matrimonial cause of King Lothair's bigamous marriage, and of censuring ecclesiastics who had connived thereat. This strictly disciplinary assembly, convoked expressly to give sentence in a case of individual immorality that had been abetted by certain French prelates, did append to its judgment (involving reversal of a verdict pronounced by an ecclesiastical tribunal in France) words declaratory of the Pope's undoubted title to watch over *ecclesiastical discipline* (a totally different thing from *regimen et disciplina ecclesiæ*), and to check wickedness. Such simply disciplinary declaration of the priestly faculty to curb and censure irregularity and immorality—one moreover strictly particular in its application—the Archbishop of Westminster has no scruple in seeking to pass off as a voucher that in the ninth century the *Church in Council* (!) had already sanctioned the formula promulgated as an universal Canon in the Third Chapter, though, in fact, not a word or letter of the said formula is to be found in the Synodal sentence referred to with such preposterous assurance. At every point—be it of circumstance, or of application, or of expression—the case put forward by the Archbishop in this instance breaks down ignominiously; and there we are satisfied to leave it, without caring to speculate whether a piece of workmanship so transparently flimsy was concocted under imperfect knowledge or with consciousness of its utter hollowness.

'But,' continues the Archbishop, 'this Canon was recognised in the Eighth General Council held at Constantinople in 869;' and, as if a text were superfluous when his word is passed for a statement in Church history, he merely appends in a foot-note a

vague reference to Labbe's 'Acts of Councils.' We have turned to Labbe, and it certainly perplexes our intelligence how to construe what we found there in anything like the meaning, in which the Archbishop wishes us to understand it. This Eighth Council met to heal the dissensions caused by the rival claims of Ignatius and Photius to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Pope was represented at it, and beyond doubt his particular rescripts in that particular controversy were accepted and confirmed; but by what process of special interpretation the Archbishop can pretend to make any of its Canons serve as a title-deed for the Pope's full, direct, absolute, and immediate authority universally over all churches, and every individual member thereof, it exceeds our capacity even to surmise, so long as he will not condescend to more than the sort of *ex-cathedra* allegation that this is so with which he has been pleased to content himself. Mr. Gladstone tells us in 'Vaticanism,' that it is the Second Canon which the Archbishop considered himself justified in making the basis of his statement. That basis has, however, been shown to be wholly without foundation by Mr. Gladstone, who has given the text of this Canon. Of Patriarchal rights, there is, indeed, very explicit mention—those same rights which, precisely in virtue of the terminology of this Third Chapter, Pius IX. has considered himself empowered to make free with; but of that, which the Archbishop desires imperfectly-educated Protestants to believe is contained in them, these Acts seem to us entirely devoid, according to any faithful reading of their words.

And now from this Eighth Council this daring apologist of Vatican doctrine would carry us at a bound into the very thick of medieval times. 'Innocent III. may be no authority with Mr. Gladstone, but he says,' exclaims the Archbishop, 'what every Pontiff before him and after him has said, *Nos qui sumus ad regimen universalis Ecclesiæ supernæ dispositioni vocati*.' If previous Pontiffs did speak this language, the proof has at least been most negligently omitted by the Archbishop, though to have given it would have constituted the crushing reply to Mr. Gladstone's capital allegation, that for the claim now promulgated as an universal precept, no authority is forthcoming, except such as can be found in the presumptuous utterances of those Popes who in the Middle Ages pushed their pretensions to a point, which has converted the history of their times into a continued narrative of incessant conflict between Church and State. Of these overbearing and meddlesome Pon-

tiffs, none was more conspicuous than Innocent III. for the vehemence of his action, and for the haughty energy with which he claimed to interfere in temporal matters. What serious value then can be attached to a supposed canonical voucher in behalf of extended Papal prerogative, which is derived from a spontaneous assertion by Innocent III. of his assumed right as Pope to step in and regulate according to his pleasure the conflict between John of England and Philip Augustus of France? Yet it is a scrap plucked out of a Decretal addressed to the French Prelates by Innocent III., claiming for the Church the right to decide the issues between these Sovereigns—a Decretal known technically as *Novit* in history, as among the most vehement expressions of extreme Papal pretensions—which is here flourished before our eyes by the Archbishop in professed refutation of the assertion, that only in the extravagant utterances of Pontiffs who, like Innocent III., systematically encroached on the domains of secular rights, can there be found any warrant for the powers, which this Third Chapter now makes an article of faith to hold every Pope as seised of. What value could possibly be attached to the argument of a lawyer who, being pressed to establish the conformity of some highhanded procedure to the principles of Magna Charta, sheltered himself behind precedents from Star Chamber practice? Yet this would be in precise analogy to the manner in which the Archbishop has seen fit to argue.

We have, however, yet a word to say on the manner in which the Archbishop makes use of this Decretal. When the Canons of the Eighth Council were in question, he preferred to give no definite reference. But in the matter of this Decretal we are referred by him to Appendix A, where, it is distinctly stated, 'will be found in full the Text' of the same. It is, nevertheless, positive that the text is not given there in full, but in a markedly modified—we may even say, in a garbled—form. Without a word to warn imperfectly acquainted readers of any serious omission, in a Treatise professedly purporting to furnish full instruction to Protestant minds of everything relating to the Vatican Doctrine, the Archbishop has deemed himself justified in dropping out of the text the passages which have made the Decretal memorable as a Papal utterance—namely, those in which Innocent III., without circumlocution, claims, as the right of his Pontifical office, to coerce by physical means. Is this a procedure that can inspire trust in the frankness and in the candour of the person who

indulges in it? We have no mind to comment further on an array of title-deeds drawn out of the pigeon-holes of the later Roman records. A single authentic scrap of primitive times has been asked for; the challenge made has professedly been accepted, but in truth has been glaringly evaded. Despite all the advantages of favoured insight into the innermost archives of Rome, the Archbishop of Westminster has wholly failed to produce one scrap of evidence in support of his bold assertion, that the terms of the Third Chapter merely transcribe the well-known traditional language of the Catholic Church. His fellow-counsel, Monsignor Capel, has shown a wiser discretion. He, at all events, has shrewdly abstained from venturing to vindicate on historical grounds the terminology of the Third Chapter; and thus has avoided the exposure upon which the Archbishop has rushed with extraordinary recklessness.

Before proceeding further, it is well to ascertain the force which this Chapter can have for increasing Papal prerogatives, not merely in theory, but in actual practice. Archbishop Manning makes light of the notion that any such increase can be involved. 'The Vatican Council has left the authority of the Pontiff precisely where it found it,' are his confident words, which, after our experience of his correctness, we would fain test for ourselves by facts, since he disdains to adduce any himself. The Vatican apologists do not dispute that by the terms of this Third Chapter the Pope is vested with direct and immediate powers throughout the Church, notwithstanding any 'rite or dignity.' No organic independence remains therefore to any of the Church's members, who depend wholly on the Pope. He is in himself essence and quintessence; the remainder is constituted of mere functionaries, the creatures of his will—instruments quickened by his breath, and crumbling at its withdrawal. This is an ecclesiastical polity where no organ but one can assert itself on the ground of inherent rights—where the power of issuing commands in whatever relates to the 'government and discipline of the Church,' 'to which all of whatever rite or dignity, both pastors and faithful, both individually and collectively, are bound by their duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, to submit,' subsists exclusively in the individual Pontiff. It is boldly affirmed by Archbishop Manning, that an ecclesiastical system, marked by such absence of all independent authority for 'government and discipline,' on the part of every member and dignitary in presence of the Sovereign Pontiff, is only

what has always prevailed with the assent of the Church. 'The Popes had at all times the power to rule the whole Church, not only in faith and morals, but also in all things which pertain to discipline and government, and that whether infallibly or not.' (p. 14.) We venture to submit that there are facts in past history which wholly refute this assertion, as there are facts in contemporary history which clearly indicate what encroachments on Episcopalian independence, and what violations of ancient customs by the Pope, will be warranted as canonical for the future through the tenor of this now Dogmatic Decree.

It is known that in the days of Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh there were communications, as well with those who in Ireland and England were hierarchical representatives of the Roman Church, as with the Holy See itself, in view of devising some basis satisfactory alike to the Church and to the State, which would enable the latter to recognize the Roman Catholic Establishment. That this matter, involving directly the conditions on which the Spiritual Pastors of the Faithful would be admitted to their charges, fell within the province of the 'regimen et disciplina Ecclesiæ,' will hardly be questioned by any one we apprehend—and least of all, we may confidently assume, by Archbishop Manning—who has, on more occasions than one, claimed for the Pope a really arbitrary prerogative as to nominations in the Church. The method which suggested itself as calculated to meet the requirements of both parties was that popularly known as the Veto, by which the names of candidates for episcopal appointments should be submitted for approval to the Crown before transmission to Rome for canonical institution. If the administration of the Roman Catholic Church has always been confided to the immediate care of the Pope in that strict degree which is expressed in the Third Chapter, then the Pope's opinion ought, perforce, to have been absolute with all true Roman Catholics for acquiescing in such an engagement with the Crown. For Pastors of the Irish Church to have presumed on intimating to a Pope, possessed of the prerogative powers enunciated in this Chapter, that they absolutely decline to consider him capable of duly understanding what was conformable to the interests of the Church in their particular province, on a point of such vital importance for spiritual interests as the mode of nominating Pastors, cannot but have been an act of ecclesiastical insubordination that must have been visited with stringent censure. Yet not only did the Irish Bishops venture on such plain-spoken repudiation of

the Pope's authority to instruct them in regard to this grave matter, but the Pope quietly put up with the rebuke.

It was in February, 1814, that, during the deportation from Rome of Pius VII., a Brief from Monsignor Quarantotti, Vice-Prefect of the Propaganda, in virtue of faculties delegated to him during the Sovereign Pontiff's enforced absence, came to the English Vicar-Apostolic, Dr. Poynter, approving of the proposed arrangement for submitting to the British Government the names of episcopal candidates for its concurrence. In December of the same year, Pius VII. informed the 'Catholics of Great Britain,' from Rome, in a Brief 'under the Ring of the Fisherman' (which is one of the signs Dr. Newman declares that if affixed to the Syllabus, would instantly make it of binding force on his conscience), that inasmuch as the rescript issued 'during our absence and the dispersion of our venerable council,' concerned 'a matter of the highest moment,' it had been referred 'to those of the Congregation of our Venerable Brethren, the Cardinals, to whom matters of this nature are usually referred, in order to be examined by them maturely and *ab integro*.' On April 26, 1815, Cardinal Litta, Prefect of the Propaganda, accordingly transmitted to the Vicars-Apostolic the solemn decision arrived at by this special congregation of Fathers of the Church, and ratified by the Holy Father:

'His Holiness will feel no hesitation in allowing those to whom it appertains [*i.e.* the diocesan clergy and capitular bodies] to present to the King's Ministers a list of candidates, in order that if any of them should be obnoxious or suspected, the Government may immediately point him out, so that he may be expunged, care however being taken to have a sufficient number for his Holiness to choose therefrom individuals whom he may deem best qualified in the Lord for governing the vacant Churches.'

The reception given to this grave utterance by the Venerable Brethren to whom it was addressed, was anything but deferential. The Irish prelates immediately combined to remonstrate, dispatching to Rome as their representative an ecclesiastic of distinction—the subsequent Archbishop Murray,—and on his failing to produce due impression, they collectively drew up and agreed to the following remonstrance against resolutions that had been deliberately sanctioned, and solemnly recommended, as conducive to the interest of the Church, by the Pope:—

'We should consider ourselves as betraying the dearest interests of that portion of the Church which the Holy Ghost has committed to our care, did we not declare most unequivocally that we will at all times, and under all circum-

stances, deprecate and oppose in every canonical and constitutional way, any such interference. *Though we sincerely venerate the Supreme Pontiff as visible Head of the Church, we do not conceive that our apprehension for the safety of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland ought to be removed by any determination of his Holiness adopted, or intended to be adopted not only without our concurrence, but in direct opposition to our repeated resolutions, and the very energetic memorial presented on our behalf, and so ably supported by our deputy the Most Reverend Dr. Murray, who in that quality was more competent to inform his Holiness of the real state and interests of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, than any other with whom he is said to have consulted.*

These are tolerably sharp words to be uttered towards an infallible depositary of Divine authority, by Pastors said by Archbishop Manning to have been solemnly bound to acknowledge in the Pontiff so rudely rebuked, not merely an 'office of inspection or direction,' but 'full and supreme jurisdiction,' with 'ordinary and immediate power' over themselves. The remonstrance was made in August 1815. In February 1816, Pius VII. replied in a long Brief, dated from the Basilica of St. Mary Major, and addressed to 'his Venerable Brethren the Archbishop and Bishops of Ireland,' and, therefore, again provided with one of Dr. Newman's sign-marks of a grave sentence. This interesting document is too long to be given here *in extenso*. It is couched in the customary style of solemn Roman utterances, and has the usual references to ecclesiastical authorities and to ecclesiastical precedents:—

'The perusal of your letters has,' writes the Supreme Pontiff, 'impressed our mind with deep concern. . . . With what pain then do we find it expressly declared in your letter, that the expedient which, amongst others, we signified that we would follow, for satisfying the Government of the loyalty of those to be elected Bishops, not only did not meet your approbation, but appeared to try to threaten destruction to the Catholic Religion in Ireland. Wherefore, in conformity with our duty, we dispatch the present letter to you, for the purpose of effacing from your minds the not sufficiently well-founded opinion which you appear to entertain in regard to the expedient above alluded to.'

After having stated at length the grounds for his decision, the Pope continues:—

'Venerable Brethren, it is unquestionably evident that what we have done amounts only to this: we have agreed to act steadily towards the British Government, according to the same rule, useful in itself, founded in prudence, which our predecessors, the Roman Pontiffs, even before those times when the nomination of Bishops was granted to Princes, determined,

in their wisdom, to maintain as effectually as might be . . . we therefore, Venerable Brethren, entertain no doubt that you all, having considered and duly weighed what we have thus set before you, will acknowledge the measure adopted by us to be most just, and will, in all respects, conform yourselves to it.'

These Venerable Brethren proved, nevertheless, obdurately deaf to the voice from Rome; nay, they must be held to have shown themselves irreformably contumacious, if we accept Archbishop Manning's version of what in those days already was the law of the Church. They publicly turned away from him whom we are gravely assured it was then 'proximate to heresy' not to regard as infallible, and appealed to the religious conscience of a self-constituted body, termed the 'General Board of Catholics in Ireland,' for an expression of sentiment in protest against the Pope's mandate. This document was transmitted to Rome, and thereupon the Supreme Pontiff again addressed a monitory Brief to these recalcitrant Catholics, in which occur these words: 'As to the suspicion and alarm which we find from the conclusion of your letter you entertain concerning the ecclesiastical affairs of your country, we order you to be at ease.\*' In spite of this emphatic order, the Irish Episcopate would not be at ease; it declined to concur in the Pope's instructions, 'concerning the ecclesiastical affairs of their country,' though explicitly enjoined in the solemn form of Apostolical Briefs, and (which is of special importance for the points immediately under discussion) this dogged disregard of Pontifical opinion must have been acquiesced in by the Pope as not exceeding the independence legitimately appertaining to Bishops, for it never was visited with Pontifical censure.

In the face of these transactions, we would put to Archbishop Manning the following queries:—1. Can he venture to affirm that the points involved in the matters at issue between the Irish Bishops and the Pope did not fall within the province of matters appertaining to the 'regimen et disciplina Ecclesiæ,' as comprehended within the Third Chapter? 2. If he does venture on this affirmation, will he state the grounds of intrinsic difference which could make it not a point of 'regimen et disciplina Ecclesiæ' in Ireland sixty years ago, whether the concur-

\* The documentary evidence for these transactions will be found in Butler's 'Memoirs of English and Irish Catholics,' vol. iv., 3rd edit. They are given partly in the Appendix and partly in the Text. The Pope's first Brief is printed in *extenso*, but of the last only an extract is given.

rence of the State was to be sought for ecclesiastical nomination, but must make this matter now a point of 'regimen et disciplina' when raised in Germany, as results from the Pontifical condemnation, as impious, of that particular legislative enactment which demands that the nomination of ecclesiastics to preferments should be intimated to the Civil authorities before induction? We here raise no question as to the general nature of recent German and Prussian legislation in Church matters, but strictly confine ourselves to the particular point of preliminary consultation with the State before ecclesiastical appointments, vehemently condemned by Pius IX. as incompatible with the principles of the Church, but which Pius VII. held to be a matter as to which it formed no part of his indelible disciplinary *magisterium* to impose an opinion. 3. Will he be prepared to declare that with this Third Chapter, proclaimed as a Dogmatic Decree, he can contemplate the possibility of his ever, 'as Head of the Papal Church in England,' associating himself with his Suffragan Bishops for the purpose of remonstrating, even feebly, against Apostolical Briefs analogous to those so unceremoniously protested against by the Irish Bishops? 4. If he should think that such remonstrance need not be incompatible with the submission due by him, according to the Third Chapter, to the Pope's immediate and ordinary jurisdiction, will he be also ready to affirm that, in presence of certain facts, with which he must be well acquainted, he can in his conscience believe that Pius IX. would tolerate any manifestations of independent opinion by any section of the hierarchy similar to those which Pius VII. did not deem it incompatible with the nature of his office to acquiesce in? One fact in particular, which we have at present in our mind, is the action by the present Pope towards the Uniat Armenian Church.

The Uniat Armenians acquired their Constitution as a Body in communion with Rome under an instrument from Benedict XIV. In that deed guarantees of the most solemn kind were given by the Pope for the continued free election of Patriarchs, Bishops, and Clergy, conformably to the old-established usages of the Oriental rites. This Constitution carried with it other than strictly religious bearings. It has been the invariable practice of the Turkish Government to accord civil rights to its non-Mussulman subjects only as members of acknowledged religious communities, represented through officially recognised Headmen resident at Constantinople, and termed Civil Patriarchs. Only as such Patriarchs come to be recognised by the Sublime Porte, does a

religious community acquire a legal status in the Ottoman empire, whose acquiescence in the nomination is consequently an essential condition for the validity of the position of this dignity in the State. Purely spiritual authority can be exercised through the medium of strictly sacerdotal influence over sympathizing minds; but a legal status, with the many benefits accruing therefrom, can be obtained in the Turkish empire by a Christian community only through the concurrence of the Porte, in its being constituted as a community, the headship whereof is vested in a recognised Patriarch. It became quite naturally an object with the Roman Curia to obtain for the Uniat community ecclesiastically constituted this recognition from the Porte. This was at last accomplished in 1830; and from that time, beside the national Armenian, there was also an Uniat Patriarch, who had a civil position at Constantinople. Manifestly such an arrangement partakes of the nature of a compact, resting upon conditions interchanged between the Body seeking and the State according legal recognition; the very foremost being necessarily that the ecclesiastical authorities should not assume to modify of themselves the Constitution that had been acquiesced in by the State. This is, however, what Pius IX. has deemed himself justified in doing towards the Uniat Church and the Turkish Government. For years it was the endeavour of Rome to supplant the native priesthood of national fibre by importation of clergy educated at the Propaganda, with the view of silently undermining the organic liberties which by the tenor of Pope Benedict's Charter had been secured to this Church. The process came to a climax on the intrusion of one Hussain, a Roman nominee, into the Patriarchate. On the occasion of the last vacancy in the See, the electors duly assembled, according to canonical prescription, for the nomination of a successor, were astounded by the production of a Papal Brief, issued in absolute secrecy some years before, by which Hussain had been assured of the reversion. Through artifice, and through influences considerably reinforced by French diplomacy, Hussain contrived to get himself sufficiently accepted in his community, so as to acquire the recognition of the Porte as Patriarch. As the representative of the Uniat Armenians he attended the Vatican Council, and there his conduct brought matters to a crisis. In violation of the oath which he had been made to swear on his elevation, conformably to the instrument of Benedict XIV., Hussain recognised the Pope's absolute and direct authority in all matters touching the Church,

of whose ancient liberties he had been sworn as guardian. What ensued is matter of public knowledge. The Armenian Bishops in Rome—barring those who, like Hussain, were creatures of the Propaganda—withdraw from a Council which had become for them only an instrument of coercion, seeking, in the first instance, under the diplomatic wing of the Sultan's ambassador, some protection against that 'iron gripe' which, in virtue of an assumedly Divine prerogative to extort in all things unlimited obedience, strove in their persons to strangle ecclesiastical liberties of venerable origin. When all appeals finally failed in making any impression on the obduracy of Papal passion, there occurred the inevitable consequence—a determined repudiation by the Uniat body of the action perpetrated by an unfaithful patriarch—the solemn deposition, according to canonical forms, of Hussain—and a state of things involving the separation of an ancient rite from Rome, and obliging the Porte to withdraw its recognition from the Patriarch, and to decline the Pope's demand that it should forcibly coerce the Armenians into ecclesiastical subjection to Hussain, in other words, to Rome.\* These transactions are pre-eminently interesting, for they furnish a gauge whereby to measure the stretch to which Pius IX. is prepared to drive defiantly the wedge of his personal authority through ecclesiastical charters, however august, and athwart the domain of civil jurisdiction, however unquestionable. In this stroke of usurpation the initiative proceeded exclusively from the Pope, who gratified his lust of absolute power in the appointment of Bishops by acts, which deliberately brought the Church into collision with the State, and constituted a striking instance of highhanded and contemptuous disregard of the latter. Archbishop Manning, from the part he played in the Vatican Council, must be thoroughly familiar with these occurrences, though he has not seen fit to make any allusion to them. Can he say that the action of Pius IX. on this occasion was strictly in conformity with precedents 'as old as the Catholic Church'? Is the collision, which most undoubtedly did ensue out of this matter between the Pope and the State, one which with any show of reason can be said to be due—as the Archbishop affirms all such collisions to be due—to 'a systematic conspiracy against the Holy See'?

The far East is by no means the single

quarter where Pius IX. has exhibited specimens of the encroachment upon immemorial custom in Church government, which he deems essential for sound 'regimen et disciplina Ecclesiæ' in these latter days. They are forthcoming near home; indeed, so very near, that some touch Archbishop Manning himself closely. Before the Committee of the House of Lords upon the Condition of Ireland in 1825, Archbishop Murray made the following statements as to the mode in which Roman Catholic Bishops were appointed to Ireland:—

'The nomination of Roman Catholic Bishops is vested in the Bishop of Rome, but he *never appoints, at least for many years he has not appointed, except from the recommendation of some portion of the Irish Catholic clergy.*' 'Are you to be understood that the Pope does not customarily nominate them, except on recommendation?'—'*He never does, so far at least as many years back.*' 'Have there been any instances in which, when persons have been so recommended for institution, the Pope has refused his consent?'—'*Not within my recollection.*' 'In point of fact, the Pope has always taken the recommendation of the clergy in Ireland?'—'*Always in my recollection.*'

And Bishop Doyle, after confirming all this, added the following remarkable observation in reply to a further question:—

'If the Pope were to reject any recommendation of any person, proposed to be appointed Bishop in Ireland, what would be the consequences? must there be a fresh election?'—'*That is a case which has not hitherto occurred in the history of our Church, as far as I am acquainted with it, and it would be too much for so humble an individual as I am to state what resolutions the persons concerned would come to in that event.*' (Committee, House of Lords, March 21 and 24.)

The case which had never occurred in the history of the Church, and the event which was of so wholly foreign a character that the mind of the learned Bishop Doyle declined even to contemplate its occurrence, has, since his time, become not unfamiliar to the Catholics of Great Britain. In Ireland Cardinal Cullen was named to the See of Armagh by direct nomination from the Pope, who set aside all the candidates submitted for selection by the local clergy, according to custom. The innovation thus made on ancient usage has since been repeated more than once in Ireland, and has likewise been introduced into England. It was to such an exercise of the Pope's plenary authority that Archbishop Manning exclusively owed his promotion. Previous to the creation of the Hierarchy, England, being in the state of a Mission, was ecclesiastically under Vicars-Apostolic directly

\* A succinct account of these transactions is to be found in the Appendix to Fortescue's 'Armenian Church.'

named from Rome. At various times the Catholics of this country made earnest efforts to obtain a Hierarchy, so as to be rid of ecclesiastical superiors who were blind instruments of a foreign element. In the latter part of the seventeenth century two prominent English priests even contemplated getting a Bishop consecrated by French prelates, with the view of effecting canonical emancipation; and again in 1792 an Association was founded, avowedly according to Milner, 'to oppose the usurpations of Rome and the tyranny of the Vicars-Apostolic.' But when Pius IX. did establish a Hierarchy, he took the precaution to cripple its faculties. England still remains under the Propaganda, as if it were in a state of Mission, and although capitular bodies are allowed to go through the form of presentment, these carry in practice no weight at Rome. On Cardinal Wiseman's death, not only was Archbishop Manning intruded on the chapter, but as one of the three candidates recommended by it, happened to have been Coadjutor of the See, *cum jure successionis*, the Pope, by an unprecedented stroke of power, actually stripped him of his ecclesiastical position in order to make room for his own nominee. As on the occasion of the last Episcopal vacancy, the Pope likewise promoted to the See of Nottingham an ecclesiastic of his own choice, in entire disregard of the names submitted by the Chapter, it is manifest that this mode of direct Papal nominations is becoming a system. After the promulgation of the Third Chapter, such a proceeding is perfectly normal; for it distinctly abrogates all independent Episcopal rights, and reduces the universal Hierarchy into an assemblage of Papal creatures.

There is, indeed, one rejoinder Vatican apologists might perhaps make to the points we have been dwelling upon. They may say that the incidents referred to have occurred anterior to and independently of the Vatican Decrees, and that consequently they must be irrelevant to the immediate subject matter under controversy, namely, whether through these Decrees the Pope's prerogative has been really stretched. Such a plea would be more specious than valid. The subject matter of inquiry is not whether the sentiments in the Decrees are wholly without precedent, but whether they are conformable to any precedent in dogmatic utterances; and as they are now embodied in utterances of this august character, it is very much to the purpose to note the nature and temperament of that dominant force which has succeeded in clothing these sentiments with a semblance of the sublimest

sanction it is possible to frame upon earth. The ecclesiastical acts of Pius IX. are deserving, therefore, of special attention—and none more so than the much-commented on Encyclical of 1864, with the accompanying Syllabus. Mr. Gladstone has levelled his lance with an unswerving directness against these famous utterances, as authoritative expositions of principles with which it is the determined aim of the Papal power to inundate the Roman body through the faculties conferred upon it in virtue of these Decrees. Whether in his reading of these documents he may not have overstrained the meaning here or there of a word is of very secondary importance. The point of moment is whether, by those who are competent representatives of the Roman Church—of the elements, moral, intellectual, and devotional that are embodied in its present Executive—these documents are regarded as merely casual expressions incidentally dropped by the man Pius IX., and clothed with no authoritative weight, or whether they are accepted by them as Pontifical sentences of august force. Dr. Newman states his view on this head with a clearness which is free from all ambiguity. He holds the Encyclical to be, indeed, an utterance conveying 'infallible judgment' (p. 82); but in the Syllabus he can recognise only an anonymous document, with 'no mark or seal put upon it which gives it a direct relation to the Pope.' Again he says:—

'Who is its author? . . . anyhow it is not the Pope, and I do not see my way to accept it for what it is not. . . . I assent to that which the Pope propounds in faith, and morals, but it must be he speaking officially, personally, and immediately, and not any one else, who has a hold over me. The Syllabus is not an official act, because it is not signed, for instance, with "Datum Romæ, Pius P.P. IX.," or "sub annulo Piscatoris," or in some other way; it is not a personal, for he does not address his "Venerabiles Fratres," or "Dilecto Filio," or speak as "Pius Episcopus;" it is not an immediate, for it comes to the Bishops only through the Cardinal Minister of State. If, indeed, the Pope should ever make that anonymous compilation directly his own, then, of course, I should bow to it, and accept it as strictly His' (p. 79).

Finally, he adds, 'The Syllabus then has no dogmatic force' (p. 81). We accept these explicit declarations from Dr. Newman, as the expressions of his sincere conviction, and in no sort couched in language adopted for the occasion; but also nowhere in his Letter are we more forcibly impressed that we peruse the composition of one who, though eminent for the purity of his Catholic sentiments, is yet in no manner

in the counsels of Rome. Whatever defect on the score of Chancery forms the curious eye of an ecclesiastical antiquarian might be able to detect in the Syllabus, if he were minded to pick holes in its value as a canonical instrument, it cannot for one instant be called in question by any candid mind but that the solemn—nay, dogmatic—character of the Syllabus has been affirmed in the plainest terms, not merely by Theologians who stand generally high in Vatican favour, but also by such as have been the objects of an approval marked in this conspicuous respect, that, subsequent to their having publicly and solemnly attributed this high character to the Syllabus, they were selected by the plenary discretion of the Holy See for participation in the responsible duty of preparing the material out of which the assembled Episcopate of Latin Christendom was required to fashion the Decrees on Obedience and Infallibility. Dr. Newman more than once refers to writers of standing in his Church. He cites Bishop Dupanloup and Father Coleridge, and particularly Bishop Fessler, the latter of whom, as Mr. Gladstone appropriately observes, shortly before his death was prompted to write a treatise with the view of smoothing down some of the most objectionable points in Vatican theology. Nowhere, however, does Dr. Newman so much as allude to one who, certainly amongst divines prized in Rome, holds a foremost rank, and has written a commentary on the Syllabus that has been honoured with the express approbation of the Pope—the Jesuit Father Schrader. Mr. Gladstone has thoroughly established the degree to which this Jesuit divine vindicates the solemn nature of the Syllabus, as an emphatic utterance of positive and affirmative sentences, carrying, for all true Catholics, the force of sacred obligations. The treatise in which this character is claimed for the Syllabus is not to be made light of—for not only is it given to the world with the voucher of a Papal approbation, but the writer has been subsequently intrusted by the Pope with theological duties of the nicest subtlety. But granting that the opinion of one who has avowedly been admitted into the innermost workshop of the Vatican, was either unknown to or deliberately deemed of imperfect authority by Dr. Newman, yet we cannot close our eyes to the fact, that in what he says as to the nature of the Syllabus he diametrically flies in the face of the views expressed with emphatic solemnity by his immediate ecclesiastical superior. It is not the least remarkable circumstance in Archbishop Manning's 'Reply' that, although professedly directed to the refutation of Mr.

Gladstone's propositions, and ushered in with a declaration that such refutation shall be full, and its 'words shall not be ambiguous,' he has not found it to be within his scope to grapple with him on this ground of the Syllabus, but (from inadvertence or design) gives the matter the go-by.

The Protestant reader, who seeks from this treatise to learn the opinion of the Archbishop of Westminster in regard to the degree of authority, which it is incumbent on a sound Catholic to attach to the document in question, will find himself without the least glimmering of enlightenment. Nor will he gain anything to the purpose from the slight allusion made by Monsignor Capel to the Syllabus. For some reason both these advocates of Vatican principles have been led to omit taking notice of what in our opinion constitutes a capital point in Mr. Gladstone's charge, which it would have been of primary importance to shatter. Happily the light not vouchsafed in pages meant only for allaying the misgivings of startled minds, is to be found in those very instructive Pastorals of the Archbishop's, from which he quotes, indeed, largely, but still only to leave out passages yet more pregnant in import. On the point of the authority which should attach to the Syllabus, the Archbishop delivered himself thus in a Pastoral to his Clergy in 1867. After alluding to the address to the Pope by the Bishops in Rome at the Centenary of St. Peter, the Archbishop says:—

By these words the Bishops did not confirm the Acts of the Pontiff as if they needed confirmation . . . They did not intend or imply that the supreme Pontifical Acts since 1862, in the form of Allocutions, Briefs, Encyclicals, and the Syllabus, were of imperfect and only inchoate authority until their acceptance should confirm them. *Nothing was further from the thoughts of the pastors of the Church. . . . The Encyclical Quanta Cura and the Syllabus or Compendium of Eighty Condemnations in previous Encyclicals and Allocutions—all these had been at once received by them as part or the supreme teaching of the Church through the person of its Head, which by the special assistance of the Holy Ghost is preserved from error.* They did not add certainly to that which was already infallible. . . . It has been my intention to treat of the Encyclical and Syllabus fully and explicitly. But the urgency of other duties has delayed it till now, and I have been compelled to content myself with publishing these two Pontifical Acts in our fifth Diocesan Synod as a part of the supreme and infallible teaching of the Church, both in the Declarations and in the Condemnations contained in them.—*Petri Privilegium*, pp. 33–38.

He must be a bold man who would ven-

ture even on the pretence of an effort to bring into harmony the sense of these emphatic declarations by the Archbishop with that of the language, in which Dr. Newman expresses his estimate as to the intrinsic value of the Syllabus. Beyond all cavil, there is here a serious divergence of sentiment, neither veiled nor capable of being veiled, between these two distinguished champions of the same faith, which constitutes a perplexing illustration on the much-vaunted unity in belief put forward as the characteristic attribute of their persuasion. Where then can we hope for a decisive test as to which of the two commentators on this article has truly spoken in conformity with the intention that inspired its composition? There is one ready to hand, the infallibility of which cannot be possibly assumed by any Catholic, and the testimony borne by which against his opinion Dr. Newman cannot fail to accept as conclusive the instant his attention is drawn to its existence. Amongst the authorities he is fond, and rightly so, of referring to is the 'Recueil des Allocutions.' It needs only to skim the pages of this volume to become impressed with the vigilance of the Holy See in watching for and censuring opinions that may spring up regarding itself, which it considers to be erroneous. The promptness with which the Pope discharges this function has never failed, in particular when an error has manifested itself within the area of the Faithful. That the Syllabus has been construed with a marked emphasis by a widely diffused and very active section of the priesthood, as a Pontifical utterance clothed with that grave character which the Archbishop ascribes to it, is beyond challenge, and specially testified to by Dr. Newman. That the construction thus put upon the Syllabus has powerfully stimulated an angry feeling against the Holy See in various quarters—that it has exposed the Church to much public obloquy—is also matter that cannot be questioned. If then the sense that was being put upon his Act with so much demonstrativeness by an influential section of the Church, and that was productive of such deep irritation on the outer public to the disadvantage of the Church, was one the Pope himself repudiated, how comes it that he should never have stepped forward in accordance with his invariable custom to chide and brand opinions at once so false and so grievously mischievous? To have kept silence under circumstances of this nature would have been to prove unfaithful to that divine *Magisterium* which, according to Catholic belief, is the indelible attribute of the Holy See, for such silence on the part of the Pope would be tanta-

mount to his conniving at the unimpeded circulation of grave errors amongst his flock. Can Dr. Newman point to any single expression—be it ever so casual—that has fallen from the Pope, which seems to breathe the faintest disavowal of those constructions that would render the Syllabus little less than a new Decalogue revealed to this sinful world through the specially inspired organ of Pius IX.? Until he can do so—and for this he will have to wait for some sentence as yet unspoken—we really cannot accept the estimate put by Dr. Newman upon the intrinsic value of the Syllabus in any light other than as a private—we even venture to call it a strictly individual—opinion. Indeed, the demonstration involved in the continued Papal silence should, for a Catholic, be so overpoweringly conclusive, that we can only suppose Dr. Newman must have inadvertently overlooked this public fact when evolving arguments out of the subtleness of his brain in the isolation of his cell.

We are strengthened in this surmise by Dr. Newman's language in reference to another matter of first-rate importance in this controversy—the declarations in regard to the doctrines held in the Roman Church, which were made with the view of authoritatively satisfying the British Government on this head, preparatory to a relaxation of the Penal Laws. The meaning conveyed by Dr. Newman's remarks must be, that the British Government received spurious declarations, because emanating from quarters not capable of giving assurances of sterling value; and that Rome, which alone could have furnished such, never had cognizance of the bodies that assumed to issue the said declarations. According to Dr. Newman, Rome remained necessarily ignorant of that which, though professedly spoken in her name, was, in truth, a clandestine and unauthorized declaration. 'Why did they [the English Ministers] potter about the halls of Universities in this matter of Papal exorbitances, or rely upon the pamphlets and examinations of Bishops whom they never asked for their credentials? Why not go at once to Rome?' (p. 14.) And, again: 'Bishops brought from the corners of the earth in 1870, what could they know of English Blue-books and Parliamentary debates in the years 1826 and 1829?' (p. 16.) No doubt not a few among the Bishops in the Vatican Council must stand excused for not knowing what passed on the occasion referred to. But to plead such excuse for the Holy See, and to allege that the vouchers given to the British Government were patently faulty, as emanating

from unauthorized sources, and without credentials of genuineness, is an argument which Dr. Newman would never have ventured to advance had he first mastered the facts. It is true that if we accept Archbishop Manning's emphatic language as decisive of what has been the doctrine of the Church, we shall find ourselves driven to conclusions which may well trouble the soul of a Catholic. He lays it down with a definiteness which expresses dogmatic conviction, that 'The Infallibility of the Head of the Church was a doctrine of Divine Faith before it was defined in 1870,' and that to have called it at any time in question was 'at least proximate to heresy, if not actually heresy.' Should, therefore, this doctrine have been denied, not merely by a scrap assemblage of unauthorized divines, or even a certain number of grave doctors, but by a whole Body of Bishops, and by the united voices of the Faculties of Theology in the most renowned Catholic Schools,—in respect to whom it can be shown that they were in proximate communication with the Holy See, as also that their particular utterances on the matter immediately under consideration were known to and checked by the Holy See,—then we should be at a loss to guess how, in the eyes of Archbishop Manning, the Holy See can stand exonerated from having fallen itself into what would be 'at least proximate to heresy,' for connivance in explicit public declarations from these same Bishops and Faculties in repudiation of this doctrine of Infallibility.

Dr. Newman's argument rests wholly on the assumption that the Declarations in question were put forth under conditions which enabled them to escape the infallibly testing cognizance of that divine *Magisterium* which is resident in Rome. If 'real information' was desired, why, asks Dr. Newman, was not application made straight to 'headquarters'? If then it can be shown that 'headquarters' were by no means in ignorance of what was being done here in England and elsewhere, we apprehend that Dr. Newman's arguments must forthwith crumble away at the base.

At the suggestion of Mr. Pitt, the Roman Catholic community presented a statement of the tenets taught in their persuasion in reference to the Pope's personal authority. Accordingly they obtained the opinion of the five most celebrated Catholic Faculties in Europe on points submitted to them; and they drew up, besides, a Protestation of their principles, justly designated by Mr. Gladstone, 'in the strictest sense, a representative and binding document,' to which the English Vicars-Apostolic affixed their sub-

scriptions. That document was deposited in the British Museum, where it still is. Out of this arose the Catholic Relief Bill, wherewith was connected a form of oath which, as originally framed, was pronounced unobjectionable. It contained a formal denial of any jurisdiction or authority within the realm 'on the part of any foreign prince, person, prelate, or potentate.' But though thus accepted and sanctioned after mature consideration (Bishop James Talbot, we are told, took the oath home with him for some days for examination before giving it his assent), an Encyclical was subsequently issued collectively by the four Vicars-Apostolic (including the same Bishop Talbot) declaring that 'none of the Faithful, laity or clergy' should take the new oath. This abrupt change of front was due to intimations from 'headquarters.' Mr. Gladstone says rightly, 'that the history connected herewith is rather obscurely given in Butler.' But though we have not the text of the monitions from Rome, this much is beyond controversy: that the Roman Catholic community in this country, represented by its Episcopal heads, as well as by its principal members, had come to an understanding on a Declaration of principles; that this Declaration, coupled with a form of oath confirmatory of its tenor, had been deliberately approved of as conformable to conscience and doctrine; and that subsequently these same Episcopal heads felt bound by their obligations of deference to Rome to put forth an Encyclical cancelling their previous assent *as regards the oath*, and inhibiting the Faithful from acting thereon. Here then we have it demonstrated that the doings of the Roman Catholic Body in these islands were not lost sight of by those at 'headquarters;' but, on the contrary, were there continually watched and dogged with jealous vigilance. As a striking instance of how watchfully the eyes of Rome ever followed the movements of English prelates, the severe censure inflicted on Bishop Milner, in 1820, for no greater fault than that, in 'Andrews' Orthodox Journal,' he had committed himself to the opinion that the Revolution was quite as much due to 'the bad example of a degenerate clergy' as to irreligion, is sufficiently to the point. It is impossible that Dr. Newman, with his natural candour, could for a moment maintain the proposition implied in his words, that Rome could have been in ignorance of what was being done by the parties in question in her name, after his attention has been drawn to the elementary facts of the case. We may therefore safely dismiss the untenable hypothesis, with a confident belief

that Dr. Newman will concur in its being removed out of sight, that the Bishops in 1826 met and gave forth a corporate Declaration, with their names and Episcopal titles attached thereto, that 'IT IS NOT AN ARTICLE OF CATHOLIC FAITH, NOR ARE CATHOLICS REQUIRED TO BELIEVE THAT THE POPE IS INFALLIBLE;' without this having been brought to the knowledge of 'head-quarters.'

Even if we could persuade ourselves that through some miracle of non-transmission this Declaration failed to reach the ears of the Pope, the case would not be a whit mended. For in 1810 there was made a Declaration yet more solemn, a *Synodal* Declaration by the Irish Episcopate, in approval of the Oath at that time exacted from Catholics in Ireland, which must perforce have come from the Synod under cognizance of Rome. In that Oath it was sworn that — 'IT IS NOT AN ARTICLE OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH, NEITHER AM I THEREBY REQUIRED TO BELIEVE OR PROFESS THAT THE POPE IS INFALLIBLE.' On this the Bishops in Synod declared— 'that said Oath, and the promises, declarations, abjurations, and protestations therein contained, are notoriously, *to the Roman Catholic Church at large, become a part of the Roman Catholic Religion*, as taught by us Bishops, and received and maintained by the Roman Catholic Churches in Ireland, and as such are approved and sanctioned by the other Roman Catholic Churches.' And from Rome, the depository of an indelible *Magisterium*, and one so wakeful as instantly to trounce so trusty a servant as Bishop Milner for the veriest trifle of a slip, there never breathed even a whiff of censure on those Bishops for this solemn and august affirmation in Synod of an opinion 'at least proximate to heresy,' according to Archbishop Manning.

To these undeniably very pertinent matters neither the Archbishop nor Monsignor Capel have seen fit to make any allusion, however distant. For those who should derive their knowledge only from the tracts of these divines, such very stubborn facts would be left entirely out of cognizance. Yet the Archbishop has not deemed it irrelevant to launch into discussions on transactions far less germane to the subject-matter of his treatise. While he has not a single word to say in reference to actions by those in charge of the Roman Church in these islands antecedently to the Vatican Decrees, which, when viewed in the light of the latter, acquire a perplexing appearance of irregularity, the Archbishop is prompted to travel discursively through the most scattered fields of history. He gives a synopsis, as

bold as it is novel, of Italian history in connection with that of the Popes; then glances obliquely at France, and the Gallican opinions; whence he passes on to Germany, on which country he has some statements, certainly not wanting in originality; while as regards England, he contents himself with occasional side-shots, which, like the volleys on field-days, seem more calculated for parade than the rough work of close quarters. These portions of his treatise, though not strictly to its theme, are, nevertheless, highly instructive. From them, better than from his fence with speculative matter, we acquire a standard whereby to gauge the Archbishop's faculty for faithful observation, and the spirit in which he is prone to deal with facts.

'If anybody will persist in saying that the *two and twenty years of aggression* against the Holy See, from 1848 to 1870, were caused by Pius IX., I must address myself to other men,' exclaims the Archbishop. 'Who, I ask, began the fray? *From the Siccardi laws down to the laws of the Guarantees* who were the aggressors?' (p. 99). But what were these same Siccardi laws, which here are made to figure as the first burglarious weapon assumed to have been levelled at the Pope's existence? Were they in any sense an act of violence against him, either in his capacity as Sovereign of a Principality, or as Pontiff? These Siccardi laws, which are here exhumed after a lapse of years with the view of being stalked forth for effect in the semblance of something horribly sacrilegious, were never anything more than municipal enactments, not of any revolutionary Italian Parliament, but of the Piedmontese Legislature, to have force simply within the limits of the Piedmontese State, and to what purpose? Why, to none other than had already been effected in most Roman Catholic States, namely, the abrogation of the *Forum Ecclesiasticum*—the limitation of those civil powers on the part of religious corporations which had been acquired during the Middle Ages, and are admittedly quite incompatible with the first principles of modern government. Archbishop Manning carefully avoids saying a word in definition of these outrageous Siccardi laws, though he cannot but be thoroughly acquainted with their nature. And yet he does not think it incompatible with accuracy to represent these Piedmontese statutes for the mere regulation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in accordance with the practice of most Catholic countries, as the opening step in a course of ruthless aggression on the Supreme Pontiff.

But were there no propositions made during these two and twenty years to propitiate this Supreme Pontiff—which, both at the time and since, were deemed conformable to his spiritual position by many unimpeachable Catholics? Dr. Newman, at least, in illustration of how the Pope's right of supremacy rests legitimately but on assent, refers pointedly to our having heard 'much of the Pope being made the head of an Italian Confederation,' and manifestly implies that such an arrangement would have been satisfactory. Is it imperfect acquaintance with the events of the last fifteen years in Italy that has led Archbishop Manning wholly to omit reference to this often discussed scheme—to speak only of aggression, and to have no other terms than Infidels and Conspirators, Doctrinaires and Communists, for the men who have reared a national Unity, from which the Archbishop piously prays 'God may save Italy'? Amongst the men thus branded as Infidels and Communists—'perverting the intellect and dividing the wills of the men of Italy,'—there must be classed one, of the scene at whose deathbed, as of the scenes consequent thereon, the Archbishop—who boasts of his intimate acquaintance with Rome from a seven years' residence—could hardly have failed to hear. He might have remembered how there had been one Camillo Cavour; how, when struck down in mortal sickness, this 'Infidel and Conspirator' had duly sought as a professing Catholic the ministrations of the Catholic Church; how a Friar of unimpeached character had bestowed them, as in duty he was bound, to the dying man; and how, for such performance of his duty as a Catholic priest, this unsophisticated Friar was summoned to Rome, and there upbraided with harsh censures from the mouth of an infallible Pope. But that episode did not fit into the Archbishop's fanciful panorama, and so has been quietly put out of sight.

Not less daring is the mode in which he professes to prove the Popes to have been throughout the champions of national patriotism. In passing, be it observed, that the mere venture of such proposition is a preposterous feat of self contradiction; for if there is one point which has been emphasized by the Archbishop, it is that the essential distinction of Catholicism, as represented visibly by the Papacy, consists in its being the expression of an universal element in contradistinction to the narrow and strictly parochial nature of Nationalism.

'If Italy . . . should forget the labours and sufferings and dangers which united its Pontiffs and its people in the wars of its inde-

pendence, freedom, and unity; if it should forget the confederations wrought by the Pontiffs, by which they made all the divisions of Italy work together for the liberties of the whole Peninsula, from the Alps to its foot—then, indeed, I should despair of its future' (p. 152).

What would be thought of a writer who, dilating on the pre-eminently national and public-spirited devotion of all our Sovereigns, left out, as if they had not existed, the Plantagenets, with their French ambitions, and the Stuarts, with their high prerogative doctrines, to mention only the Saxon Kings and those of the House of Hanover? This would be precisely analogous to the names selected by the Archbishop in demonstration that the Popes were ever the guardians of Italian patriotism in the broadest sense. Glancing down his catalogue, we detect no mention of the Borgias, or the Medici, or the Farneses. All that portion of Papal history is simply left out, which is represented by the grasping Popes of those lineages, who strenuously strove to convert the turgor of the Pontificate into the means of founding a dynastic power vested in their families, and whose memories are for ever enshrined in the word Nepotism, that had to be coined to express the peculiar form of jobbery which grew rank under their Pontifical auspices.

The observations of the Archbishop are of more serious importance when he discourses on current events in Germany. In that country the antagonism, intellectual, spiritual, and political, between Catholicism and Romanism, between State and Church, arising out of the Vatican Decrees, has grown to a head not to be made light of, and the Archbishop is ready with an account of how this state of things has been brought about. 'I will trace out more fully the history of this conspiracy, in order to put beyond question my assertion that the plan of attack was prepared before the Council.' For evidence of this we are referred to the fact that the Bavarian Minister Hohenlohe, in a dispatch of April 1869, suggested the expediency of 'those governments that rule over Catholic subjects,' conferring amongst themselves as to their attitude towards the Council. This proposal for common consultation is termed a conspiracy; and we are told furthermore, 'no one could fail to see that this circular had not Prince Hohenlohe for its author. We shall afterwards trace it to its legitimate origin.' That fountain-head the Archbishop detects in Dr. Dollinger, to whom 'truth compels to ascribe the initiative in this deplorable attempt to coerce the Holy

See, and to overbear the liberty of the Bishops assembled in council; a prophet of Belial, at whose 'instigation,' says the Archbishop, 'the Liberals and Infidels of Europe rose up.' Dr. Newman decidedly differs in opinion, for besides alluding in reverential terms to the great German theologian, he pointedly expresses regret at 'the neglect of the Catholic Powers to send representatives to the Council *who might have laid before the Fathers its political bearings*' (p. 16). To the evil-minded inspiration of the man, whom the Archbishop would fain represent in the dark colours of a sinister traitor, he ascribes 'the infamous matter of Janus,' and the 'document containing five questions proposed by the Bavarian Government to the Theological Faculty at Munich.'

'No one could for a moment doubt,' he says, 'by what hand those interrogatories also were framed; they were intended to elicit the answer that the action of the Council, if it were to define the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, would be irreconcilable, not only with Catholic doctrine, but with the security of civil Governments' (p. 105).

That this conclusion was deducible from the arguments given with remarkable moderation of language in this opinion would be a fair statement, but the irreconcilableness between the proposed dogma and the civil power was certainly not affirmed in distinct terms. We are bound, however, to admit that these allegations were made later, very explicitly in another document which the Archbishop has forgotten to make use of. In an elaborate Declaration, under date of April 10, 1870, which was addressed to the Presiding Legates of the Council, the following statements are to be found:—

'We are far from the unjust opinion of those who charge the medieval Popes with unbounded ambition and the disturbance of civil order, because they pronounced judgment on Kings and Empires. . . . For as those Popes, like the most learned, judged the Past by the measure of their times, and also were deceived by false reports of Popes having deposed Emperors in former centuries, so they were firmly persuaded, and in Decrees and Rescripts declared, how the right was given them by God, to command and to judge on all temporal concerns in respect to sin. . . . *This doctrine as to the relations of Papal to Temporal Power Boniface VIII. promulgated in the Bull Unam Sanctam, and enjoined as compulsory on all the Faithful. Some, indeed, seek to remove difficulties by maintaining Boniface defined nothing more than that all are bound to recognize the Roman Pontiff as the Head of the Church appointed by Christ; but for any one acquainted with the transactions between Boniface and Philip the Fair, there cannot be a*

*shadow of doubt as to the intention of the Pope who promulgated the Bull in a Synod held expressly concerning France. . . . The doctrine we propound to the Christian people, in common with nearly all Bishops of the Catholic world, in reference to the relations between spiritual and temporal authority is a different one. . . . It is necessary to point out the dangers that would arise to the Church from a decree not in accordance with our doctrine. No one is ignorant of the impossibility to reconstitute civil society on the rules laid down in the Bull Unam Sanctam. . . . Should, therefore, Christian instruction be framed on this principle, then it would be of little avail for Catholics to asseverate ever so strenuously, that what relates to the power of the Holy See over temporal matters is confined within the limits of theory, and cannot at the present time be of any weight in regard to facts and events; that Pius IX. has not the most distant thought of deposing temporal sovereigns. Our opponents would reply with derision; of Papal sentences we are not afraid; but after much and various dissimulation at last it is made public, that every Catholic whose acts are guided by Faith is a born enemy to the State, inasmuch as in conscience he must deem himself bound to do all in his might that all realms and people be subject to the Pope.'*

Here, indeed, we have a protest of singular force and point, drafted, moreover, not like the Munich document in hypothetical terms, but in direct criticism of the actual text of the decree. From whom, then, did this notable document emanate? Did it proceed from the impious pen of some 'Liberal and Infidel' responding fiendishly to the instigation of the arch-serpent, Dr. Döllinger? If so, then his subtle influence extended deep into the very penetralia of the Church. For this document was avowedly composed by no less a person than the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna; and amongst the Episcopal signatures subscribed stands that of Ketteler of Mayence, 'that distinguished Bishop of Germany,' whose 'noble protest' Archbishop Manning delights in quoting extensively, when his effusions are directed in fulmination of the laws of his country. It is well to remember that this protest must be perfectly familiar to the Archbishop who was so prominent a figure in the Council. So much for the candour of his argument; so much also for the charge of sinister conspiracy sought to be fastened on Dr. Döllinger, because of the guarded opinion given by the Munich Faculty in April 1869; and so much for the ingenuousness that can be overcome with perfect paroxysms of horror when Mr. Gladstone implies that civil allegiance might apparently be imperilled through the power vested in a spiritual autocrat by the Vatican Decrees, but deems it strictly compatible

with pious emotion not to say one word against the same sentiment, though expressed with an intensified point, when to have done so would be inevitably attended with creating scandal about Prelates whom at the present moment it is desired to puff to the skies as models of Catholic orthodoxy and Apostolical virtues.\*

It will have been observed how these Fathers of the Church committed themselves to a very decided construction of the *Unam Sanctam*. We shall not stop to consider the Archbishop's laboured dissertation on this serious stumbling-block for Infallibilists and Minimizers. Should some one still need to master the elements of the case, we strongly recommend the powerful statement as to the nature of this Bull by an anonymous writer in 'Macmillan's Magazine.'† Here we would but indicate how the Archbishop has fallen into glaring contradiction with what, in days when already he had become a member of the Roman Church, was still publicly affirmed by Roman authorities in this country to be the only doctrine they would teach on the matters in question. In unmistakable terms the Archbishop claims for the Pope what has been designated by a school of theological sophists *indirect power*. The Archbishop's words are: 'In whatsoever things, whether essentially or by accident, the spiritual end, that is, the end of the Church, is necessarily involved, in those things, though they be temporal, the Church may by right exert its power, and the Civil State ought to yield' (p. 70). Now here is what in 1854 was stated, in regard to the same matter before Lord Harrowby's Commission of Inquiry into Maynooth, by Dr. O'Hanlon, Prefect of Dunboync: 'We teach in Maynooth, that the Pope has no temporal power whatever, direct or indirect. We have affirmed that doctrine upon our solemn oaths, and we firmly maintain it. . . . We hold the same doctrine in regard to the Church.' The reader who turns to 'Macmillan's Magazine' will there find a forcible illustration of how this same formula of 'indirect power' can be made to work in stretching the Pope's claims. Here it is enough to have pointed out the flagrant discrepancy between declarations of doctrine

made authoritatively twenty years ago and at present by the respective representatives of Catholic tenets in this realm at these periods. The Archbishop is, however, at variance not only with co-religionists, but also with himself. The sum and pith of his assertions is to rebut indignantly the notion that the Vatican Council can be obnoxious to the charge of having in any manner been intended as a weapon that could possibly affect the existing relations of the Church towards the State. 'The civil powers of the Christian world have hitherto stood in peaceful relation with an Infallible Church, and that relation has been often recognised and declared by the Church in its Councils. *The Vatican Council had, therefore, no new matter to treat on this point*' (p. 5). So writes the Archbishop on the occasion when recognising 'the right of the English people . . . to learn from me what I believe and what I teach,' he comes forward with a profession of faith that purports to be full, frank, and conclusive, and which, moreover, appeals 'to the justice and to the good sense of the Christian people of this country.' It is, however, the melancholy fact that notwithstanding this solemn assurance of unreserved declaration, the words just quoted stand in hopeless contradiction to what was given forth by the Archbishop to the circle of his own co-religionists in the Pastoral which he indited, with the express purpose of instructing them as to what was the contemplated aim of the coming Council. Here is what he said on that occasion:—

'Another cause requiring the deliberation of the Church is the *change of its relations, both those of the Holy See and of the several Churches of its Communion, to the civil powers of every country*. . . . The old forms of usages and of arrangement need revision, in order to bring into peaceful co-operation the two supreme authorities on which the welfare of society reposes. If the Governments of the world know their own highest interests, they will recognise the necessity of entering into loyal and honourable relations of confidence and co-operation with a power which pervades, sometimes a large proportion, sometimes the whole population, subject to their civil rule. The Church pervades at least one-fourth, if not a third, of the population of Great Britain. . . . It is of the highest moment to the civil powers of the world to re-adjust their relations with the Catholic Church, for so long as the public laws are at variance with its divine rights and liberties internal peace and fidelity are hardly to be secured. Poland and Ireland are proofs beyond question.'—*Petri Privilegium*, p. 83.

These words require no comment, as they admit of no explaining away; and the Archbishop is bound to admit that in his frank declaration for the enlightenment of

\* The text of this declaration is in Friedrich, 'Documenta ad Conc. Vat.', p. 388. Besides by the Cardinal and Ketteler, it was signed by the Archbishops of Munich and Bamberg, the Bishops of Augsburg, Treves, Ermland, Breslau, Rottenburg, and Osnabruck, the Saxon Vicar-Apostolic, and the Prussian Military Bishop. The opinion of the Munich Faculty will be found in Friedberg's 'Collection,' p. 298.

† See 'Macmillan's Magazine' for December, 1874.

English Protestants he was gravely oblivious of what he said when addressing only the Faithful.

There is still one further matter to be noted in connection with this passage. Ireland is held up as an example of how impossible it is to secure the 'fidelity' of a people unless public laws be made to accommodate themselves—to what? the demands of conscience? no! but to 'the divine rights and liberties' of the Church, amongst which, necessarily, must be comprised whatever can be crammed within the elastic compass of the Third Chapter. No wonder this awkwardly candid slip of the pen is carefully kept out of sight in a treatise where the Archbishop is strenuous in denying that religious interests can be made to exert a disturbing leverage on political allegiance; and in professing his strong loyalty to the Queen, though he does, in a way not very intelligible, couple that loyalty with an expression of equally strong affection for the laws of good King Edward. No one would question for a moment the Archbishop's personal wish to prove loyal in an emergency. The question is how far the principles he advocates are, not such as in consistency should, and in practice actually are being attended with results which can obstruct his own personal desires. In this matter of Irish political disaffection, which the Archbishop distinctly identifies with religious sentiment, how, according to his own expressed views of Catholic duty, could he influence his co-religionists towards toleration in the hypothesis that a majority of the Irish people were to become Protestants? The Archbishop affirms that nothing can be more contrary to his principles than religious coercion; and he claims for Catholics that they have always upheld principles of tolerance, the example brought forward being the Constitution of Maryland. Mr. Gladstone justly expresses a belief that the case does not bear out the construction put on it by the Archbishop. Indeed it is incomprehensible how the action of Lord Baltimore, and of a batch of emigrants, can be invoked as an authority for the practice of the Church. Against the spirit of toleration exhibited by Lord Baltimore, a lay peer who never had any ecclesiastical credentials, we might set the spirit of persecution exhibited in the last century by a Sovereign, at the same time a high dignitary of the Church, the Prince Bishop of Salzburg, who cruelly drove his Protestant subjects into exile. The Archbishop is correct in saying that Papal Bulls have forbidden the baptism of children without assent of the parents; and that doctors have not advocated, as a principle,

coercion into the Faith of populations that had never been in it. But he must know that the practice in Rome as regards the former has been different, as was made notorious by the Mortara case, while as concerns the latter point it would be desirable to have some more precise definition. The Prince Bishop of Salzburg evidently held that a Protestantism of more than a century was not yet entitled to security. How long a period, for instance, would the Archbishop consider conditional for a Protestant Ireland to acquire in his eyes moral safeguards against being coerced back into the old Faith in the event of a Catholic power acquiring the physical force? From the Archbishop's words we can gain no satisfactory light. The point is curious only in speculation, the true safeguard being the physical condition of things. Still it is the fact that he recognises distinctly religion to be the main factor in Irish politics—that he considers Irish disaffection natural, because springing from a religious source—and that he clearly justifies the Pope's interference in political concerns whenever he has the physical power to do so. 'The Italian people,' are his words, 'have been for twenty years spectators of a Revolution which has overthrown the Sovereigns of Naples and Tuscany.' It is to be observed that the case is not limited to the rebellion in the Pope's own States, but is expressly stretched to other principalities. 'What,' he continues to say, 'has been the action of the Pope in respect to the Italian Revolution? *He has said that to co-operate in the Italian Revolution was not lawful*' (p. 38). In our last number we gave documentary evidence how the Pope had directed the offices of the Church to be administered in a manner to act as a deterrent from faithfully fulfilling the duties consequent on military conscription in Italy. It is of no small value now to have from the Archbishop this indirect confirmation of the perfect authenticity of these instruments.

Here we take leave of this discussion; but in parting company we cannot avoid referring to an incident of the hour that affords enhanced proof of the different estimation in which the supreme Head of the Church holds the two divines on whose words we have principally dwelt. While we are in the act of writing, tidings come how the Pope has bestowed on the one the highest grace in his gift. Him whom we have spoken of as Archbishop must henceforth be styled His Eminence. To the other divine no honour of any kind has been paid. Dr. Newman remains, after his 'Letter to the Duke of Norfolk,' the same unnoticed Oratorian Father as before. Yet Pius IX. has

been singularly lavish of Approbations and Benedictions on writers to his mind. More than a dozen such Apostolical favours are on record to individuals who have vindicated the doctrine of the Vatican Decree. Neither Missive nor Benediction, however, has been transmitted from the Vatican to the eminent divine, whose advocacy alone has had any serious effect in calming suspicion in this country. What has been showered on Veillot and on Ward, that has been sullenly withheld from Newman; and in this withholding lies the authoritative declaration that the language of Newman is no language with which Rome will identify herself. The meaning put by Dr. Newman on the Papal Acts is one now plainly not endorsed by the Pope; and that fact carries with it a signal justification of the warning note raised by Mr. Gladstone—not against isolated utterances here and there—but against ‘the smooth and soft exterior of a system which is dangerous to the foundation of civil order,’ if it should indeed be enduringly supported by the whole strength of that powerful organization which has been embodied in the old Constitutions of the Latin Church.

under God’s good guidance, receive healing at his hands.’ His persevering and enthusiastic labours in the cause of geographical science were always subordinate to those higher aims, prompted by ‘a fervent hope that others would follow him after he had removed those difficulties which are comprised in a profound ignorance of the physical features of a new country.’

Of his primary work the ‘record is on high,’ and its imperishable fruits remain on earth. The seeds of the Word of Life, implanted lovingly, with pains and labour, and, above all, with faith;—the out-door scenes of the simple Sabbath service;—the testimony of HIM, to ‘whom the worship was paid, given in words of such simplicity as were fitted to the comprehension of the dark-skinned listeners;—these seeds will not have been scattered by him in vain. Nor have they been sown in words alone, but in deeds, of which some part of the honour will redound to his successors. The teaching by forgiveness of injuries,—by trust, however unworthy the trusted,—by that confidence which imputed his own noble nature to those whom he would win,—by the practical enforcement of the fact, that a man might promise and perform, might say the thing he meant;—of this teaching by good deeds, as well as by the words of truth and love, the successor who treads in the steps of LIVINGSTONE, and accomplishes the discovery he aimed at and pointed the way to, will assuredly reap the benefit.

The records of his labours for progress towards that discovery were of a more perishable kind, and their possession is a gain beyond our expectation, or perhaps our deserts. If a merchant makes a venture with insufficient means, he meets with little sympathy for a loss, which is, after all, but a loss of money, time, and labour, and may be recovered by a more prudent investment. But if a traveller, exploring an unknown land, be inadequately provided for his adventure, the man himself may perish with all that he has noted, the aim and fruit of all his toil and travel. The fate of Leichhardt in Australia, and of other gallant, accomplished, single-hearted explorers, furnishes sad examples of miserable miscalculation, stupid indifference, or false economy, in Communities and States concerned in gaining knowledge of the unknown tracts of the globe.

England has been especially favoured in the recovery of the record which redeems the last seven years’ labour of the most devoted and experienced of her African explorers from being, in their geographical results, a waste of energy—the tracts tra-

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ART. VI.—*The Last Journals of David Livingstone, in Central Africa, from 1865 to his Death. Continued by a Narrative, &c., &c.* By Horace Waller, F.R.G.S., Rector of Twywell, Northampton. In two volumes 8vo., with Portrait and Illustrations. London, 1874.

AMIDST the long and universal anxiety for the fate of Livingstone, and the profound sorrow at the tidings of his end, there was not wanting a sense of misgiving lest we had too easily accepted his self-sacrifice, and a fear of retribution by the loss of those records, without which his last seven years’ toils and sufferings would seem to have been offered in vain.

In vain for us, but not for the ‘infants of humanity,’ among whom, and for whom, he daily wended his weary way. For the first and highest debt due to the memory of LIVINGSTONE is that we should not invert the order of the objects for which, in the uttermost sense of the word, he spent his life. He was, first and last, the Christian missionary; next, or rather an inseparable part of the Gospel message of freedom, was (in the words of his friend and Editor) ‘a sincere trust that slavery,’ ‘the great open sore of the world,’ as he called it, might,

velled over not blank—the venture not a total wreck. ‘The faint hope,’ as the Editor truly describes it, ‘that some of his journals might survive the disaster, has been realized beyond the most sanguine expectations;’ and ‘we have not to deplore the loss of a single entry, from the time of Livingstone’s departure from Zanzibar in the beginning of 1866, to the day when his note-book dropped from his hand in the village of Ilala, at the end of April, 1873.’

The work recorded, though left to be finished by other labourers, was the fit crown of Livingstone’s discoveries in Africa. From long personal friendship, ‘and especially from correspondence with him of late years,’ Mr. Waller testifies, ‘that Livingstone wanted just some such gigantic problem, as that which he attacked at the last, to measure his strength against’—the determination of the true, the primary, the real sources of the Nile, is abundantly shown to be the explorer’s favourite aim. He had studied the history of prior attempts, of old guesses, of foregone or inadequately supported conclusions. He more than once alludes to the exposition by the geographer Ptolemy of the state of Egyptian knowledge in the second century of our era, and to his representation of the Nile’s origin. Among the questions thereby suggested the first was:—Of the several mighty reservoirs of rain-water in the interior of Africa, in the discovery of which Livingstone had borne the greater share, which of them answered best to Ptolemy’s ‘two lakes, situated east and west of each other’ (i. 338), *i. e.* in about the same parallel of latitude, viz. between 10° and 12° south’ (*ib. ib.*)? Without attaching much importance to the shapes or sizes of these lakes, from which, in the oldest of reasonably trustworthy maps, the two embryo streams flow northward, converging to form the ‘White Nile’—where were the ‘Montes Lunæ’? and, above all, what was the nature of the several streams flowing therefrom to supply the Ptolemean lakes, which the majority now vote to be the ‘Victoria Nyanza’ of Speke, and the ‘Albert Nyanza’ of Baker? The geographer of Livingstone’s stamp has no repose in the latitudes of those lakes; he cannot rest without finding their feeders; he must pursue the quest, southward, of these intercepting reservoirs.

Whichever might receive a share of any streams flowing from Lake Tanganyika, that mightier and more southern fresh-water sea gave no solution to the problem of the ‘coy fountains.’ Livingstone could not and would not ‘turn his back on them’ (i. 338). Nay, though he waded through them to the

death, he would find out whither they flowed and what they became. And here we come to his great and characteristic discovery; not only of the ultimate sources of the Nile, but of other great rivers of Africa: moreover, of a physical condition of the earth’s surface in elevated tracts of the great continent, unknown before:—

‘The bogs, or earthen sponges, of this country occupy a most important part in its physical geography, and probably explain the annual inundations of most of the rivers. Wherever a plain sloping towards a narrow opening in hills or higher ground exists, there we have the conditions requisite for the formation of an African sponge. The vegetation, not being of a heathy or peat-forming kind, falls down, rots, and then forms rich black loam. In many cases a mass of this loam, two or three feet thick, rests on a bed of pure river sand, which is revealed by crabs and other aquatic animals bringing it to the surface. At present, in the dry season, the black loam is cracked in all directions, and the cracks are often as much as three inches wide, and very deep. The whole surface has now fallen down, and rests on the sand, but when the rains come, the first supply is nearly all absorbed in the sand. The black loam forms soft slush, and floats on the sand. The narrow opening prevents it from moving off in a landslip, but an oozing spring rises at that spot. All the pools in the lower portion of this spring-course are filled by the first rains, which happen south of the equator when the sun goes vertically over any spot. The second, or greater rains, happen in his course north again, when all the bogs and river-courses being wet, the supply runs off and forms the inundation: this was certainly the case as observed on the Zambesi and Shiré, and taking the different times for the sun’s passage north of the equator, it explains the inundation of the Nile.’—i. 118.

Livingstone again refers to these earth-sponges as demonstrating the humidity of the climate of the mountainous, or elevated, intertropical part of Africa:—

‘In going to Bangweolo from Kizinga, I crossed twenty-nine of these reservoirs in thirty miles of latitude, on a south-east course: this may give about one sponge for every two miles. The word “Bog” conveys much of the idea of these earthen sponges; but it is inseparably connected in our minds with peat, and these contain not a particle of peat, they consist of black porous earth, covered with a hard wiry grass, and a few other damp-loving plants.

‘In many places the sponges hold large quantities of the oxide of iron, from the big patches of brown hæmatite that crop out everywhere, and streams of this oxide, as thick as treacle, are seen moving slowly along in the spongelike small red glaciers. When one treads on the black earth of the sponge, though little or no water appears on the surface, it is frequently squirted up the limbs, and gives the idea of a sponge. In the paths that cross them,

the earth readily becomes soft mud, but sinks rapidly to the bottom again, as if of great specific gravity: the water in them is always circulating and oozing. The places where the sponges are met with are slightly depressed valleys without trees or bushes, in a forest country where the grass being only a foot or fifteen inches high, and thickly planted, often looks like a beautiful glade in a gentleman's park in England. They are from a quarter of a mile to a mile broad, and from two to ten or more miles long.

'The water, descending about eight feet, comes to a stratum of yellow sand, beneath which there is another stratum of fine white sand, which at its bottom cakes, so as to hold the water from sinking further. It is guided by the fine sand stratum into the nearest valley, and here it oozes forth on all sides through the thick mantle of black porous earth, which forms the sponge.'

'I travelled in Lunda, when the sponges were all super-saturated. The grassy sward was so lifted up that it was separated into patches or tufts, and if the foot missed the row of tufts of this wiry grass which formed the native path, down one plumped up to the thigh in slush.'

'These sponges are a serious matter in travelling. I crossed the twenty-nine already mentioned at the end of the fourth month of the dry season, and the central burns seemed then to have suffered no diminution: they were then from calf to waist deep, and required from fifteen to forty minutes in crossing: they had many deep holes in the paths, and when one plumps therein every muscle in the frame receives a painful jerk. When past the stream, and apparently on partially dry ground, one may jog in a foot or more, and receive a squirt of black mud up to the thighs: it is only when you reach the trees and are off the sour land that you feel secure from mud and leeches. As one has to strip the lower part of the person in order to ford them, I found that often four were as many as we could cross in a day.'—i. 325, 327.

Stimulated by these experiences, the old traveller, like younger students, was led to ponder, to generalise, and deduce consequences and results of high geographical importance:—

'Burns' (he notes *Scotticè*) 'are literally innumerable; rising on the ridges, or as I formerly termed them mounds, they are undoubtedly the primary or ultimate sources of the Zambesi, Congo, and Nile; by their union are formed streams of from thirty to eighty or one hundred yards broad, and always deep enough to require either canoes or bridges. These I propose to call the secondary sources, and as in the case of the Nile they are drawn off by three lines of drainage, they become the head waters (the *caput Nili*) of the river of Egypt' (i. 328).

So of THE RIVER, as ancient record \*

\* Yeôr (Isaiah xxxiii. 3).

termed it, the long-hidden source seems at last brought to light. A Bruce tracing the broad current upward comes upon its primary divisions, follows up the 'Blue Nile,' and rests on its tributaries, as the long-sought-for 'caput.' A Baker, a Speke, connect the 'White' branch with their respective Nyanzas, Victoria and Albert. More remote and grander lakes are now added, and the discovery of the feeding streams dissipates all the poetry and picturesqueness of an infant Nile gushing out of an environment in grandeur worthy of the wondrous river, by the prosaic reduction of its birth to the countless outflowings of 'Serbonian Bogs.' The mystery of the annual inundation of Egypt is solved on the same shaky treacherous basis. The dry season of tropical Africa may, indeed, crack the surface, but not suck up the moisture much below the crust of the 'sponge.' Then comes the season of rains. The sun returns from his greatest southern declination, the reservoir swells, and 'the cracks close their large lips. The whole sponge is borne up and covers an enormous mass of water, oozing forth in March and April, forming the inundations. These floods in the Congo, Zambesi, and Nile, require different times to reach the sea' (*ib. ib.*).

But it is not our intention to follow Livingstone step by step in his wanderings and discoveries, more especially as they have been already fully narrated and discussed by our contemporaries. Our main object at present is to direct attention to the curious and valuable notes made by the great traveller on various Natural Phenomena, which contain many suggestive facts, and which have not yet received the notice they deserve.

Of the primitive igneous condition of our planet Africa shows results; but of present activities of fire-force few and feeble examples. No active volcano has yet been discovered, in that continent: Teneriffe to the west, Etna to the north, Isle of Bourbon to the east, are the nearest vents. May we infer a higher antiquity to the African tract of dry land than to the continent of the volcanic Andes? Have the expansive forces which raised the former vast tract above the sea-level operated there so long ago as to have exhausted their activity?

These considerations give interest to the few and brief notices of igneous action which occur in Livingstone's 'Last Journals':—

'6th July (1867).—An earthquake happened at 3.30 P.M., accompanied with a hollow rumbling sound; it made me feel as if afloat, but it lasted only a few seconds.'—i. 218.

'2nd August (*ibid.*)—Chronometer A. stop-

ped to-day without any apparent cause except the earthquake.'—i. 224.

'5th.—A day distant from Nsama's place there is a hot fountain called "Paka pezhia," and around it the earth shakes at times: it is possible that the earthquake we felt here may be connected with this same centre of motion.'—i. 225.

'As we come down from the watershed towards Tanganyika we enter an area of the earth's surface still disturbed by internal igneous action. A hot fountain in the country of Nsama is often used to boil cassava and maize. Earthquakes are by no means rare. We experienced the shock of one while at Chitimba's village, and they extend as far as Casembe's. I felt as if afloat, and as huts would not fall there was no sense of danger; some of them that happened at night set the fowls a-cackling. The most remarkable effect of this one was that it changed the rates of the chronometers; no rain fell after it. No one had access to the chronometers but myself, and, as I never heard of this effect before, I may mention that one which lost with great regularity 1·5 daily, lost 15°; another, whose rate since leaving the coast was 15°; lost 40°; and a third, which gained 6° daily, stopped altogether. Some of Nsama's people ascribed the earthquakes to the hot fountain, because it showed unusual commotion on these occasions; another hot fountain exists nearer Tanganyika than Nsama's, and we passed one on the shores of Moero.'

Are these among the last faint evidences in actual Africa of the oldest modifier of a planet's condensing surface, the final struggles of primeval fire to upheave its prison-walls, break them, and escape?

On the 13th of January, 1868, he crosses the Vuna, a 'strong torrent, which has a hot fountain close by the ford.' Leaving Lake Moero and going north he gets on to a plain flooded by the Luao:—

'We had to wade through very adhesive black mud, generally ankle deep, and having many holes in it much deeper: we had four hours of this, and then came to the ford of the Luao itself. We waded up a branch of it waist deep for at least a quarter of a mile, then crossed a narrow part by means of a rude bridge of branches and trees, of about forty yards width. The Luao, in spreading over the plains, confers benefits on the inhabitants, though I could not help concluding it imparts disease too, for the black mud in places smells horribly.'

Of metallic wealth Livingstone gives tempting evidences for settlers, in the remote future, upon the healthier high grounds of his continent. Whilst in Casembe's land, east of the Luapula, between the lakes Bemba and Moero, he finds copper in great abundance, and the natives already in possession of some rude arts of extracting and working the metal:—

'About a month to the west of this the people of Katanga smelt copper-ore (malachite) into large bars shaped like the capital letter I. They may be met with of from 50 lbs. to 100 lbs. weight all over the country, and the inhabitants draw the copper into wire for armlets and leglets. Gold is also found at Katanga, and specimens were lately sent to the Sultan of Zanzibar.'—i. 265.

Farther south, in the same district, he notes:—

'13th August.—The Banyamwezi use a hammer shaped like a cone, without a handle. They have both kinds of bellows, one of goat-skin the other of wood, with a skin over the mouth of a drum, and a handle tied to the middle of it; with these they smelt pieces of the large bars of copper into a pot, filled nearly full of wood ashes. The fire is surrounded by masses of anthills, and in these there are hollows made to receive the melted metal: the metal is poured while the pot is held with the hands, protected by wet rags.'—i. 332.

The notices of iron-ore, and the extraction and working of that metal, occur more frequently.

Near the Zomba hill-range, after crossing the Chipanga, in October, 1866, Livingstone notes:—

'Passing on we came to a smithy, and watched the founder at work drawing off slag from the bottom of his furnace. He broke through the hardened slag by striking it with an iron instrument inserted in the end of a pole, when the material flowed out of the small hole left for the purpose in the bottom of the furnace. The ore (probably the black oxide) was like sand, and was put in at the top of the furnace, mixed with charcoal. Only one bellows was at work, formed out of a goatskin, and the blast was very poor. Many of these furnaces, or their remains, are met with on knolls; those at work have a peculiarly tall hut built over them.'—i. 132.

And again, in the following year, whilst on the Löwendawé River:—

'Detained by a set-in rain. Marks on masses of dolomite elicited the information that a party of Londa smiths came once to this smelting ground and erected their works here. We saw an old iron furnace, and masses of hæmatite, which seems to have been the ore universally used.'—i. 201.

This industry evidently prevailed over a far wider tract of Negro-land than the extirpating blight of slave-catching now leaves practicable. Should the evidence submitted last summer to the 'Anthropological Institute' be deemed subversive of the Asiatic and Australian hypotheses of the sires of the Egyptian wise men, and sustentative of the arts and sciences of that land having sprung from an indigenous, that is an

African, people, the continuance of the art of extracting iron from its ores among the different dusky hosts of our traveller will be an element in favour of the Egyptologist maintaining that the builders of the Pyramids, and the quarriers and polishers of granite and diorite, possessed and used the metal iron, as well as copper or bronze.

'Goat-skin bellows, wood ashes, and ant-hills,' offer a striking contrast, worthy of note by the historian of mechanical engineering, with the 'Bessemer blasts' and the 'Siemen's furnace,' which latter melts metal without allowing the escape of so much waste heat as would char a faggot. It is a suggestive mite this contribution of Livingstone to the embryology of inventions.

To Botany the traveller adds a little in both the fossil and recent sections of the science; chiefly, as regards living plants, in their relation to economic values:—

'I went with the Makondé to see a specimen of the gum-copal tree in the vicinity of this village. The leaves are in pairs, glossy green, with the veins a little raised on both face and back; the smaller branches diverge from the same point: the fruit, of which we saw the shells, seems to be a nut; some animal had in eating them cut them through. The bark of the tree is of a light ash colour; the gum was oozing from the bark at wounded places, and it drops on the ground from branches; it is thus that insects are probably imbedded in the gum-copal.

'The Makondé get the gum in large quantities, and this attracts the coast Arabs, who remain a long time in the country purchasing it.'—i. 29.

The delta of the Lujigi, we may note, has been recently explored by Captain Elton with especial reference to copal diggings:—

'In the country near the hills of the Zalan-yama Range the gum-copal tree abounds; it is known by the name of "Masuko Mochenga."'—i. 136.

The true papyrus, now extirpated from the Egyptian Nile, continues to flourish farther south, and was found by Livingstone in latitudes 8° and 9° S.:—

'26th September (1867).—Two and a half hours brought us to the large river we saw yesterday; it was more than a mile wide and full of papyrus and other aquatic plants, and very difficult to ford, as the papyrus roots are hard to the bare feet, and we often plunged into holes up to the waist. A loose mass floated in the middle of our path; one could sometimes get on along this while it bent and heaved under the weight, but through it he would plunge and find great difficulty to get out: the water under this was very cold from evaporation; it took an hour and a half to cross it.'—i. 234.

'It is remarkable that in all the central

regions of Africa visited, the cotton is that known as the Pernambuco variety. It has a long strong staple, seeds clustered together, and adherent to each other. The bushes eight or ten feet high have woody stems, and the people make strong striped black and white shawls of the cotton.

'It was pleasant to meet the palm-oil palm (*Elaeis Guineensis*) at Casembe's, which is over 3000 feet above the level of the sea. The oil is sold cheap, but no tradition exists of its introduction into the country.'—i. 287.

The virgin forests, whence future needs of caoutchouc and gutta-percha will, doubtless, be supplied, are suggestively noted. Cameron, in a letter of May 4th, 1874, writes:—'India-rubber is abundant in Man-yuema.'

To the physiological part of Botany, the 'Last Journals' add many suggestive facts. Livingstone had before remarked on a species of Sun-dew (*Drosera*), the points of the hairs on the leaves of which exuded pure liquid in, apparently, capsules of clear glutinous matter: 'the clammy fluid is intended to entrap insects, which, dying on the leaf, probably yield nutriment to the plant.'\* This idea of 'carnivorous plants' formed a sensational topic at the last Belfast Meeting of the British Association.

Several localities, in both the Arabian and Libyan desert-boundaries of the valley of Egypt are noted for the quantities of silicified wood, sometimes in trunks or branches, more often in fragments, indicative of the disruptive forces of transport or surface-wave-action in the uprising movement of the old sea-bed, into which the trees of a tertiary continent had been drifted. Livingstone fails not to notice and record this phenomenon in the more southern and central parts of Africa. In the valley of the Me-hambivé, country of the Makondé, *c. g.*:—

'All the rocks we had seen showed that the plateau consists of grey sandstone, capped by a ferruginous sandy conglomerate. We now came to blocks of silicified wood lying on the surface; it is so like recent wood, that no one who has not handled it would conceive it to be stone and not wood: the outer surface preserves the grain or woody fibre, the inner is generally silica.'—i. 25.

And again:—

'We began our descent into this great valley when we left the source of the Bua; and now these low hills, called Ngale or Ngaloa, though only 100 feet or so above the level we had left, showed that we had come to the shore of an ancient lake, which probably was let off when the rent of Kebra-basa on the Zambesi was made, for we found immense banks of

\* 'Missionary Travels,' p. 472, 8vo., 1857.

well-rounded shingle above—or, rather, they may be called mounds of shingle—all of hard silicious schist with a few pieces of fossil-wood among them.’—i. 162.

Rising to zoological jottings we learn that other insects besides locusts serve as food : specimens of the ‘Kungu’ would be welcomed by the ‘Entomological Society.’

3rd September, 1866.—Went down to confluence of the Misingé and came to many of the eatable insect “kungu”—they are caught by a quick motion of the hand holding a basket. We got a cake of these same insects further down ; they made a buzz like a swarm of bees, and are probably the perfect state of some lake insects.’—i. 94.

Mr. Blackwall will, doubtless, ‘make a note of’ the following :—

‘A large spider makes a nest inside the huts. It consists of a piece of pure white paper, an inch and a half broad, stuck flat on the wall ; under this some forty or fifty eggs are placed, and then a quarter of an inch of thinner paper is put round it, apparently to fasten the first firmly. When making the paper the spider moves itself over the surface in wavy lines ; she then sits on it with her eight legs spread over all for three weeks continuously, catching and eating any insects, as cockroaches, that come near her nest. After three weeks she leaves it to hunt for food, but always returns at night : the natives do not molest it.’—i. 227.

Ant-lore receives valuable contributions, characterised by minute observation, quaint description, and too often unenviable personal experiences. For example :—

‘A small ant masters the common fly by seizing a wing or leg, and holding on till the fly is tired out.’

In the country of the Balangu, near the River Lochenjé,—

‘a shower of rain set the driver ants on the move, and about two hours after we had turned in we were overwhelmed by them. They are Kalandu or Nkalanda. To describe this attack is utterly impossible. I wakened covered with them ; my hair was full of them. One by one they cut into the flesh, and the more they are disturbed, the more vicious are their bites ; they become quite insolent. I went outside the hut, but there they swarmed everywhere ; they covered the legs, biting furiously ; it is only when they are tired that they leave off.’—i. 202.

Our Apiarians may add the following to their wealth of information :—

‘A very minute bee goes into the common small holes in worm-eaten wood to make a comb and lay its eggs, with a supply of honey. There are seven or eight honey-bees of small size in this country.’

We learn that there are cuckoos among insects as well as among birds :—

‘A sphex may be seen to make holes in the ground, placing stupified insects in them with her eggs ; another species watches when she goes off to get more insects, and every now and then goes in to lay her eggs, I suppose without any labour ; there does not appear to be any enmity between them.’

Entomotomists of the fell Tsetse-fly may compare their descriptions with Livingstone’s dissections recorded, vol. i. p. 320 ; perhaps with profit.

Rising to vertebrate life the traveller records that the Mofwé, a shallow piece of water about two miles broad, four or less long, full of sedgy islands, so abounds in fish as to have attracted Casembe I., and induced that founder of a sable dynasty to locate there his capital. From an incidental remark—‘Fish are in great abundance (perch)’—*ib.* 252—it may be inferred that their large, spiny, dorsal fin attracted Livingstone’s notice, and that they may be found to belong to the Percoid family.

‘Its fisheries are of great value to the inhabitants, and the produce is carried to great distances.’—i. 267.

Associated with this source of spawn and young fry the ‘sedgy islands are the abode of countless water-fowl’ (*ib.* 251).

Of the Kalongosi, which expands lake-like to 60 yards in width, Livingstone records the native names of thirty-nine species of fishes which never ‘cease ascending that river, though at times they are more abundant than others.’ Of some of these tropical African fishes Livingstone made sketches, serving the ichthyologist to determine at least the genus. When he has time for a description his conclusions as to affinity are just :—

‘We slept in a fisherman’s hut on the north shore. They brought a large fish, called “mondé,” for sale ; it has a slimy skin, and no scales, a large head, with tentacula like the *Siluridæ*, and large eyes ; the great gums in its mouth have a brush-like surface, like a whale’s in miniature ; it is said to eat small fish. A bony spine rises on its back (I suppose for defence), which is two and a half inches long, and as thick as a quill. They are very retentive of life.’—i. 243.

Had Bruce or Du Chaillu indulged in tales of terrestrial, or stomatogenous, or lactiferous fishes, recording how they prowled like foxes, or burrowed like rabbits on dry land, and how they brought forth their young by the mouth, and nourished them with their milk, what subjects would have been afforded for the scorn of fireside sceptics, self-satisfied with their small knowledge-stores !

The fish that 'comes to forage out of the river—in great numbers, often three feet in length—eating, amongst other prey, insects and lizards,' is rightly referred by Livingstone to a Siluroid species. Its progresses out of its element, 'one following after another,' are recorded in divers parts of the 'Journals':—

'Lightning was very near us last night. The Manyema say that, when it is so loud, fishes of large size fall with it, an opinion shared by the Arabs, but the large fish is really the *Clarias Capensis* of Smith, and it is often seen migrating in single file along the wet grass for miles; it is probably this that the Manyema think falls from the lightning.'—ii. 98.

Still, what we know, or what is believed, of the migration of eels, might help to the acceptance of this 'traveller's tale.' The fossorial fish is described as a 'black' one; it is called the *Nsaka*:—

It 'makes a hole with raised edges, which with the depth from which they are taken is from fifteen to eighteen inches, and from two to three feet broad. It is called by the natives their house. The pair live in it for some time, or until the female becomes large for spawning; this operation over, the house is left.'—i. 95.

It might be surmised, indeed, that Livingstone was here noting a kind of *Protopterus*, that amphibious fish of the *Gambia* which, in the shrunk dimensions of that stream during the dry season, burrows below the hard-baked mud and waits, torpid, till the floods restore it to its proper element.

But as Livingstone evidently recognises *Protopterus* when he sees it—as on the 17th October, 1872, at Mpimbé, 'we found many *Lepidosirens* in a muddy pool, which a group of vultures were catching and eating' (ii. 239)—his *Nsaka* was probably a truer fish, of a different genus or family.

Many instances of 'fish out of water,' and keeping life in a foreign element, nay, even losing it in their own, if restored thereto abruptly, are now on scientific record. In New Zealand, for example, the gold-diggers have disinterred small living fish in stiff clay at a depth of four feet from the surface, and thirty-seven feet above the level of the nearest river (the '*Hokitika*'), and three miles from the sea. The 'Warden' of this district examined seven or eight specimens, found inclosed in hollows of the clay, which moved freely when first extracted, but when placed in water got sluggish and soon died. Dr. Hector, F.R.S., State Geologist of the Province of Wellington, North Island, verified the fact, and, in his communication thereon accompanying the

specimens sent to the British Museum, remarks:—'I believe that the early settlers in New Zealand were frequently much astonished by digging up fish along with potatoes they had planted in the rich swampy land—a natural bounty which they were not prepared for.'

The big fish with breasts, giving milk, was, doubtless, a *Manatee*, or *Sirenian Mammal*.

But what, it may be asked, has Science to say to the following?—

'The dagala, or nsipé, a small fish caught in great numbers in every flowing water, and very like whitebait, is said to emit its eggs by the mouth, and these immediately burst and the young fish manages for itself. The dagala never becomes larger than two or three inches in length. Men say they have seen the eggs kept in the sides of the mouth till ready to go off as independent fishes. The *nghédédégé*, a species of perch, and another, the *ndusi*, are said to do the same.'—ii. 17.

Note the care with which Livingstone, like an older traveller, distinguishes what he sees from what he hears. In the present case he was more fortunate than Herodotus, few of whose hearsay stories have received a verification so satisfactory as that of the Manyemas' tales of the mouth-born 'dagalas.'

The gill-chambers of fishes are at the sides of the mouth, and the same opening receives food, and the respiratory streams of water that flow through the mouth to the gills, and issue by the branchial slits. In certain fishes the side-cavities are so developed as to serve the same purpose as the marsupial pouches in the kangaroos. Not, however, that the embryo is generated in the oral cavity of the fish any more than in the outside belly-pouch of the opossum. But the instances have been well determined in the class of fishes in which the ova, when expelled in the usual way from the abdominal egg-chamber, or 'hard roe,' are received into the mouth, not to be devoured, or from instinct of hunger, but to be protected or hatched in side cavities, akin to cheek-pouches. This instinct characterises certain Siluroid fishes of the genus *Arius*, and Reichardt has seen the young, after they have left the egg, re-entering the gill-chambers. The term '*Branchicolæ*'—gill-dwellers—has accordingly been proposed for one piscine group having this curious habits; but it may be manifested by fresh-water Siluroid fishes of different families.

The brooding or young-protecting instinct is notable in others members of the *Siluroidæ*. The Sheat-fish makes or chooses a sort of nest, and the male manifests great

care of the young, and drives away other fishes.

The *Phycis*, a kind of Goby, makes a nest of the roots of the grass-wrack (*Zostera marina*), as Ovid sings in his 'Halieuticon':—  
'Atque avium dulces nidos imitata sub undis.'

The mother Catfish (*Pimilodus catus*) is followed about by her young brood like a hen by her chicks. The Sun-fish (*Pomotis vulgaris*) hovers over her eggs, or rather the male over his wife's, and protects them for weeks. Our little stickleback has the same instinct. In the genus *Dorus* both male and female fish take part in the construction of the nest.

Livingstone's ornithological notes are mainly interesting as indications of localities whence unknown kinds may be derived. The bird-naturalist at home has learnt from Gilbert White the value of the 'note' as indicative of a new species. By the ear alone a Gould will tell of the kinds of birds infesting or enlivening your garden. Being a good imitator, he may bring examples of all of them into view, though the transit of the curious songster may be rapid, and need a sharp and knowing glance for recognition:—

'The forest resounds with singing birds, intent on nidification. Francolins abound, but are wild. "Whip-poor-wills," and another bird, which has a more laboured treble note and voice—"Oh, oh, oh!" Gay flowers blush unseen, but the people have a good idea of what is eatable and what not. "I looked at a woman's basket of leaves which she had collected for supper, and it contained eight or ten kinds, with mushrooms and orchidaceous flowers."—i. 167.

The latter will, doubtless, excite the speculation, perhaps enterprise, of a Veitch or an 'orchid' Bateman.

A note on nidification serves as a peg whereon to hang a bit at higher communities of wealth-producers than those of the primitive group of negro-huts in which the traveller seeks shelter:—

'There is nothing interesting in a heathen town. All are busy in preparing food or clothing, mats or baskets, whilst the women are cleaning or grinding their corn, which involves much hard labour. The wagtails build in the thatch of the huts; they are busy, and men and other animals are active in the same way.'—ii. 214.

What proportion of the commercial or trading, or, for that matter, 'philosophic' world, with the 'infinite azure' in final view, might be classed with the sparrows of the London house-tops! Yet a higher

than Tyndall teaches that even these are cared for.

The Mammalogist may note the following among our traveller's manifold jottings anent elephants.

On leaving the village of Chitoku, the guide led him into the forest, by what he meant to be a short cut to Chimuna's:—

'We came on a herd of about fifteen elephants, and many trees laid down by these animals. They seem to relish the roots of some kinds, and spend a good deal of time digging them up; they chew woody roots and branches as thick as the handle of a spade. Many buffaloes feed here.'—i. 137.

'The Moami country is full of elephants. They do much damage, eating the sorghum in the gardens unmolested. The elephants had come into the village and gone all about it, and to prevent their opening the corn-safes the people had bedaubed them with the elephants' droppings.'—i. 208.

A three-tusked elephant is noted (ii. p. 44). This anomaly may be explicable on the retention of one of the milk-tusks and its subsequent growth, its successor pushing its way through another part of the jaw, or in another direction. Four tusks are developed in all elephants, two being deciduous. In some extinct elephants tusks grew from the lower as well as the upper jaw.

In accordance with known carnivorous propensities of domestic pigs is the following:—

'The wild hogs abound, and do much damage, besides affording food for the tsetse. The brutes follow the ewes with young, and devour the poor lamb as soon as they make their appearance.'—i. 44.

The notes of the traveller abound with references to the lion. He bore in his broken left arm the marks of his marvellous escape from the powerful jaws of that wild beast. If the following should not relate to a young male of *Felis Leo*, the Council of the 'Zoological' may look out for a new kind of African lion:—

'When at Kanengwa a small party of men came past, shouting as if they had done something of importance: on going to them, I found that two of them carried a lion slung to a pole. It was a small nameless variety, called "the lion of Nyassi," or long grass. It had killed a man and they killed it. They had its mouth carefully strapped, and the paws tied across its chest, and were taking it to Casembe. Nyassi means long grass, such as towers overhead, and is as thick in the stalk as a goose-quill, and is erroneously applied to Nyassa. Other lions—Thambwé, Karamo, Simba—are said to stand five feet high, and some higher: this seemed about three feet high, but it was too dark to measure it.'—i. 303.

It is a significant fact in relation to the repetition of Bruce's treatment in the case of Du Chaillu, that, since the latter's return from the Gaboon, no other specimen of the full-sized gorilla has reached England. Those exhibited in the British Museum, male, female, and young, remain to this day unique.

The most remarkable addition to the Natural History of the Mammalia, contributed by these 'Last Journals of Livingstone,' is the evidence of a gorilla-like creature, called by the natives a 'soko,' and with the weird-like beast they associate superstitious ideas:—

'A soko alive was believed to be a good charm for rain; so one was caught, and the captor had the ends of two fingers and toes bitten off. The soko or gorillah always tries to bite off these parts, and has been known to overpower a young man, and leave him without the ends of fingers and toes. I saw the nest of one: it is a poor contrivance; no more architectural skill shown than in the nest of our Cusbat dove.'—ii. 28.

The two faithful followers, to whom his country owes the body, and science the journals, of the great traveller, being brought to the British Museum to see the gorilla, could not identify it with the soko. This they believed to have been as big as the gorilla, but it was black, not iron-grey. Livingstone describes a specimen as having 'fine long black hair all over' (ii. 102). Being shown the full-sized stuffed male black chimpanzees, from the West Coast of Africa, Susi affirmed them to be smaller than the soko.

Du Chaillu writes:—'Though there are sufficient points of diversity between the gorilla and man, I never kill one without having a sickening realization of the horrid human likeness of the beast. This was particularly the case to-day, when the animal approached us in its fierce way, walking on its hind legs, and facing us as few animals dare face man.\* . . . 'When progressing on the lower limbs only, the "walk is a waddle from side to side;" these "being somewhat inadequate to the proper support of the huge superincumbent body, the gorilla balances himself by swinging his arms, or clasping them behind the head."†

In the latter attitude Livingstone figures a soko advancing on his hind legs to attack the spearmen (Plate, p. 52, vol. ii.), and notes: 'They often go erect, but place the hand on the head, as if to steady the body' (ii. 52).

One remembers the reception of Du

Chaillu's statement that a threatened gorilla 'beat his vast breast with his huge fists till it resounded like an immense bass-drum;\*' and again: 'Sometimes from the standing position he sits and beats his chest, producing a dull reverberation.†

So Livingstone notes: 'Sokos collect together and make a drumming noise;‡ and again, but apparently on hearsay: 'They beat hollow trees as drums with hands, and then scream as music to it' (ib.). The capacious chest of the gorilla accords with Du Chaillu's observation of the mode of 'drumming' in that ape, and it is the more probable one.

Of the gorilla, Du Chaillu again writes:—'Though it has such immense canines, and though its vast strength doubtless fits it to capture and kill almost every animal which frequents the forest, it is a strict vegetarian.§

So Livingstone:—'The soko eats no flesh—small bananas are his dainties, but not maize; his food consists of wild fruits, which abound' (ii. 54). Both gorilla and soko are keen-sighted, sharp at hearing, and suggest the idea of their 'stalking' the hunters in quest of them. But the sum of Livingstone's remarks on the soko, its mode of attack, and the wounds it inflicts, 'biting off the finger-ends of its assailant,' indicates it to be a less bulky and powerful antagonist than Du Chaillu's beast. Fortunately the portrait which Livingstone sketched of a young soko (Plate at p. 55) enables the naturalist to decide as to its affinity to the previously known African forms of Anthropoid apes. The gorilla differs from the chimpanzee in the smaller and more human proportions of the external ears: these in the Plate (p. 55) of the soko are decidedly the ears of a chimpanzee. The details of hands and feet in the sketch are not such as are available to science. But the extension of the geographical range of a species of chimpanzee (*Troglodytes*), from the intertropical West Coast to 27° E. longitude, is an acceptable addition to the Natural History of the Anthropoid apes. If these extended their range along the fertile valleys, watered by rivers ultimately issuing on the West Coast, the soko-chimpanzee may be taken as an element, small indeed, in the probability of what the great river may be, or become, the sources of which Livingstone had discovered. The occurrence, also, of the mud-fishes, common to the Zaire and Gambia, in the Luapula, as well as in its essential continua-

\* 'Adventures in Equatorial Africa,' 8vo., 1861, p. 277.

† Ib.

\* 'Adventures in Equatorial Africa,' p. 70.

† Ib. p. 351. ‡ Vol. ii. p. 70. § 'Adventures in Equatorial Africa,' p. 348.

tion the Lualaba, suggests a similar probability of the latter's flow. It is true that *Protopterus* has been found in the Zambesi; but we are not aware that this mud-fish has been met with in the White Nile.

Finally, the report of a Manatee in the Lualaba gives a pregnant suggestion of the coast on which it disembogues. The Geological Society has lately told us of a fossil Sirenian in the tertiary bed of the Nile, and the traveller, Rüppel, holds that the "badger" of the Old Testament (Numb. iv. 6), the skins of which were used to roof over the holy tent, was a Dugong of the Red Sea, which he accordingly terms '*Halicore Tabernaculi*.' But no existing species of mammiferous fish-shaped animal has hitherto been observed in the great rivers of Africa, save those opening upon the West Coast.

Every zoological note by one travelling over previously untrodden wilds of Africa is helpful to the highest aims of the science, and especially in fixing the foundations of the great law of the 'Geographical Distribution of Animals.' Some forms, *e.g.*, gorilla, chimpanzee, giraffe, toothed anteater, are peculiar to, or still unknown out of, Africa; other forms, *e.g.*, elephant, rhinoceros, hyrax—the 'coney of the stony rocks,'\* and little cousin of the 'unicorn' of Scripture—are common to Africa and Asia, but are represented by distinct species of propagable varieties in each continent. The negro is the African form of man, call him, as you please, species or variety; and not the least valuable of the 'scientific' 'Last Notes' of Livingstone are those which he contributes to Ethnology. He encounters representatives of, at least, two of the several well-marked types of dark-skinned aborigines, and confirms, if it were needed, the common experience of Anthropological researches on the diversities of the men, which would have passed, in the 'Southern States,' under the common designation and ban of 'Niggers':—

'The Manganja, or Wa-nyassa, are an aboriginal race; they have great masses of hair, and but little, if any, of the prognathous in the profile. Their bodies and limbs are very well made, and the countenance of the men is often very pleasant. The women are very plain and lumpy, but exceedingly industrious in their gardens from early morning till about 11 A.M., then from 3 P.M. till dark, or pounding corn and grinding it: the men make twine or nets by day, and are at their fisheries in the evenings and nights. They build the huts, the women plaster them.'—i. 95.

Livingstone's former fellow-traveller and coadjutor in missionary work, the excellent

editor of his 'Last Journals,' adds that the 'Manganja' are distinguished from lower types by their long well-shaped heads and better brains, and, 'as a rule, are extremely clever in all the savage arts and manufactures; their iron weapons and implements show a taste for design which is not reached by the neighbouring tribes' (i. 122):—

'The Waiyau are far from a handsome race, but they are not the prognathous beings one sees on the West Coast either. Their heads are of a round shape; compact foreheads, but not particularly receding; the *alæ nasi* are flattened out; lips full, and with the women a small lip-ring just turns them up to give additional thickness. Their style of beauty is exactly that which was in fashion when the stone deities were made in the caves of Elephanta and Kenora near Bombay.'—i. 80.

Mr. Waller also contrasts the 'round apple-shaped heads' of the Waiyau with the 'long well-shaped heads' of the Manganja. Ethnology may thus have to modify her generalization of 'dolichocephalism' as applied to the 'Ethiopian race':—

'The Babisa have round bullet heads, snub noses, often high cheek-bones, an upward slant of the eyes, and look as if they had a lot of Bushman blood in them, and a good many would pass for Bushmen or Hottentots. Both Babisa and Waiyau may have a mixture of the race, which would account for their roving habits.'—i. 166.

The acceptors of the origin of the human species from a single created pair, and of the divergence of the actual races of the entire globe from one Asiatic centre, see evidence of this in phenomena which, viewed apart from such prepossession, admit of a more simple explanation. If, *e.g.*, an ancient Egyptian be depicted killing wild-fowl by throwing a stick at them, it does not follow that the Australian inventor of the 'boomerang' or 'throwing-stick' derived the idea from ancestral tradition, or, reciprocally, that the originators of Egyptian civilization were 'Australioids.'

The practice of filing or knocking out a front incisor may, likewise, possibly originate independently in human communities at the level of Tasmanian and tropical African aborigines:—

'The Baulungu men are in general tall and well formed; they use bows over six feet in length, and but little bent. The facial angle is as good in most cases as in Europeans, and they have certainly as little of the "lark-heel" as whites. One or two of the under front teeth are generally knocked out in women, and also in men.'—i. 220.

Similarly, the practice of 'tattooing' may

\* Hyrax *Syriacus*.

have sprung up spontaneously in New Zealand, as elsewhere:—

'The Makoa have the half or nearly full moon, but it is, they say, all for ornament. Some blue stuff is rubbed into the cuts (I am told it is charcoal), and the ornament shows brightly in persons of light complexion, who by the bye are common. The Makondé and Matambwé file their front teeth to points; the Machinga, a Waiyau tribe, leave two points on the sides of the front teeth, and knock out one of the middle incisors above and below.'—i. 49.

'Many of the men have large slits in the lobe of the ear, and they have their distinctive tribal tattoo. The women indulge in this painful luxury more than the men, probably because they have very few ornaments. The two central front teeth are hollowed at the cutting edge. Many have quite the Grecian facial angle. Mapuio has thin legs and quite a European face. Delicate features and limbs are common, and the spur-heel is as scarce as among Europeans; small feet and hands are the rule.'—i. 140.

The latter, however, is essentially a character of inferiority. Our evolutionists point to it as common to negroes and apes, more especially as regards the hands. Some of the negro physiognomies recalled to our traveller's mind Assyrian features, and other ethnic evidences suggested Egyptian relations:—

'The tattoo or tembo of the Matambwé and Upper Makondé very much resembles the drawings of the old Egyptians; wavy lines, such as the ancients made to signify water, trees and gardens enclosed in squares seem to have been meant of old for the inhabitants who lived on the Rovuma, and cultivated also; the son takes the tattoo of his father, and thus it has been perpetuated, though the meaning now appears lost.'—i. 49.

But a rude representation of water might well be suggested by its characteristic movement, independently, in diverse and remote families of mankind, when risen to the rudiments of æsthetic design. The common primitive inclosure is the square, and offers the same explanation in regard to a rude, childlike plan of a garden. A cherished prepossession evidently underlies the frequent reference to Egypt in connection with the dogma of the 'poor degraded children of Ham':—

'Young men and women wear the hair long, a mass of small ringlets comes down and rests on the shoulders, giving them the appearance of the ancient Egyptians. One side is often cultivated, and the mass hangs jauntily on that side; some few have a solid cap of it.'—i. 125.

But the appearance in the sculptures and paintings of Egypt, here alluded to, is given

by a wig: the Egyptians, at a certain age, shaved or cut close off the hair, and it became the material of the complexly woven wig in both sexes. A specimen of this headgear may be seen, preserved to this day, in the British Museum, after some thousands of years have passed since the decease of the wearer. The comfort, in the hot season of the Kampseen winds, on the Nile, of sitting in a darkened chamber without the wig, and of having its protection to the head, out of doors, as the turban serves the modern Orientals, was fully appreciated by the subjects of the Pharaohs. During their ancient Empire, as far back as the sixth Dynasty, 3700 B.C., the Egyptians distinguished the darker races to the south (Berbers, Soudanese?) by a term which our great Egyptologist, Birch, renders 'negroes.' In his 'Introduction' to the Translation of the famous 'Inscription of Una'\* he writes: 'In it is found the earliest known mention of negroes, who seem at that remote period to have been conquered by the Egyptians, and conscribed for their armies.' 'The ethnologist's idea of 'typical,' as applied to the negro, would involve—prognathism, thick lips, broad depressed nose, prominent heel, narrow cranium, and receding front,—in short, physical characteristics distinguishing them, as a race, from those dark-skinned Africans, of which the men 'have as beautiful hands as one could find in an assembly of Europeans,' and the women have 'fine small, well-formed features, exciting the admiration of the Arabs.'†

Whatever may prove to be the ethnic or generic relations between the Africans of the upland forest-regions of Itawa and those lower races and 'ungainly forms' which grow up in the unhealthy swamps of 'West-coast ugliness,' the allusion, by Livingstone, to the type of his handsome Itawans being that of the ancient Egyptian, is interesting in relation to recently-acquired evidences, in which the distinction of the type of that marvellous people from those of the negro and of the Australian seems to have been fully demonstrated.‡ There remains, then, the question, admitting the agreement of type between the ancient Egyptian and the handsome mountain people of Central Africa, whether the migration, assuming any such movement, was from Egypt southward or the reverse? We commend to the Anthropologist a serious consideration of the subject of the 'Frontispiece' of the work under review, and of the psychical

\* 'Records of the Past,' 12mo, 1874, p. 1.

† 'Last Journals,' i. 259.

‡ 'Journal of the Anthropological Institute,' vol. iv., 1874, p. 222.

as well as physical characteristics of the highest type of man, exemplified by the Christian missionary, who has given his life to his work.

Our quotations bearing on this work must be few. But, meanwhile, we may now notice some of the conditions under which Livingstone pursued his course, and recorded his varied observations on Men and Things.

He had a free passage from Bombay in the 'Thule,' a vessel sent as a present from the Bombay Government to the Sultan of Zanzibar. Livingstone had the further advantage of being honoured with the commission to make the formal presentation to the Sultan of this vessel, on the part of his Excellency the Governor-in-Council, in order to show in how much estimation he was held, and thereby induce the Sultan to forward his enterprise. Sir Bartle Frere, ever ready or foremost in the promotion of good work, added a commendatory epistle, in Livingstone's favour, to his Highness Sejuel Majid.

But to this insular centre and sink of the east-coast slave-trade, as to its utmost ramifications on the continent of Africa, the name of Livingstone was 'anathema'—a name of hate.

The task subsequently assigned to Sir Bartle in relation to this Sultan or 'Said' of Zanzibar, must have dissipated any hope or expectation of real help to the apostle of African liberty to be gained by gifts or letters to one for whom the words 'benevolent objects,' 'philanthropic designs,'\* suggested only interference with the traffic by which the 'budget' of Zanzibar might show a surplus. Sejuel Majid gave, of course, a favourable reception to his pestilent and dreaded enemy—'was very gracious, and seemed pleased with the gift:' as well he might, for 'the Thule is fitted up in a most gorgeous manner.'

The Traveller sets forth with a Havildar's company of sepoy: thirteen natives of an island in the Comoro group, noted among slave-holders as the most stupid of blacks, were added as 'carriers;' they were the notorious 'Johanna' men: the only trustworthy followers, as it turned out, were two Waiyau lads, Wakatani and Chuma, liberated from the slavers by the Doctor and Bishop Mackenzie in 1841, and who had lived for three years with the Mission party at Chibisa's before they were engaged by Livingstone; and certain 'Nassick lads,' whom Livingstone pointed out to the Sultan as having been 'rescued from slavery, educated in Bombay, and sent back to their country by the Governor.' His Highness was gra-

ciously pleased to add a 'Letter,' the advantage of which, when presented to his remote Arab representatives, may be conceived when it is considered that one purpose of the expedition was to strike at the root of the main source of the revenue of the Sultan.

Our Missionary Traveller starts on his Expedition, 19th of March, 1866, with his Highness's Letter of Recommendation or general passport, and with the above specified cortège. The journal of the 4th April shows how soon the representatives of their Sultan began to carry out the wish of his heart. The Jemidar Hamish, respectfully perusing the Sultan's 'passport,' bows low, professes much, and puts the weary traveller into a 'shabby hut which lets in rain and wind; I slept one night in it and it was unbearable' (i. 10). Hamish's assertion that Livingstone would find 'that no carriers could be hired from the independent tribes,' of course had no deterrent effect; and as he prosecuted his journey, he gets proof that the lie was simply 'to do him an ill turn.' Again, on the 18th April, 'Ben Ali,' another official of the Sultan, 'purposely misleads him.'

The whole of the subsequent actions of his royal escort show how well they understood and carried out their real master's behests. The officer in command of the Sepoys protested that he had no power to check their mutinous conduct. They lag behind, and 'tried to prevail on my "Nassick boys" to go slowly like them and wear my patience out.' Opportunity serving, they kill the camels (p. 43); waste and throw away the stores (p. 54). It could hardly be without the connivance of their 'Havildar' that they also killed the donkey Livingstone had given that officer to carry his things (p. 75). It is plain they merely bided the opportunities of place and time to desert in a body with all they could carry off. Meanwhile, the Sepoys were sowing disaffection among the negroes of the cortège.

Wearied out at last by daily conflict with these soldiers, Livingstone anticipates their desertion and robbery by discharging them; and exemplifies his own large and forgiving nature by supplying them out of the remnants of his wasted store, with the means of buying from the black chief of the tribes of the then locality (Moemba), supplies of food, until an expected Arab trader should arrive there. The Havildar made a show of some sense of shame, and strongly begged to be permitted to remain. 'I consented, though he is a drag on my party, but he will count in any difficulty' (i. 76). Vain confidence!

Livingstone had hired native blacks to supply the place of the discharged Sepoys,

\* See Sir Bartle's 'Letter,' vol. i., p. 2.

and lighten the labour of the negroes assigned to him at starting. So recruited, he might still succeed, and the true mission of the wily Havildar be incomplete. The effects of the too easily associated corrupter soon show themselves. The Johanna men first exemplify the baneful influence.

'Musa,' their leader, is told :—

'That all the country in front was full of Mazitu; that forty-four Arabs and their followers had been killed by them' at Kasungu, &c.

'I explained to Musa that we should avoid the Mazitu; but his eyes stood out with terror, and he said, "I no can believe that man." But I inquired, "How can you believe the Arab so easily?"' Musa answered, "I ask him to tell me true, and he say true, true," &c.

'When we started, all the Johanna men walked off, leaving the goods on the ground. They have been such inveterate thieves that I am not sorry to get rid of them; for though my party is now inconveniently small, I could not trust them with flints in their guns, nor allow them to remain behind, for their object was invariably to plunder their loads.'

Had they also got their secret instructions at parting?

But, in that case, what colourable pretext could be given for their return? 'The whole party,' they said, 'had been attacked, the Sepoys defeated, the Nassick boys made slaves of, and the leader slain.' Thus was the ill-fated expedition, as it was feared at home and hoped at Zanzibar, cut short on the 26th September, 1866.

The confidence in the traveller and the knowledge of the conditions under which he was exploring were crucially tested by this report. We know how it was received by the Royal Geographical Society and their distinguished President, Sir RODERICK MURCHISON. They 'bated no jot of heart or hope.' Mr. Edward Young, R.N., boldly declared the story to be false, and subsequently proved it to be so.

The traveller, though crippled, is not arrested, but courageously pushes on. His Nassick boys, with Chumah and Wakatani, are still true to him, and he hopes the best from their hired helpers. He is now nearing the southern end of Lake Liemba, afterwards shown to be part of the grander Tanganyika. The Havildar had fled. 'No one thought the Waiyau would desert.' They, too, were but biding their opportunity:—

'The forest was so dense and high, there was no chance of getting a glimpse of the fugitives, who took all the dishes, a large box of powder, the flour we had purchased dearly to help us as far as the Chambezé, the tools, two guns, and a cartridge-pouch; but the medicine-chest was

the sorest loss of all! I felt as if I had now received the sentence of death, like poor Bishop Mackenzie.'

The feeling proved true. The Sepoy officer had done his duty.

An Arab trader, whom Livingstone was deceived into believing to be favourably influenced by his Highness's general 'Letter of Recommendation,' seems to have read it 'between the lines':—

'The rascal sold the favours of his female slaves to my people for goods which he perfectly well knew were stolen from me. He received my four deserters, and when I had gone off to Lake Bangweolo with only four attendants, the rest wished to follow, but he dissuaded them by saying that I had gone into a country where there was war; he was the direct cause of all my difficulties with these liberated slaves.'—ii. 75.

It is not to be supposed that the Sultan of Zanzibar is the sole Mahomedan ruler whose policy is adverse to suppression of the trade in slaves.

The astute Khedive of Egypt, whether he repeat the southern conquests of his predecessor Thotmes by Pasha Baker or by General Gordon, knows that it will be an extension of his area of forced labour and serfdom. Livingstone clearly discerns the logical result of such conquest.

No doubt in the degree to which the engineer may be supported in facilitating the transport of produce from the Soudan, will legitimate labour and trade be there promoted. But a Mahomedan despot, whether he reign in Ispahan, Constantinople, or Cairo, will have his slaves and his eunuchs. They are essential to the economy of the harem. From their Highnesses the Pashas downward, slaves must be had by the Mussulman who can afford more wives than one. Enmity and opposition, open or covert, are inevitable against whomsoever would stop the supply of this necessity. The harem exemplifies the varnished barbarism of the Mahomedan communities. The upholding of the 'rotten state' of Turkey will be a subject in future history, reflecting disgrace on the powers of civilized and christianized Europe. The inevitable decomposition might at least be left to take its course.

On a retrospect, however, of the conditions under which the African Apostle and Martyr was left to fulfil his mission one cannot help 'looking at home;' not only in relation to the higher aim, but to the material results of his geographical discoveries.

Admitting the administrative principle of 'weaning the colonies,' discoveries which may lead to fresh troubles of that kind ought,

logically, to be discouraged.\* On this basis 'Cook's Voyages' were, financially and governmentally, a mistake.

An estimate of the investments by Mother-country, and her losses or gains in developing the Australian Provinces, would be a business-like test of such alleged administrative principle. Supposing the results to prove its unsoundness, considering that the Mother-country may not be stationary, may not have risen to the zenith of her population and prosperity, and that future colonies may continue, like present ones, to promote the continuance and advance of those desirable conditions,—what should be the attitude of the statesman to the rare and exceptional individual, like a Cook or a Livingstone, who may be the instrument in enriching his native State with the initial conditions of its prosperity in and by colonies? Surely to listen, we might almost venture to say, with respectful consideration to well-weighed propositions and plans for ensuring the success of explorations.

In Voyages of Discovery experience has made easy, if not perfect, such preparations; in land journeys it has to be acquired. Even in what may be regarded as the minor results of travel, of how many a plant, how many an animal, of which Livingstone notes some useful property, or strange economy, one would be glad to know the name! such name as gives its nature and affinities, such as that to which Linnæus refers in his adage:—"Nomina si pereunt perit et cognitio rerum."

In Banks, Solander, Parkinson, the Circumnavigatory Expedition organised by George III., which, in April 1770, planted the British flag near Cape York, Australia, had the needful staff for enriching Science with the strange animals and plants which met the eyes of these naturalists and their draughtsman as they gazed in wonder upon the flowery banks and plains of Botany Bay. To provide such adjuncts to land explorers may seem Utopian; the proposition, however, of the official Astronomer of Victoria, submitted by him to the Administration of that wealthy Australian Province, was essentially sound in an economical point of view. Professor Neumayer, referring to the losses of valuable information, and of the more valuable lives sacrificed in obtaining it, drew up a scheme or plan of exploration by

which investments in geographical research would be most likely to be remunerative.

Failing to obtain its adoption in the Colony, the propounder came over to submit his well-considered recommendations to the Mother-country, mainly in behoof of an unweaned child too young to comprehend them. They are, however, as applicable to Africa as to Australia. The Council of the Royal Geographical Society may know the Administrative Departments or individuals before whom, in 1868, the able Astronomer pleaded his plan of research.\*

The policy of 'weaning' is one of weaning us from our best customers: in every new colony a new source of production and trade is founded; and now, with extended, quickened and cheapened communication is very like an extension of the territory of the British Islands themselves. The missionary of science is a missionary of commerce.

In this relation, let us finally glance at the consequences to Livingstone of his conditions of travel.

On the 26th June, 1870, all his people had failed their leader save the three faithful ones, Susi, Chumah, and Gardner. Their names deserve and will, doubtless, share the lasting memory of that of him whom they followed to the death, and whose 'Last Journals' and mortal remains they ultimately brought back to Zanzibar.

But two years and six months of weariness, sickness, and pain, sometimes rising to torture, are still to be endured.

The insect plagues were minor calamities, but they were bad enough.

'The human ticks called "papasi" by the Suaheli, and "karapatos" by the Portuguese, made even the natives call out against their numbers and ferocity.'—ii. 275.

Livingstone adds his experiences to those recorded and groaned over by other tropical travellers of the torments from ants. Take the following instance:—

'Suffered a furious attack at midnight from the red Sirafu or Driver ants. Our cook fled first at their onset. I lighted a candle, and remembering Dr. Van der Kemp's idea that no animal will attack man unprovoked, I lay still. Vain confidence in the enemies' forbearance! 'The first came on my foot quietly, then some began to bite between the toes, then the larger ones swarmed over the foot and bit furiously, and made the blood start out. I then went out of the tent, and my whole person was instantly

\* H. Walpole in a letter to Mann, of March 10, 1755, writes:—"The prospect is warlike. The Ministry are so desirous of avoiding it, that they make no preparations on land. Their partisans don the plantations, and ask if we are to involve ourselves in a war for them."

\* This 'Plan' was read and discussed at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, June 8th, 1868: it was subsequently submitted to the Royal Society, and the Details, with Estimates, are given in the 'Proceedings' of the Society. No. 102, 1868.

covered as close as small-pox (not confluent) on a patient. Grass fires were lighted, and my men picked some off my limbs and tried to save me. After battling for an hour or two they took me into a hut not yet invaded, and I rested till they came, the pests, and routed me out there too! Then came on a steady pour of rain, which held on till noon, as if trying to make us miserable. At 9 A.M. I got back into my tent. The large Sirafu have mandibles curved like reaping-sickles, and very sharp—as fine at the point as the finest needle or a bee's sting. Their office is to remove all animal refuse, cockroaches, &c., and they took all my fat.—ii. 276.

Let any well-to-do householder, who may be worried by domestic troubles, read a page of 'Livingstone' and take a lesson from his patient spirit. The traveller's lowered vital forces rendered him more especially amenable to the lodgments of parasites. His quinine was gone. Febrile attacks, following swamp-wadings, wettings to skin, exhaustions, poor food, had to run their course, and drain off the remnants of resistance offered by a constitution once of iron-strength. That Livingstone could no longer rely on this essential element of his former successes we have early evidence.

'27th January, 1867.—A set-in rain all the morning; but having meat we were comfortable in the old huts. In changing my dress this morning I was frightened at my own emaciation.—i. 187.

And, again, in the same year:—

'20th October.—Very ill; I am always so when I have no work—sore bones—much headache; then lost power over the muscles of the back, as at Liemba; no appetite and much thirst.—*Ibid.* 237.

Fifteen months of such attacks, with partial recoveries, had lowered the tissues to the condition curiously attractive to the instinctive feeders on a weakened organism. The gardener knows when his plants lack nourishing soil by the blight and aphid lice that invade them.

'25th February, 1869.—I extracted twenty *Funys*, an insect like a maggot, whose eggs had been inserted on my having been put into an old house infested by them; as they enlarge they stir about and impart a stinging sensation; if disturbed, the head is drawn in a little. When a poultice is put on they seem obliged to come out, possibly from want of air: they can be pressed out, but the large pimple in which they live is painful; they were chiefly in my limbs.—ii. 4.

But the hero had no thought of yielding. The outer works might be assailed and partially demolished. But he had a stout heart, a breadth of chest and squareness of shoulder, that aforesaid had carried him victo-

riously through seemingly as unequal contests. But now the very citadel, his stronghold, was assailed.

'1st January, 1869.—I have been wet times without number, but the wetting of yesterday was once too often: I felt very ill, but fearing that the Lofuko might flood, I resolved to cross it. Cold up to the waist, which made me worse, but I went on for two and a half hours east. I marched one hour, but found I was too ill to go further. Moving is always good in fever; now I had a pain in the chest, and rust-of-iron sputa: my lungs, my strongest part, were thus affected. We crossed a rill and built sheds, but I lost count of the days of the week and month after this. Very ill all over.'

'About 7th January.—Cannot walk: pneumonia of right lung, and I cough all day and night: sputa rust-of-iron and bloody: distressing weakness.'

Sadly interesting is it to read how he could analyse and note the signs of his condition, and truly touching is the commentary:—

'It is probably malaria which causes that constant singing in the ears. Ideas flow through the mind with great rapidity and vividness, in groups of twos and threes: if I look at any piece of wood, the bark seems covered over with figures and faces of men, and they remain, though I looked away and turn to the same spot again. I saw myself lying dead in the way to Ujiji, and all the letters I expected there useless. When I think of my children and friends, the lines ring through my head perpetually:

'I shall look into your faces,  
And listen to what you say,  
And be often very near you  
When you think I'm far away.'—ii. 2.

The 'contest for existence' is nevertheless doggedly maintained for another year; then the tissues themselves begin to give way. Microscopic invisible organisms may be at the bottom of what a surgeon calls an 'ulcer.'

'July 1870.—For the first time in my life my feet failed me, and now having but three attendants it would have been unwise to go further in that direction. Instead of healing quietly as heretofore, when torn by hard travel, irritable-eating ulcers fastened on both feet; and I limped back to Bamarré on 22nd. The sores on my feet now laid me up as irritable-eating ulcers. If the foot were put to the ground, a discharge of bloody ichor flowed, and the same discharge happened every night with considerable pain, that prevented sleep.'—ii. 47.

'26th September.—I am able now to report the ulcers healing. For eighty days I have been completely laid up by them, and it will be long ere the lost substance will be replaced.'—*Ibid.* 63.

Another evidence of weakening of the mind with the wear of the frame. Old fa-

avourite studies and thoughts come to the surface. 'Fountains of Herodotus' and traces of Moses are hoped for, seemingly expected in land farther to the south-west of Egypt than the Lawgiver ever travelled to the north-east from Goshen.

'2nd November.—I long with intense desire to move on and finish my work, I have also an excessive wish to find anything that may exist proving the visit of the great Moses and the ancient kingdom of Tirhaka, but I pray give me just what pleases Thee my Lord, and make me submissive to Thy will in all things.'—ii. 74.

To pains of body were added anguishes of soul. Not for himself—not on his own account; that account he had well made up, and he 'knew that his Redeemer lived,'—but the moral world in which he wandered, with which he strove. These inevitable blots, descriptive of ignorant, wicked, sickening atrocities, darken many pages of the book. Take any of the slave-hunters' proceedings, as for example:—

'18th July, 1871.—The murderous assault on the market people felt to me like Gehenna, without the fire and brimstone; but the heat was oppressive, and the firearms pouring their iron bullets on the fugitives, was not an inapt representative of burning in the bottomless pit.

'The terrible scenes of man's inhumanity to man brought on severe headache, which might have been serious had it not been relieved by a copious discharge of blood; I was laid up all yesterday afternoon with the depression the bloodshed made—it filled me with unspeakable horror.'—ii. 139.

Livingstone here refers to the break up of another part of his system, the intestinal canal. His wonderful lungs had battled with the pneumonia and driven off the inflammation, but they were left wounded and enfeebled. Adhesions had ensued. Henceforth his breathing became short, hard, and frequent.

Finally the vital fluid itself drained off. The excruciating pains of his dysenteric malady caused him the greatest exhaustion as they marched.

'10th April, 1873.—I am pale, bloodless, and weak from bleeding profusely ever since the 31st of March last: an artery gives off a copious stream, and takes away my strength. Oh, how I long to be permitted by the Over Power to finish my work.

'12th April.—Cross the Muanakazi. It is about 100 or 130 yards broad, and deep. Great loss of *alwa* made me so weak I could hardly walk, but tottered along nearly two hours and then lay down quite done.'—ii. 294.

The end—the Crown—was at hand.

They made him a bed raised from the mud-floor of a hut by sticks and grass. The

boy Majwara slept just within to attend to his master's wants. About 11 P.M., Susi, whose hut was close by, was told to go to his master. That master's thoughts then were on his geographical work. He said slowly, and evidently wandering, 'Is this the Luapula?' Susi told him they were in Chitambo's village, near the Mulilamo: he lay silent for a while. Again he asks, in the Suaheli dialect, 'How many days is it to the Luapula?' A few seconds after, as if in great pain, he half sighed, half said, 'Oh dear, dear!' and then dozed off again.

About an hour later he asks for the medicine-chest, and tells Susi to hold the candle near him, for the man noticed he could hardly see. With great difficulty Dr. Livingstone selected the calomel, and directing Susi to pour a little water into a cup, and to put another empty one by it, he said in a low feeble voice, 'All right; you can go out now.' 'These,' writes the Editor, 'were the last words he was ever heard to speak.' The last to man. His last on earth were to his God.

It must have been about four in the morning when Susi heard Majwara's step once more. 'Come to Bwana'—their name for their beloved master—'come, I am afraid: I don't know if he is still alive.' The lad's evident alarm made Susi run to arouse Chuma and the few remaining followers. They went immediately to the hut.

Passing inside they looked towards the bed. Livingstone was not lying on it, but appeared to be engaged in prayer, and they instinctively drew backward for an instant. Pointing to him, Majwara said, 'When I lay down he was just as he is now.' The men drew nearer. A candle, stuck by its own wax to the top of the box, shed a light sufficient for them to see his form. Their master was kneeling by the side of his bed, his body stretched forward, his head buried in his hands upon the pillow. For a minute they watched him: he did not stir; there was no sign of breathing; then one of them, Matthew, advanced softly to him and placed his hands to his cheeks. They were cold; the body almost cold: Livingstone was dead.

ART. VII.—1. *L'Empire Romain en Orient.*

Par Gaston Boissier. Publié dans la 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' Juillet 1874.

2. *La Statue Vocale de Memnon, considérée dans ses rapports avec l'Égypte et la Grèce.* Par Jean Antoine Letronne. Paris, 1833.

THEBES in Egypt—who has not heard of

its wonders? Who has not longed to behold them? That city of the hundred gates, as Homer calls it, has indeed long since passed away; but even now some of its massy monuments and vast sepulchral chambers bear witness to its ancient grandeur. Above all, those twin statues of colossal size—'the Pair,' for so our countrymen have named them—continue to look down on the valley of the Nile, and more than any other monuments arrest the stranger's eye. 'There they sat'—so writes Miss Harriet Martineau, describing her first sight of them—'together yet apart, in the midst of the plain, serene and vigilant, still keeping their untired watch over the lapse of ages and the eclipse of Egypt. I can never believe that anything else so majestic as this Pair has been conceived of by the imagination of Art. Nothing even in nature certainly ever affected me so unspeakably; no thunder-storm in my childhood, nor any aspect of Niagara, or the great Lakes of America, or the Alps or the Desert, in my later years.'

Such were Miss Martineau's words of wonder derived only from a transient glance in her up-stream voyage. But on her return, when she passed many days at Thebes, she found her first admiration very far from enfeebled, and she has expressed it with her wonted vividness of style: 'The Pair sitting alone amidst the expanse of verdure, with islands of ruin behind them, grew more striking to us every day. To-day, for the first time, we looked up at them from their base. The impression of sublime tranquillity which they convey, when seen from distant points, is confirmed by a nearer approach. There they sit, keeping watch—hands on knees, gazing straight forward, seeming, though so much of the faces is gone, to be looking over to the monumental piles on the other side of the river, which became gorgeous temples after these throne-seats were placed here—the most immovable thrones that have ever been established on this earth!'

These gigantic statues, as Sir Gardner Wilkinson has measured or computed, are forty-seven feet in height; that is, above the present soil, for they extend to seven feet more below it. They appear like islands during the yearly inundations of the Nile which cover the plain around them. Each was at first of a single block, although the one to which we shall presently and more in detail advert has been repaired in five blocks, from the middle upwards. Those five blocks came from a neighbouring quarry; but each original monolith was of a stone not known within several days' jour-

ney of the place, so that the means adopted for their transport are not easy to imagine or explain. What countless multitudes must have been required to move these stupendous masses!

Our readers, we are sure, need not be reminded how since the commencement of the present century the patient industry of some eminent men has poured a flood of light upon Ancient Egypt. Not only have its pyramids and sepulchral chambers been explored, but its hieroglyphics deciphered and its inscriptions read. By these means—that is, by the tablets at the back of the Colossi—we learn that both represent King Amunoph the Third, who began his reign about 1400 years before the Christian era. They were designed as the entrance to an avenue leading to the temple-palace of Amunoph, about 1100 feet farther inland. This palace-temple, once so richly adorned with its sculpture, sphinxes, and columns, is now a mere heap of sandstone—'a little roughness in the plain,' says Miss Martineau, 'when seen from the heights behind.'

Many centuries later, when Greeks began to settle in Egypt, they found that the easternmost statue of the Pair had been shattered down to the waist. According to one report, this mutilation was due to the capricious fury of Cambyses, as conqueror of Egypt. We regard it, however, as highly improbable that if Cambyses had been swayed by such an impulse, he would have been satisfied with the demolition, and that only partial, of only one of the statues. It is far more likely that, as Strabo, the geographer, was assured, an earthquake was the cause of the disaster. To the half-statue, which then remained, the Greeks gave the name of Memnon. They believed it—notwithstanding the strong asseverations of the natives, who rightly alleged Amunoph—to represent the fabled son of Tithonus and Aurora, the valiant prince extolled by Homer, who brought a host of Ethiopians to the aid of Priam.

But ere long a rumour rose that this was no ordinary statue. As ear-witnesses affirmed, it would sometimes, in the first hour after sunrise, send forth a musical voice. The sound, they said, was like that when a harp-string breaks. 'What more natural,' exclaimed the Greeks, 'than that the son of Aurora should hail in tuneful tones the advent of his mother!' Even those philosophers who might not admit the argument could not deny the fact. Men and women of rank came from distant lands 'to hear Memnon,' as was then the phrase; and we find the Vocal Statue celebrated all through the classic times. Thus when Juvenal, in

his fifteenth Satire, is describing Egypt, he speaks of it as the country—

*'Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone  
chordæ.'*

Not all, nor nearly all, who 'came to hear Memnon' succeeded in their object. On many mornings the Statue remained obstinately dumb. When, on the contrary, the expected Voice came forth at daybreak, the foreign visitors frequently desired to engrave on the Statue itself a record of their gratification. Thus at the present day we find the whole lower part of the Statue covered with inscriptions from the classic times, in Greek or in Latin, in prose or in verse.

It is very strange that this huge mass, so conspicuous an object from the river, should have been unknown a century or more ago, and been subsequently, as it were, re-discovered. We have now before us a quarto volume, published at Paris in 1733, and at present become very rare, a *'Description de l'Égypte,'* by M. de Maillet, formerly French Consul at Cairo. In this book an account of the Statue, with its name of Memnon, is given from the ancient writers, and M. de Maillet adds: *'Quoiqu'il en soit, il ne reste plus de traces aujourd'hui de ce colosse.'*

In our own time the writers who have treated of this subject have mostly been disposed to connect the 'magical chords of Memnon,' as Juvenal calls them, with some artifice of the priests. They 'no doubt contrived the sound of the Statue'—so says, for example, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his *'Handbook of Egypt.'* For our part we are not at all concerned about the character of the hierophants at Thebes, or bound in any manner to defend them:—

*'Oh worthy thou of Egypt's blest abodes,  
A decent priest where monkeys were the gods!'*

But our regard for historical truth obliges us to say that, as we believe, there was no priestcraft whatever in this case. The priests heard the Voice, as did the visitors, but were as ignorant of its real cause. They did no more than share the common error, although no doubt they benefited by it.

We are glad to find that the opinion which we have now expressed entirely accords with that of a most competent judge on any subject connected with classic times, M. Gaston Boissier. He has touched upon this question incidentally, while discussing the inscriptions on the Statue, in an Essay on the Roman monuments in the East, which appeared in the *'Revue des Deux Mondes'* of July last year. But for full details we would refer to the earlier and more special treatise of M. Letronne; a rare book, how-

ever, of which there were only two hundred copies printed; and even of these no more than one hundred were on sale. It is mainly by the aid, then, of these two able archaeologists—Boissier and Letronne—that we hope to render the whole case clear and convincing to our readers.

And first, as to the shattering of the Statue. Admitting an earthquake to have been the cause, there still remains the question by which, or at what period, these huge fragments were hurled down. M. Letronne has produced a passage from the *'Chronicle of Eusebius,'* as translated by St. Jerome. It refers to the year 27 before Christ, when, as it states, the edifices of Thebes were levelled to the ground. *'Thebæ Egypti usque ad solum dirutæ.'* Judging even from what now remains, it is clear that this is a great exaggeration. Yet still the fact remains beyond dispute, that in the year alleged there was a violent convulsion of nature, which wrought great havoc at Thebes. Now earthquakes are, or were, extremely rare in the valley of the Nile. This has been noticed by Pliny, who, in one sentence, has rather strangely lumped together Gaul and Egypt. *'Gallia et Ægyptus minime quatuntur.'* If then any person be inclined to doubt that the partial destruction of the Statue took place in the year 27 before Christ, he will find it very difficult to name any other earthquake to which within the necessary limits of time that partial destruction can be ascribed.

But farther, this date accurately tallies with the other circumstances of the case. The visit of Strabo to Egypt was made between the years 18 and 7 of the Christian era, that is ten or twenty years after the earthquake which Eusebius has recorded. At Thebes he found the natives full of traditional resentment at the long past Persian conquest. They appear to have pointed out, or enumerated to him, various of their monuments as mutilated by Cambyse. But they always excepted the colossal Statue, which, as was said among them, had been rent asunder by a convulsion of the earth. That convulsion was then too recent for them to entertain or express any doubt upon the subject. But in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, a hundred and fifty years later, the memory of the earthquake appears to have faded away, and the Colossus was then included in the list of monuments which Cambyse had attempted to destroy. Several of the inscriptions dating from that reign, and still to be traced along the base of the Statue, allude to this as to a certain fact.

It is to be borne in mind, that until the Statue was shattered to its waist there was

no thought or question of its musical sound at sunrise. It was only since then that the 'Voice of Memnon' was heard, or that by degrees the rumours of it spread abroad. Miss Martineau is therefore quite in error when, after mentioning how the easternmost statue was shattered by Cambyzes, she adds, 'after which, however, it still gave out its gentle music to the morning sun.' It was not in spite of, but in consequence of, the mutilation that the musical sound was heard.

On the rumours, as they gradually went forth of this wonderful voice, travellers, some of princely rank, were attracted to the spot, and bore witness to the miracle. Thus, when in the year 19 of the Christian era Germanicus appeared in Egypt, and sailed up the Nile, we are informed by Tacitus that he visited the Vocal Statue. But as we have already noted, Memnon was by no means constant or indiscriminating in his favours. On some mornings the pilgrims were gratified with the expected Voice, on others they went disappointed away.

From this variation there ensued, ere long, the common idea that to hear Memnon was a high privilege—a special favour of the Gods. The inscriptions at the base of the Statue, beginning, so far as their dates can be traced, in the reign of Nero, are forward to commemorate the fact.

Here follow some of these inscriptions as translated, the originals being partly in Latin and partly in very indifferent Greek.

'I, Funisulana Vetulla, wife of Caius Lælius Africanus, Præfect of Egypt, heard Memnon an hour and a half before sunrise on the Ides of February, in the first year of the august Emperor Domitian.'

This date corresponds to the year 82 of the Christian era.

'In the seventeenth year of the Emperor Domitian, Cæsar Augustus, Germanicus, I, Titus Petronius Secundus, Præfect, heard Memnon at the first hour in the Ides of March, and gave him honor in the Greek verses inscribed below.'

Here then follow the verses, which seem of but moderate merit; although M. Le-tronne, considering the authorship, is disposed to view them with indulgence: '*Fort passables*,' he says, '*pour être l'ouvrage d'un Préfet*.'

'After the first hour, and when in the course of the second the genial day (*alma dies*) irradiates the ocean, the Memnonian Voice was happily heard by me three times.

'Viaticus Theramenes made (this inscription) when he heard Memnon in the Calends of

June, Servianus being for the third time Consul. With him was his wife Asidonia Calpe.'

The third Consulship of Servianus answers to the year of our Lord 134.

(Greek Verses) by Cecilia Trebulla.

'Hearing the sacred voice of Memnon, I longed for thee, O my mother, and desired that thou also mightest hear it.'

(In Greek verse.)

'Thy mother, O renowned Memnon, the Goddess, the rosy-fingered Aurora, has rendered thee vocal for me who desired to hear thee. In the twelfth year of the illustrious Antoninus, and in the month of Pachon, counting thirteen days, twice, O Divine Being, did I hear thy Voice as the sun was leaving the majestic waves of Ocean.

'Once the son of Saturn, great Jove, had made thee monarch of the East; now thou art but a stone; and it is from a stone that thy Voice proceeds.'

'Gemellus wrote these verses in his turn, having come hither with his dear wife Rufilla and his children.'

The 12th year of the reign of Antoninus answers to 150 of our era.

But by far the most interesting visit ever paid to Memnon was from the Emperor Hadrian, in the year of Christ 140. That Emperor, whose intelligent curiosity led him to view in their turn almost every place of note in his dominions, appears to have passed many days, perhaps even a whole month, at Thebes. With him came his Empress Sabina; and in their train was a blue-stocking matron, Julia Balbilla by name. This lady desiring to do honour to her patron, inscribed at the base of the Statue several pieces of pedantic verse composed by herself. In one of them she triumphantly relates that the Emperor heard Memnon no less than three times—'a clear proof,' adds Balbilla, 'that the Gods love Hadrian.'

Sabina was not quite so fortunate. She was greatly displeased that when she first appeared before him Memnon remained mute. Her displeasure is still attested by an inscription in Greek verse, composed, it would seem, by one of her attendants, perhaps by the same blue-stocking matron who wrote the rest.

'Having failed to hear Memnon yesterday, we prayed to him not to be again unfavorable to us, nor withhold his Divine Sound; for the venerable features of the Empress were inflamed with anger. The Emperor himself might be irritated, and a lasting sadness might invade his venerable consort. Memnon, accordingly, dreading the wrath of these immortal princes, has of a sudden sent forth his

melodious voice, thus showing that he takes pleasure in the companionship of Gods.'

The accounts of the Memnon Statue and of its Voice at sunrise, as transmitted to us by divers Pagan writers since the beginning of the Christian era, are clear, distinct, and consistent with each other. There is, however, a remarkable exception in that historical romance, 'The Life of Apollonius of Tyana,' by Philostratus. Dr. Jowett, in the Article on Apollonius which he contributed to one of Dr. Smith's Classical Dictionaries, describes that book as a 'mass of incongruities and fables;' nor shall we find any reason to modify that general judgment by the particular instance which is now before us.

Philostratus then, writing in the reign of Alexander Severus, that is between the years 222 and 235 of our era, describes the wanderings and the miracles of Apollonius in the first century since the birth of Christ. He makes his hero visit the Memnon, which he represents as not mutilated but entire. The head, he says, is of a beardless young man; his arms rest upon his throne, his figure leans forward as though in act to rise, his mouth and eyes betoken a man in the act to speak, and when the Voice does issue his eyes shine forth with especial brilliancy, like those of a man on whom the sunlight falls.

But what a fancy fabric is here! All the other effigies of Amunoph the Third represent him as bearded: it seems therefore all but certain that this Colossus when entire was bearded also. As to the figure bending forward as though ready to rise, M. Letronne assures us that no such attitude is to be found in any other Egyptian statue. The eyes that betoken an intention of speaking, and that beam with preternatural light whenever the Voice is heard, are plainly the work of the imagination, and of the imagination only.

But further still, it is expressly stated by Philostratus, though M. Letronne was the first to notice it, as bearing on this question, that Philostratus does not profess to give this description on his own authority, but quotes the words of Damis, who was a writer in Assyria a century and a half before. The account which Philostratus, still following Damis, proceeds to give of the first cataract, may vie for its inaccuracy with his account of the Memnon. Here he says the Nile is flowing along mountains, like to those of Imolus, in Lydia, from which its waters dash down with so prodigious a noise, that many persons who approached them nearly, have lost

in consequence all power of hearing. May we not then upon the whole adopt the judgment of M. Chassang, the last translator of the 'Life of Apollonius'? 'Tout porte à croire que cette description de la Statue de Memnon n'est qu'une amplification de rhétorique.'

If, as the Ancients did, we were to regard the Voice of Memnon as a miracle—as the manifestation of a Godhead to man—we must own that not many miracles could be better attested. We should have in its support an unbroken chain of testimonies, derived from the most various sources, and extending over scores of years. But in this case the light of modern science has supplied a natural and simple explanation. 'On sait que cette découverte est due à notre illustre Letronne,'—such are the words of M. Gaston Boissier. But in spite of this positive *on sait*, we will venture to assert that no such thing is known, for no such thing is true. Even for ourselves, the writers in this Review, we may claim precedence in the explanation over M. Letronne. And this the following dates will clearly show.

The volume of M. Letronne on this subject appeared in 1833. We of the 'Quarterly,' on the other hand, in our 88th number, published in February, 1831, were reviewing Herschel's 'Treatise on Sound.' Nor will it be any breach of confidence, after so long an interval, to state that this article was contributed by one of the foremost men of science in his day—by Mr., since Sir David, Brewster.

In his article then upon Herschel, Sir David took occasion to advert, though not at length, to the case of the Statue of Memnon. Here are the words he used: 'We have no hesitation in avowing our belief that the sound or sounds which it [the Statue of Memnon] discharged were the offspring of a natural cause.' In common with some travellers, whom we alleged, we ascribed these sounds to the transmission of rarefied air through the crevices of a sonorous stone.' And he adds: 'The phenomenon proceeded without doubt from the sudden change of temperature which takes place at the rising of the sun.'

It is plain, we may now subjoin, that in such a case the phenomenon could not be uniform or constant, but would depend on the varying conditions of temperature or season.

In the same Article we proceeded to point out that this is no solitary instance. There are several other well-attested cases of musical sounds which issue at sunrise from the like crevices, and which are explained

by the same cause. Above all, we quoted the observations of the celebrated traveller, Baron Humboldt, when wandering on the banks of the Oronooko: 'The granite rock,' he says, 'on which we lay is one of those where travellers on the Oronooko have heard from time to time towards sunrise subterranean sounds resembling those of the organ. The missionaries call these stones *lozas de musica*. "It is witchcraft," said our young Indian pilot. . . . But the existence of a phenomenon that seems to depend on a certain state of the atmosphere cannot be denied. The shelves of rock are full of very narrow and deep crevices. They are heated during the day to about 50°. I often found their temperature at the surface during the night at 39°. It may easily be conceived that the difference of temperature between the subterranean and the external air would attain its *maximum* about sunrise, or at that moment which is at the same time farthest from the period of the *maximum* of the heat of the preceding day.'

Nor did the acute mind of Humboldt fail to notice, even though very vaguely, the close connection between this case and that of the Theban Colossus. For he goes on to ask: 'May we not admit that the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, in passing incessantly up and down the Nile, had made the same observation on some rock of the Thebaid, and that the music of the rocks there led to the jugglery of the priests in the Statue of Memnon?'

In the same Article we also called attention to the analogous phenomena among the sandstone rocks of El Nakous, in Arabia Petræa. But without quitting the soil of Egypt, or even the neighbourhood of Thebes, a striking parallel can be adduced. We called as witnesses three French artists, Messrs. Jomard, Jollois, and Devilliers, who state that, being in a monument of granite placed in the centre of the spot on which the palace of Karnak stood, they heard a noise which resembled that of a chord breaking—the very comparison employed by Pausanias—issue from the blocks at sunrise. And they were of opinion that these sounds 'might,' in their own words, 'have suggested to the Egyptian priests to invent the juggleries of the Memnonium.' The fact indeed may be taken as now accepted and admitted by men of science. It is no longer, we think, doubted in any quarter that the action of the morning sun on the chilled air in the crevices of rock may and does produce the same effect as was observed in the Statue of Memnon.

We would observe, that although in this explanation we claim priority over M. Le-

tronne, we most cheerfully accord it to Baron Humboldt and to the other explorers, whose remarks we have transcribed. Still earlier precedence is due to M. Dussaulx, the French translator of Juvenal, who was the first, we rather think, to suggest the true theory of the *magica chordæ* in his author.

It is also to be noted that M. Letronne himself never made that claim of priority which his countryman has thought fit to make in his behalf. On the contrary, he expressly quoted in his margin our Article of February, 1831, and derived from it the remarkable account by Baron Humboldt of the Oronooko sounds. His industry has also collected some further parallel cases—one, for instance, near the Maladetta mountain in the Pyrenees—and devoting a whole volume, instead of a mere digression in a Quarterly Article, to this subject, he has treated it in a most complete and convincing manner, with which our own cursory remarks could never pretend to vie.

Admitting then, as no one seems at present to deny, that the phenomenon of the Theban Colossus was produced by the vibration of the air, the question would still remain whether, as some persons persistently assert, 'the jugglery of the priests,' as they term it, was at all concerned. As we have already stated, we are convinced that it was not. Let it, in the first place, be considered that there is no hiding-place or secret chamber in or near the Statue; and that without the aid of these, it seems impossible that the Voice of Memnon could be either promoted or restrained. Secondly, had the priests really possessed any such power of promoting the miraculous Voice, they would certainly have used it in behalf of the great and powerful—of those whose favour they desired to gain. How then could we explain the fact that the wife of a Præfect of Egypt was allowed to make two visits without hearing the desired sound; that in like manner the consort of an Emperor came for the first time in vain, to her great displeasure and at the risk of her resentment; while a common soldier has put on record that he enjoyed the privilege no less than thirteen times?

The latest inscription that bears a date upon the Statue is by Marcus Ulpius Primianus, Præfect of Egypt, in the second Consulship of Septimius Severus, and in the year of our Lord 194; and the restoration of the Statue was, in all probability, made a few years afterwards. In its mutilated state, the lower half from which the Voice proceeded was part of the original monolith; when restored, or rather rebuilt, that lower

half bore, as it still bears upon it, five ranges of enormous blocks of stone. The magnitude and cost of this construction must be held to indicate an Emperor's work, and the result of an Emperor's visit. Now since the time of Hadrian, no Emperor, except Septimius Severus, ever came to Upper Egypt. His biographer, Spartianus, records of him that 'he carefully examined Memphis, the Pyramids, the Labyrinth, and Memnon.'

Such being the fact, it cannot but be thought surprising that while there are so many inscriptions on the base of the Colossus to commemorate the visit of Hadrian, not a single one appears to commemorate the visit of Severus. As is argued by M. Letronne, there is only one explanation that can be assigned as satisfactory or sufficient to account for the omission—namely, to presume that when Severus came to the Statue it remained obstinately dumb. These inscriptions, it should be remembered, were never put up when there was a failure in the sound, unless in the case when the first failures were followed by success.

It may also be inferred, with considerable probability, that the silence of the Statue in the august presence was the cause of its reconstruction. Severus was a sincere and zealous Pagan; and he lived in an age when the adherents of the old Mythology, alarmed at the progress of the Christians, strove hard to regain the public confidence and favour. It was during his reign that the main attempt was made to hold forth Apollonius, of Tyana, as a worker of wonders and religious teacher, in opposition to our Lord. In like manner the Voice of Memnon, as a Pagan prodigy, was esteemed a counterpoise to the Christian miracles. The priests and devotees, as M. Boissier puts it, would assure Severus that since Memnon even in his mutilated state gave his greeting often, though not quite so often as he ought, his Voice would certainly become both more distinct and more unfailing if once his Statue were restored. This is no mere vague conjecture of the popular belief. Several of the inscriptions on the base express or imply the idea that Memnon, when entire, could speak in language, but since his mutilation, was reduced to inarticulate sounds.

But there is yet another point of view from which the Emperor might be urged. The silence of the Statue denoted the displeasure of the Gods. Did it not, then, become a devout worshipper, such as was Severus, to take some step for removing that displeasure? Should he not appease the offended deity by a splendid reconstruction of his Statue?

Yielding, perhaps—for there is no positive statement on the subject—to some such representations, the Emperor gave orders for the costly work required. But alas for the result! In his new construction he, of course, filled up the ancient crevices, and in consequence silenced Memnon for ever. Aurora continued to rise as usual, but received no further greetings from her son.

We have thus endeavoured to trace the varied fortunes, the rise and the fall, of this celebrated prodigy. Well pleased shall we be if any future traveller, as in his Nile boat he nears that majestic monument, shall feel that he owes to our pages a more accurate knowledge of its history, and a warmer interest in its survey,

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ART. VIII.—1. *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*. By Frederic Seebohm. London, 1874.

2. *Geschichte der auswärtigen Politik und Diplomatie im Reformationszeitalter, 1485–1556*. Von Karl Fischer. Gotha, 1874.

It is now more than half a century since a great English statesman, conversant above most of his compatriots with European ideas, as he drew toward the conclusion of a masterly and memorable vindication of his right to guide the public, spoke thus:

'It is perfectly true . . . that there is a contest going on in the world between the spirit of unlimited monarchy and the spirit of unlimited democracy. Between these two spirits, it may be said, that strife is either openly in action or covertly at work throughout the greater portion of Europe. *It is true, . . . also . . . that in no former period in history is there so close a resemblance to the present as in that of the Reformation. . . .* The hon. member for Westminster has observed, that, in imitation of Queen Elizabeth's policy, the proper place for this country in the present state of the world, is at the head of free nations struggling against arbitrary power. Sir, undoubtedly there is, as I have admitted, a general resemblance between the two periods; forasmuch as in both we see a conflict of opinion, and in both a bond of union growing out of those opinions, which established between parts and classes of different nations a stricter communion than belongs to community of country. It is true—it is . . . a formidable truth—that in this respect the two periods do resemble each other. But, though there is this general similarity, there is one circumstance which mainly distinguishes the present time from the reign of Elizabeth. . . . Elizabeth was herself among the revolvers against the au-

thority of the Church of Rome; but we are not amongst those who are engaged in a struggle against the spirit of unlimited monarchy. We have fought that fight. We have taken our station. *We have long ago assumed a character differing altogether from that of those around us.* . . . . Let us be ready to afford refuge to the sufferers of either extreme party; but it is not surely our policy to become the associate of either. . . . We look down upon those struggles from the point to which we have happily attained, not with the cruel delight which is described by the poet as arising from the contemplation of agitations in which the spectator is not exposed to share, but with an anxious desire to mitigate, to enlighten, to reconcile, to save;—by our example in all cases, by our exertions where we can usefully interpose. . . . Great Britain . . . has looked before and after . . . has assumed the attitude and the attributes of justice, holding high the balance and grasping, but not unsheathing, the sword.'

In these noble and stately sentences the orator was indeed 'looking before and after;' his words strike the ear and are felt at the heart of his country with even greater force in 1875 than in 1823.

We have placed at the head of this article an admirable little book by an English writer, who is separated by many years from Mr. Canning's influence and by many associations from Mr. Canning's opinions and party. When we call to mind the peculiar ecclesiastical and civil position of Mr. Frederick Seebohm, who, if we mistake not, is a member of the Society of Friends, we can accord nothing but praise to the most kindly, moderate, and discriminating tone which pervades the present small work equally with his previous and more ambitious essay on 'The Oxford Reformers.'

Different as they are in almost all other respects, there is in like prominence in the active Foreign Secretary of the commencing nineteenth century, and in our Quaker country banker and student of its later decades, this common quality, that they both survey the sixteenth and nineteenth century, by a sort of intuition, particularly on the political side, and that this their point of view is a markedly English one. Mr. Seebohm, trained on such an opposite model of taste and feeling to Mr. Canning's, struck with the contrasts between our own gradual national development and the tumultuary agonies of neighbouring States, styles the epoch of history he has undertaken to describe, adopting a title which yet manifestly would not have been used in this connection in any century preceding the nineteenth, 'The Era of the Protestant Revolution.'

It is our intention, on the present occasion, to follow these examples. To us nothing seems to throw more light on the

Imperial and Papal movements of our own times—on, for instance, the varying fortunes of the Napoleons and of the Holy Alliance and its later imitations, or again on the preparations for and the results from the Vatican Council and the rise to predominance in Germany of the Hohenzollern; further, on the history of England as a separate interest in European and universal affairs—than a careful examination of corresponding appearances in the sixteenth century. No doubt, as will be seen as we proceed, there is much in the setting of the two periods to testify to the numerous changes in the interval between them.

The sixteenth century, it has to be said at starting—as we might include also the seventeenth—had fallen, until a comparatively recent date, too specially to the ecclesiastical historian as his undisputed province. The fact is easily enough explained, nor is the misfortune without its compensations. Theological controversialists, quite excusably, first approached and got hold upon the land; they examined it and worked it out, and have, it must be allowed, for their requirements made, relative to it, a tolerably exhaustive report. But their estimates and explorations, however precise and painstaking, ought not to have been accepted as final by political and literary investigators, who, in their excursions into this ground, have far too seldom left the beaten track and strayed afield after bits of prospect to suit their own focus and opportunities, to try by their proper tests the conditions and products of the region. An inquirer, honestly anxious to arrive at the real position of civilisation in those days, will soon discover how unfruitful, how actually deluding and arbitrary, is the attempt to deal with the huge unsettlement he has before him as consistently and exclusively a revolt from the teaching and abuses of a creed and its corruptions. As such their undertaking did not then present itself to all, though it did to some, of the most eminent leaders. And certainly by those who regard the steps of those leaders not at one given turn or by some momentary flash—by those who can calculate, aided by the commentary of subsequent experiences, their impetus and goal—so partial and insufficient an appreciation will at once be abandoned.

It was a stream as gigantic and as irresistible in volume as can be conceived of, which was in full career. Those dissolvent and reconstructive energies, which worked so mightily on humanity in respect of its spiritual expectations and assurances, were as potent and searching in relation to the sources, bases, and securities of all national

and corporate existence "whatsoever," and in relation to speech itself, and all it can express, as the sole appliance by means of which man, a transitory yet rational force in nature, may strive to fix for himself, and to illustrate and communicate, his inner passions, pleasures, hopes, his emotions and his sympathies. A change was hurrying through its ultimate rather than through its preliminary phases in the whole theory of the highest ideal—not at all merely of religious doctrine—of human thought and of human society. We must ask leave to take a rapid retrospect.

Let a glance be cast back over the whole past of Europe since the conquests of Julius Cæsar and the preaching of Christianity down to about the end of the twelfth century, where the date may be approximately fixed, at which other influences came into vigorous action, and the notion of the supreme value of discipline, as the secret of public and personal well-being, prompts and explains all the phenomena. According to it was planned and erected the fabric of the medieval Roman Empire and of the medieval Catholic Church. The Emperor and the Pope were both of them strictly elective, and were both of them, at the assumption of their dignity, and all through their continuance in it, invested with a Divine mission, and confirmed by sanctions of a kingdom other than the kingdoms of the earth. They did not, in theory, owe their place to any excellence of blood, or any unanimity of popular suffrages; it was not necessary that there should appear to be rewarded, or that there should be readily discernible in them, any conspicuously qualifying virtues. In their own interpretation of their power, and by the consent of those they governed, that power was sovereign by reason of superhuman mandate and in coherence with a transcendental arrangement of the universe, pre-established and immutable. They stood above the rest of men, uplifted and upheld by omnipotent hands; neither of them could have an equal or competitor. In the one, God had bestowed a captain on the whole congregation of His people; in the other, He had sent to all men the apostle of His gospel. Beyond the sweep and range of these two, His revealed and undisputable emissaries, men were out of reach of God's government of the world. An Emperor or a Pope acquired an awe of himself; he had become an implement through which the finger of destiny determined the laws of mankind; he was the repository of a wisdom and a will, which were in him, but not of him; his consecration had extended the scope of his office in

the universe out of all analogy and proportion to that of any other mortal.

It was in order to get an overmastering motive to obedience that the sceptre and crook of medieval Rome were adorned with their mysterious and talismanic insignia. The metropolis of Europe had, in truth, never wavered from her oldest methods; her authority had always surrounded itself with the attributes of incontrovertible majesty, and insisted on implicit and religious subservience. And thus in the phraseology and imagination of Christendom, in its predominating institutions for many ages Roman in character and Latin in speech, there had lived on the principles of the Empire of Heathen antiquity.\* By the force of these principles, Rome deemed herself not only to have conquered the world, but to have been the only grandly successful instructor of the West in pacific sciences and arts, and, as she could plausibly enough affirm, in the faith of Christ. To us, now, how stupendous and amazing seems her concluding exploit: the building up, in the midst of the confusion of Teutonic barbarism, of a Holy Roman Empire, and, against the spell of the spirit and words of the New Testament, of a Catholic and Roman Church; the preservation and the perpetuation of the most impious and tremendous pretensions of the autocratic arrogance and pomp of Paganism in a Christian Cæsar and a triply-crowned Vicar of St. Peter! In that so different era the end seemed to justify the means. Under authorities which had been thus defined, which, as thus defined, were admitted and recognised, could not the final organisation of humanity be taken in hand and brought about? It was made possible to prepare elaborate and infallible prescriptions of conduct, by which the individual should be compelled to mould his intellect and to formulate his behaviour. It was made possible to set up a standard, by which righteousness and truth might be minutely weighed, and from which the remunerations of good and the deserts of evil deeds could be told off for time and eternity. On this foundation is grounded, as we have said,

\* The same political faith, the same semi-spiritualist semi-materialist fervour, which animated, for example, the pilgrimage of the Emperor Hadrian to the image of Memnon, and his record on the spot—"Audivi voces divinas"—survived (will they survive as long as mankind?) only grown more crass, in, to cite but one specimen, the famous medieval couplet,—

'Spiritus est Papa, carnis velamina clausus,  
Hunc quasi terrenum describere quis foret ausus?'

the whole feudal as well as the whole hierarchical system. The rules of the various monastic reforms, and of the several military societies under vows, and likewise the ordinances of secular chivalry, and the codes of guilds and trades, are framed on the same model of submission to one all-embracing, fixed and settled, external law, which relieves him, who conforms to it, from the conflict with self and with circumstances, and whose appointment and right it is to do so. For the most self-conscious, introspective, and aspiring souls, provision was made. Their taste for by-paths had been foreseen, and the road-book was ready for them. The perfect knight, the perfect saint, a Godfrey of Bouillon, or a Bernard of Clairvaux, was the slave and martyr of obedience.

So long as the struggle with barbarism was internecine and the foremost labour incumbent upon the Christian man was that of the missionary, Europe was glad to acknowledge and support temporal and spiritual system alike. Against barbarism there was furnished a military leader and the only chance, at a strait, of a simultaneous equipment and a common plan of defence over the whole continent. And by a lonely and weary preacher of repentance in the wilderness, surrounded by, and feeling his helplessness among, unreasoning and obdurate savages, the supernatural claims and unwarrantable interpositions would not readily be canvassed, or in any of their practical issues comprehended, of that Visible Church from whose local habitation he was a voluntary though regretful exile, whose image he could idealise and idolise only in his memory and in his dreams, whose triumphs he enlarged and hallowed, but never celebrated or enjoyed. Especially, if one is to understand at all how the state of thought we have sketched could continue, must one keep prominently before oneself what may be called the foreign policy for three centuries of Europe; one must remember how real was the enmity, how unabating the dread, of Islam, how by the incessant and uncompromising challenge a declaration was provoked and demanded of the Unity, in her faith and in her armies, of Christendom, how every superstition of the priest, how every propensity of the soldier worked itself into the general alarm, how congenial and enticing the Crusaders proved to the remotest and securest countries in which they were proclaimed.

But already with the dawn of the thirteenth century something like the breeze of modern days was in the air. The difficulties which overwhelmed his successors

had to be encountered by the great ecclesiastic whose history fills the first years of that century. The headings of the chapters, in which the late Dean of St. Paul's separated his account of the pontificate of Innocent III., are sufficient to indicate the magnitude of the struggles into the meshes of which the Pope cast himself. 'Innocent and Spain,' 'Innocent and France,' 'Innocent and the Empire,' 'Innocent and England,' 'Innocent and the East,' 'Innocent and the Anti-Sacerdotalists.' The Bishop of Rome's policy is, wherever it manifests itself, in opposition to the strength of nations, and, within nations and for individuals, new fountains of intellectual and emotional life begin to spring up, where the Supreme Pontiff has not blessed the source nor even struck the rock. And indeed those remarkable displays within the Church of the highest flight of ascetic devotion, with a description of which Dr. Milman concluded his narrative of Innocent's rule—the Mendicant Orders—were ill-omened in their sudden and self-stimulated spread; in regard to them some apprehension and suspicion was not foreign to the Pope's mind, they might in course of time ally themselves to objects and inquiries entirely inconsistent with the scheme of the Papacy. Imagination and reason were betaking themselves to humble and common walks, affections which it had before been held laudable to repress and deaden, interests which were essentially narrow and homely, showed themselves above the surface, invited and obtained notice, encouragement, and care, and the result was to produce an existence overflowing with satisfactions and endowed also not only with a tenderness for the associations that made it up, but also with a passion for further progress surpassing any excitements, which had accompanied the glowing visions and recompensed the stern renunciations to which the old teaching had directed the world for guidance and safety. The frontiers of kingdoms were being formed, national patriotism was kindling, towns were increasing in number and size. Within their own walls these last reared a new class of population, fostered the love of commerce and charters, discovered fresh spheres of industry and manufactures, and modified the whole character of the government of countries. The most damaging evidence of the clumsiness and inapplicability of the old centralised system was forthcoming, as often as the appeal to that system was made. The 'Bann' of the Empire, even the 'Interdict' of the Church, was an awkward instrument of punishment; there was no telling how the blow might recoil; it touched no

longer on the one hand the unruly vassal, the court-life of a few priests and knights, and on the other hand a herd of serfs, who bowed meekly under the undeviating injustice of every superior; but it roused the pride and inspired the resentment of opulent and intelligent communities, which had learnt to distinguish between the affairs of their city and those of the larger commonwealth, and between the public obligations of monarchies and the private morals of kings. The experience of these bodies had already led them to value usages and exemptions which implied some licence of opinion and conversation; a policy of neutrality, where definite inducements to the contrary did not offer themselves, had been the primary principle of those contractual aims, which had led them in their experiments hitherto in self-government and self-aggrandisement; they had nothing to do with a quarrel unless or until they had made it their own, and they could resolutely determine not to allow themselves to be the chief sufferers for offences committed neither by them nor on their behalf.

To watch, within the See of Rome's vast jurisdiction and the misty area of the Empire, the rise of national sovereignties and of keen-witted and grasping mercantile corporations, to note the break-up of the map of Europe into clearly marked territorial divisions with new and conspicuous sites of general and particular administration, is after all to observe only the superficial symptoms of what is going on.

With the fate of the universal State and Church was involved the fate of the universal idiom. Rapidly, when the borders of a land or district were definitely drawn, the common 'patois' had purified and ennobled itself, and become the organ of interpretation for every ingredient, even for the most delicate and evanescent element, in the bearing and character of the people. And the rule and censorship in literature passed from the clerk to the layman; literary taste became secular and local. Joinville and Wolfram von Eschenbach, Dante and Chaucer—to cite four typical and early names—signalise the moment at which, armed for the contest, the living languages entered into rivalry with the dead languages; these authors mark the breadth of the lines of demarcation between the several chief dialects of modern civilisation; they exemplify, how melodious, how picturesque, how laden—above the measure of the great classical masterpieces of antiquity—with sentiment, how capable of sustained grandeur and graceful variety was the profane and vulgar speech of France, Germany, Italy, and Eng-

land, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The individual was addressed in words familiar to him, the scenes and customs reproduced were those among which he moved, he came with every line that he read or listened to on ideas which have striven within himself towards utterance, on phrases and sentences which, half turned and polished, he had himself manipulated, he could trace with delight each fresh form and ingenious application which enriched the volume and meaning of his mother tongue. A suitable medium of co-operation and correspondence was not long wanting to this world of new thoughts and new vocabularies. The invention of printing placed unsuspected opportunities within the power of each writer; brought every original mind, which availed itself of its aid, before an audience of intellects; multiplied, made tangible and public property, and threw into the cheapest market all the messages of genius and inspiration. The spread of books was soon wider than the Law of the Empire or the Faith of Rome. With the machinery of the Press neither the checks of official supervision nor the subtleties of spiritual direction could cope. A book could reprove and govern a life better than a magistrate, it could extort and keep a secret better than a confessor. Seen on one side of them, in what may be called their physical history, their articulation, their organisation, their grammar, the modern languages, some more, some less, were considerably indebted to the language of Rome. This they could not help. But, as we have pointed out, they also embodied the assertion of opposition to the traditions of the Augustan age and the age of Constantine, and to consecrated Medieval Latinity. Though in one sense, though, according to the letter, Roman, the modern languages in their best moments have been quickened and revived by the spirit of Greece. It was one of the very greatest discoveries of the fifteenth century, that the life becoming then the object of desire and choice—a life of self-discipline and self-respect, of personal distinctness and personal insulation, where the family and society would be developed for the sake of the excellence, the liberty, and the growth of the individual, and where on the free and unrestrained play of the finest mental and manual activity of individuals would depend religious and political enthusiasm—that such a life had been lived before in the world, that it had been that of the Greek cities. The enfranchisement of soul produced in the individual by the consciousness of his own creative gifts in language and

literature, and by the acquisition of a new tradition linking his efforts with those of Hellenic heroism and philosophy, found its sublimest expression in the Art of the Renaissance. Not for long in the contemplation of the pangs of martyrdom or of the probations of purgatory or of the last terrors of the Day of Judgment did the artist continue to seek to kindle his faculties, not for long was it his chief concern to devote his talents to illuminate the virtues and miracles of saints, and to deepen the reverence of trembling penitents. The Church might still be the principal patron of art, but to the artist the employment of his art and the service of the Church ceased to mean the same thing. It is the natural charm of youth and loveliness and sunshine, the wife or daughter of a favourite of fortune, that he depicts, the modesty of maidenhood, the happy rapture of maternity, the proud matronly enjoyment of homage and wealth. Or his curiosity broods over some man, who has gone his own way and made a title and place in this world for himself. Toil, doubt, the distant prospects of science, lurk in a student's face, or yet more frequently the painter throws his richest and mellowest lights upon the complacent and dignified features of the merchant or the senator.

Empire and Church, what meanwhile became of them?

The Emperor had fallen in with the times. His authority had gone on growing more purely nominal, its operations more palpably sluggish and ineffectual. Everywhere he was regarded and spoken of as an abstract and absent dignitary. Since the middle of the fourteenth century he had scarcely ever appeared in Italy. The Cæsar of Dante's treatise and poem, Henry the Seventh, had an exceptional ambition and a turbulent progress. The sight of him awakened revolt at Milan and at Brescia. He had to fight for his passage through the streets of Rome, the approaches to St Peter's were kept against him. The journey was fatal to him. He died at Siena, as the tale runs, of that poisoned cup with which Italy has so often paralysed the mailed arm of her conquerors. He found a quiet grave in the one constantly Imperialist city, Pisa. And, since the middle of the fifteenth century, the Emperor had been a stranger also to Germany. Bohemia or Hungary was the residence of the so-called King of the Romans. Albert II., as Emperor, never set foot in the German Imperial territories. Frederick III. was not once seen in them during seven-and-twenty years. The Imperial title had plainly lost its significance, as

much to the man who bore it as to the world at large. The Emperors themselves were mastered by the local attachments and the home ties, which, as we have observed, were gaining such strength in politics, as in letters; they lost their special conscience, the sense of an impartial, universal, sacred relation, and they gave themselves up to the acquisition of patrimonial estates and the foundation of families. The Emperor Charles IV., the most generous ruler and the shrewdest and most strenuous statesman in the interval between the fall of the Hohenstaufen and the election of his greater namesake, Charles V., was occupied primarily with the management of his hereditary domains. Within specific limits, as a petty sovereign, and for circumscribed and personal objects, he made for himself an enviable and durable place. He is surnamed 'the Father of Bohemia.' He has besides been styled, though the phrase carries with it no adequate description of the callousness and indifference of his demeanour, 'the Step-father of the Empire.' The Emperor Maximilian I., Charles IV.'s successor, a sympathetic and cultivated man, a soldier full of the knight-errantry of the bygone middle ages, a prince connected by marriage and diplomacy with the South and West more than with the East of Europe, who by himself and by others was supposed to care more for ideal position than for definite profit, who affected to be the pacificator of Germany and the arbiter of Europe, yet, after all, never looked out upon universal Christendom except to look after the affairs of the ducal line of which he came, and to get endowments and to obtain votes for his grandson, its heir. He was prepared at any time to sacrifice his Empire to his House, he was altogether swayed and permeated by a domestic and selfish motive, his mind had always the drift which, on a memorable occasion—in an address to the Imperial Diet at Freiberg in 1498—he once allowed to rush into words. Lombardy, he said, had betrayed, and Germany had forsaken him. There might come an instant when he would take himself to be released from the oath he had sworn at Frankfurt. He had obligations toward the Empire, but his first duty was toward the Line of Austria.

Europe and Germany could do and did do without such emperors. Anyhow, the shadow was more desirable and even more serviceable than the substance; when the more majestic emblems of Imperial power had long been classed among curiosities and encumbrances, there remained a certain legal and conventional, if antiquarian, usefulness in the Imperial seal.

The Teutonic race in its original home, in the immense and formless Germany, has appreciated in all ages more readily and thoroughly than any other race noble conceptions and great men, and it has often lent its whole self for a generation to the projects of a religious or military hero. But it has never worked together long, it has never worked together at all, except with the breath upon it of some great champion of liberty in thought or action; the bond of a common speech and literature is usually sufficient for it; it has no abiding incentive or need in the direction of national unity or political uniformity. It was already the most subjective race in Europe. Its theology had already unlinked itself from shrines and dogmas; its poetry had left the castle and the presence-chamber for the town-hall and the thoroughfare. The true life of Germany in the fourteenth century, and in those which follow, is the life of the cities on her chief rivers—of Mainz, Augsburg, Strassburg, Kolmar, Nürnberg, Ratisbon, Ulm; it took voice in Master Eckhart, in John Tauler, in the writer of the '*Deutsche Theologie*,' and in the songs, in the metres and harmonies more than in the words, of the Master-singers. The German philosopher or divine was even then a Mystic; and in lower and ordinary circles, in workshop and wineshop, Music had even then, as a fine instinct and an intricate art, attuned the temperament and invaded the fancy of an entire people.

What had been the fate of the Papacy? What survived as the products of the vigilance and supremacy of a Gregory VII. and an Innocent III.? Where, in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, shall we look for some footprints of that strange and exalted figure, the Medieval Pope? Where are the old labours performed and the old titles approved? Where are successors to the friend of Damiani and the pupil of Bernard? Where is the lofty preacher—to whom God himself bears witness in the soul and by the mouth of assembled Europe—of a Holy War, by which the Sepulchre of Christ is to be regained and the kingdom of his Redeemed set up? Where is the Patriarch of the West, the blameless shepherd of the chosen flock, the Missionary of the Gentiles, thirsting for conversions, and welcoming martyrdom, the pattern of charity and humility, 'the Servant of the Servants of God'? In those times such a personage was sought for as vainly as we might search for him now. As an effective force and principle in European life, the monastic and apostolic Papacy was

gone as absolutely as the military and chivalrous Empire.

It is not difficult to trace the various stages of the changes in the character and impressiveness of the See of Rome. The first stage is marked by its conflict with the Swabian emperors and kings. In this struggle the popes placed no particular reliance on the sword of the Spirit, they fought like temporal princes with the weapons furnished by political craft and from well-stored arsenals. They fomented animosities of race, dynastic hatreds, personal jealousies; they proclaimed campaigns, bestowed provinces, bartered kingdoms. They were implicated in all the intrigues of Italian factions; their eminence among the republics and principalities of the peninsula was enhanced by concession to and arrangement with the unscrupulous avarice of France. To maintain his prerogatives and privileges, the head of the Church stooped to the worst devices of malignant despotism, to cruelty, rapacity, treachery. He could even persuade himself, and soon there were sufficient facts to bear him out, that his free action, on behalf of Christianity and in the room of the Apostles, depended upon their being racks and dungeons for those who were committed to his own immediate episcopal care. Rome, as an estate or a revenue, rather than as the centre of the evangelisation of the world; Italy, as a tempting appendage to the landed wealth of the See, absorbed his interest, snatched away the revelation so dear and distinct to his predecessors, of the isles waiting for their coming, of the priceless heritage of the heathen.

The second stage in the degradation and impotence of the Holy See is fixed in the course of its political rivalry with the French monarchy, in one generation the confidant and helpmate, in the next the foe of Rome. The advantage fell to the French Crown. The memory of Boniface VIII. was blasted, the array of the Church Militant, the Order of the Temple was disbanded, a habitation was allotted to the Supreme Pontiff on this side of the Alps near the confines of the King of France's dominions, under the control of his family authority. The gilded exile in Avignon is branded in the shamefullest pages in ecclesiastical history; a group of voluptuous and venal old men lived like the reprobate votaries of some obscene Asiatic cult. But there was still a lower and more ignominious descent reserved for the Papacy. After the Babylonish Captivity came the Schism. The last days of the old downfall of civilisation in Europe had their parallel, the vices

of the degenerate Cæsars, the contentions of Imperial Pretenders. There were two, there were three Popes at once.

More than a century is taken up with the history of the Popes of the Secession and of the Division. And when again there was a single Pope and he had returned to Rome, it was to introduce nearly immediately another and scarcely less scandalous phase of priestly misrule and self-seeking. The Chair of St. Peter was henceforth mainly indebted to senatorial and princely Italian houses for its traditions, its morals and its occupants; to, for example, the line of the Colonna, that of Savoy, and that of the Piccolomini. The era soon began of what may be styled Macchiavellian Sacerdotalism: of pontificates of unblushing nepotists such as Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI., or of men like a Julius II., patron of sculptors and painters and captain of mercenaries.

Thus, though names remained, had the spirit departed from the Roman Empire and the Roman Church; the Church had indeed decayed further than the Empire, if we consider how as an institution it had been planned and how in the early times administered. What stronger proof could be given of the tendency to localise and individualise, and of the lengths to which that tendency had gone, than is afforded by the spectacle, not merely of an Emperor, who is practically turned into a national sovereign, but of a Pope, who is a sceptic, whose tastes are in the way of military engineering or of elegant luxuries, who is a political adventurer, not shrinking on an emergency to use drug or poniard, with an eye mainly to marriages and independences for his kindred, for his own offspring. From the progress of Christianity—the observation might seem hardly necessary—the Papacy had long been dissociated. To develop this at length historically would be a most interesting task, but one which would lead us too far astray from our main inquiry. It is sufficient to state that we should have to follow the history of that progress not at Avignon, not at Rome, but in the universities of Paris, Oxford, and Prague, in the representative assemblies of national churches, in the expression of national convictions and creeds at great European Synods. Not names of Popes, but, we write them advisedly, names like those of Wiclif, Gerson, and Huss express the religious faith of Christendom in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. 'The voice of' such a man's 'words was as the voice of a multitude;' it spoke out of the depths of a people's premedi-

tated resolve, it was big with warning and prophecy concerning the further course of Christian corporate existence.

At this halting-spot in our inquiry, the consideration which to us presents itself most forcibly is one which, as we have already hinted, appears to have been much lost sight of, especially by our English Protestant historians, to whom every modern ecclesiastical and religious sentiment appears to spring up for the first time at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Our own feeling, if we allowed ourselves to put it into a rather paradoxical form, might prompt the assertion that the sixteenth century, so familiar to us under the term the Century of the Reformation, could with equal, if not with more, appropriateness receive the title of the Century of the Reaction. As a moment in general history, as a moment in the growth of politics and of Christianity in Europe, its peculiar aspect is, we repeat, the result of an unexpected and violent attempt to suppress and overwhelm the continuous evolution of national life and the advance of the individual in freedom of intellectual and social self-reliance. Charles V. and Leo X., in relation to several preceding centuries of European opinion, dogma, and statesmanship, are great reactionary leaders; the opposition to them is consistently, as we should say now-a-days, not revolutionary but constitutional.

Charles V. and Leo X. were embodiments of novelty, disturbance, and danger. Let us recall, at a hasty glance, the personality and the circumstances of each of them.

In an hour when luxury and ornament and costly gems and precious metals had their fullest meaning in Italy, a son of a well-known Florentine house of patrician merchants had reached the Papal throne. For a hundred years this house had been creeping up the ascent to power at Florence and at Rome. Giovanni de' Medici was the banker of Pope John XXIII., at Constance during the Council he had established a world-wide mercantile connection, at Florence he had ingratiated himself with the lower orders of the populace. Cosmo, Giovanni's son, succeeded to his fortune and maxims. Banished for a while from Florence, the business of the city departed with him to Venice. He was sent for back. Though outwardly an unconcerned spectator of public transactions, he thenceforward held the rudder of the State. Unruly intellects he turned into the paths of literature and art. His money and the soldiery of his friend, Francesco Sforza, the leading condottiere of the epoch, maintained the

balance of power in the Peninsula; checked now Venice, now Milan, now the Pope, now Naples. Cosmo's grandson was Lorenz the Magnificent. To the second son of Lorenzo—who bore an ancestral name, Giovanni—was promised in his thirteenth year a Cardinal's hat. This Giovanni became the Pope Leo X. He was the typical man of his race. The age in which he lived is often called after him. He was the feattiest and the luckiest of a family, in all departments second to none in dexterity of eye and touch, plied and exercised from one end to the other of the continent. Not only was there a patronage of art, but there was notably also a skilled and far-reaching diplomatic facility, to which no fitter description may be attached than the epithet, 'Medicean.' Witness here—out of many—two more names, that of Pope Clement VII., whom England and Henry VIII. consulted and at length defied, and that of Queen Catherine of France, who ayawed the deliberations of three kings in whom her blood ran, making them princes of the stock of the Medici rather than of that of Valois. Giovanni de' Medici is not far from being as original and inscrutable a character among popes as Cosmo de' Medici among bankers, and Lorenzo de' Medici among demagogues. According to what a large scheme did he rule, and how considerable were, after all, his achievements! He was invited to arbitrate between the Empire and Venice. Leo X., unarmed and unprotected, went out and met Francis I., a victorious and elated enemy, as calmly and as auspiciously as Leo I. had met Attila and Gense-ric. He acquitted himself as the acutest politician of his day: the Pope was once more a powerful hierarch beyond the Alps; a fundamental law of Francis' kingdom, the Pragmatic Sanction, the bulwark of Gallican liberties, was abrogated; the concordat of 1516 between the King and Rome gave back to the Holy See its supremacy, while it overrode the decisions of recent councils; the Pope was to have again appellate, unimpeachable jurisdiction over the churches of France. Leo had further and grander designs; not indeed of extending the Faith (for the evidence is precarious enough that he had any knowledge of the Faith or that he put any trust in it), but of making more popular and monumental, and of everywhere preaching, the fame of Rome and its Lord. A similar ambition to his has once or twice repeated itself in history. The same attribute of discernment distinguished, the same hope of everlasting renown fired, and the same Nemesis awaited Pope Leo X., the Emperor Justinian, and King Solomon of Israel.

Under the successor of the wisest of mortal monarchs the Jewish kingdom was parted asunder. Three years after Justinian's death the Lombards overswept Italy, where, for an instant, he had restored Imperial prestige; and the church Justinian had erected at Constantinople and dedicated to the Divine Intelligence, in which he flattered himself he had established the Patriarchate of an undivided empire and the visible centre of the true religion, is now a Turkish mosque. The building of the temple of the Church Catholic and of St. Peter at Rome by the pre-eminently cautious, judicious, enlightened, and happy among all the Popes of the Renaissance, for whose purposes Providence might have been thought to have granted peculiar gifts to such architects as Rafael and Michael Angelo, was the direct and immediate occasion of the most complete and irretrievable in the whole series of political and ecclesiastical disruptions.

When the stranger from Germany or England in this nineteenth century—this century of so many reconciliations and recombinations—visits Rome, he can rouse within himself something responsive to the half Periklean, half Hildebrandine day-dreams of Leo X. For miles, whether he comes or goes, by the way of the sea and by the way of the heights, he has, catching his first and departing look towards, over-arching his first and departing recollection of, the Eternal City,

'Michael Angelo's Dome, that had hung the Pantheon in Heaven.'

He can understand somewhat the Medicean project of gorgeous pilgrimages to a shrine of classical and philosophic culture, a shrine to which would haply still cling faint odours of medieval austerities and primitive sanctity, and where a worship, almost Christian, would be due to wonders of artistic genius, produced by the hands of the great masters of the brush and chisel to whom had been vouchsafed to see, at the last moment and in transcendent beauty, the phantoms of all the old and new divinities embracing each other and then together vanishing away, and who thus had been enabled to embalm and to bequeath these rare and only relics of long-spent religious emotions, which, once upon a time, had refreshed the world. When the traveller returns to his own country, when he takes up the German Bible or the plays of Shakespeare, he comprehends how it was that the Nations of Northern and Western Europe rebelled against the Pontificate of Leo X. and his gospel of the Renais-

sance. Tetzel was proclaiming indulgences, on behalf of the works at St. Peter's and at the Vatican, far away from Italy in Saxony, when he came into the neighbourhood of a comparatively small and retired society of humanists and scholars, the young, vigorous, and industrious university of Wittenberg. A lecturer and preacher there, Martin Luther, posted up on the 'Schloss Kirche' his ninety-five theses; and a controversy began, of which the first notes had only to be struck, and they were echoed on and on through all the high schools and students'-quarters of Europe, till they filled every gathering of gossips, and resounded to national assemblies and royal consciences.

Notwithstanding, however, the judgment which was to be pronounced, in a certain sense, by contemporaries, and decisively by posterity, until we have passed some years beyond the termination of Leo X.'s rule, the most significant facts to be remarked are those, which bring out the strength in which he had resuscitated obsolete ideas concerning the extension and interests of the Church and the penetrating and sovereign authority in and over it of the See of Rome. Before him, what an age had elapsed since there had been popes of other than Italian extraction, since there had been popes whose ideals had not been those of an Italian domestic reputation, whose horizon had not been bounded by an Italian principality, at the furthest by the frontiers of Italy! When Leo X.'s death left the Papal chair empty, the vacant dignity engaged the eye and thrilled the heart of the whole European clerical community. An Englishman by birth and training, a royal favourite, a prime minister, the Cardinal of York, Thomas Wolsey, was the disappointed candidate now, and a second time at the next election. The choice fell upon the Cardinal of Tortosa, a native of Utrecht, who had been a professor at Louvain, the preceptor of the Emperor, a high official of the Spanish government, who arrived at Rome some months after the conclave as the head of the Catholic Church, who in Rome itself was an innovator, a foreigner, a recluse; to the Romans, to the Italians a 'Pontefice barbaro.'

To interweave family narrative and nomenclature with political destiny can run easily into mere foolish and fantastic play. But here historians and critics are not the worst offenders. The temptation is hard to resist in the case of the princes, who represented the line of Maximilian at the date of his decease; two brothers, two successive emperors. When Maximilian died, Charles, the elder brother, born in the

first year of the century at Ghent, was about nineteen, Ferdinand, born at Alcalá de Henares, about sixteen years of age. These lads had rights, apart from the claim to the empire, over an enormous territorial accumulation, to match which one must turn over map after map back to the possessions of Charles the Great or Lewis the Pious—the five Austrian duchies, well secured expectations to Hungary and Bohemia; the kingdom of Spain, with the dependent kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; the islands of Majorca and Minorca; the rich Burgundian dowry which his first bride had brought to their Habsburg grandfather. In Africa the arms of their house were feared and respected; the Indies of the Old and New World formed part of their patrimony.

With Mary of Burgundy, the familiar names in her pedigree passed to that of Maximilian. Her son Philip brings back to memory Philip the Good, that lusty, gallant, affable duke, the hero of Philip of Comines' first chapter, whose palace in its gaiety, its sumptuousness, its ostentation, its breeding, was the model of fifteenth century manners; its observances and precedents guided the later ceremonial of Madrid and Vienna. The heir of the ancient duke Philip had been christened Charles, and Charles was the word given at the font for the heir of the later Archduke and King Philip. And even the Imperial Majesty of Charles V. does not step out from the page of memoirs, of romance, of tales of manifold military and geographical vicissitudes, more boldly than his ancestor, whose relations to England, to Spain, to Italy, to France, so closely prefigured subsequent connexions; whose wild clutches after honours and crowns, when gazed upon from amid the realities of the sixteenth century, show like the outbursts of a prescient and envious rage, grudging the laurels that were actually to accrue, in a future generation, to another Charles of Burgundy. With a far wider meaning—a meaning taken in a larger scope than that of Europe—the hypothesis put by Comines, supposing all had gone well with Charles the Rash in his battles with the Swiss, came true of the great-grandson who was his namesake—'il desiroit grant gloire . . . et eust bien voulu ressembler à ces anciens princes dont il a esté tant parlé après leur mort . . . Si ces choses fussent advenues, il tenoit de pays en son obeysance depuis la Mer de Ponant jusques à celle de Levant.'

The elder boy might be held to stand for the pride and perseverance—in a more vague and less aware attitude, also for the bearing toward the Gaul, the Magyar, and the Alpine Uplander—of his progenitors; Im-

perial, Regal, Ducal. The younger boy was called after persons who had, from an obscure station and round a small nucleus, succeeded in the work an emperor, if there at all existed space for an emperor, should undertake. When, in the year 1410, the throne of Aragon was disputed between five competitors, that one of them who did not appeal to force, but to the requirements of the State and the solemnities of a legal tribunal, who, moreover, had, probably, and to modern eyes, much the least substantial ground for his suit, was the brother of Henry III. of Castile, the Infant Ferdinand. He gained the day. As monarch, he was the first to firmly cement the union between Aragon and Sicily, the continuance of which union had issues of moment for the civil progress, the military life, and the moral development of each country. His son carried on the work of incorporation. In the course of his reign, the acquisition of Navarre was attempted and well-nigh effected: the conquest of Navarre on the far side of the mountains, as distinguished from the Navarre which, through the houses of Foix and Albret, fell ultimately to the Bourbons, was not absolutely and finally accomplished until 1512, near the close of the next reign. As grandson to the first, comes a second Ferdinand. Prince of Aragon, he married the heiress of Castile. The two preponderating and rival sovereignties were under him and his queen united. The old term 'of Spain,' laid aside in the Iberian kingdoms after the fall of the Goths, had a revived force and usage. Let us suppose—and the historic accounts of the sway of Habsburg are full of reminiscences of the nursery and school beyond the Pyrenees—the junior of the two arch-dukes, who are about to enter as chief actors upon the stage of Europe, to have been set to reflect upon the rule of the grandfather, after whom he had been baptised, whose darling he had been, who had directed his education, who had detected in him talent and capacity and had desired to make for him much ampler provision than the advisers of his dying moments would permit him to execute. What a pattern and promise to live by might not be drawn from the star of the Ferdinand, under whom Castile, Leon, Aragon, Granada, Navarre, almost Portugal—and the comprehension of Portugal was but a short while delayed—had been merged into one dominion, under whom the Spanish monarchy had been made compact and harmonious, the Spanish empire had become as indefinite and as rich as a realm in fairyland—an empire, which the hills, the Mediterranean, the At-

lantic, would defend, but which they could neither bound nor contain! For many ages the Spaniards had dwelt alone, aloof from the rest of the continent, fully occupied with constitutional struggles and with a fight against Islam which had been waged incessantly in the very heart of their country from the first raising of the standard of the False Prophet down to the end of the fifteenth century. An imagination must have been indeed torpid, which was not arrested, which was not electrified by the poetry of that long, slow, desperate warfare, and then of the swift and dazzling splendour of the late reward. It was as if a visible halo had on a sudden illumined, before all the world, some secluded and saintly monk or crusader. A nation was transfigured under 'los Reyes Católicos.' In one reign the Moor was driven out, Africa was attacked, Oran and the Canaries became the outposts of invaders, the coast of the unexplored south as far as the Cape of Good Hope was discovered and colonised by Spanish and Portuguese mariners. In Europe, a Spanish nobleman and general carried all before him; 'el príncipe de los caballeros, il Gran Capitano,' in the history of chivalry and of the art of war these epithets still belong to Gonsalvo de Cordova; the same man, who for his knowledge of the Arabic language and courtesy was selected to receive the capitulation of Granada, knelt years after in the Vatican to accept the golden rose with the Pope's kiss and blessing, while the streets rang with the acclamations of the multitude to 'the Deliverer of Rome.' Further,—and surely this is the most singular and mysterious among all the fulfilments of human longing and inquietude!—a derided and visionary sailor, who, so legend and his biographers affirm, could never, do what he would, rid himself of the burden of his name (his Christian name came from his patron St. Christopher, the tall, simple-hearted ferryman, who, roused at night by a babe's cry, had carried, not knowing it, although nearly drowned beneath the weight, his Saviour through the floods; in his surname he traced other similar reference to the ark of Noah, the dove, the olive-branch)—who in the camp before Granada had obtained his commission as admiral and viceroy, reached a New World. So was the Crescent banished from the West, Infidelity menaced in Africa and Asia, the Cross borne to another hemisphere. Three years before the end of the reign Vasco Núñez de Balboa had crossed the Isthmus of Darien, had climbed the Cordilleras, had, as he supposed, beheld the rest of all troubled voyagers, the pleasant, delicious spice islands, had seen

the still waters of the Pacific Ocean. A telling phrase of Robertson, in which he concludes his sketch of Cardinal Ximenes, has often recurred to us as admirably illustrative of the fervid and enthusiastic temper of the Spanish nation at this highest flow of their prosperity. Ximenes had the chief authority under the crown over Church and State for many years while Ferdinand and Isabella lived, and, down to his death, through the early years of Charles their successor. 'He is,' says our English historian of Charles V., 'the only prime minister mentioned in history, whom his contemporaries revered as a saint, and to whom the people under his government ascribed the power of working miracles.'

Imbued with these household and patriotic traditions, and with the lessons and commentaries drawn from such traditions which an Adrian of Utrecht or a Ximenes would supply, the Archdukes Charles and Ferdinand, while yet in their first youth, found themselves emancipated from tutelage and guardianship, in possession of the Burgundian, the Spanish, and the Austrian inheritance, and on the steps of the Imperial throne. They were themselves, it ought to be stated, exceptionally susceptible and sensitive to the Spanish spirit, even in morbid and unnatural extravagance. To understand the personal qualities of these princes and of the house of which they were fresh founders, one other relative of theirs demands passing mention. Strictly speaking, Charles was not King, but Regent of Spain. He held power on behalf of his mother, who had gone mad out of ill-requited love for her handsome, volatile husband. She lived on, weaving gloom over the minds of her children, past the middle of the century, until 1555. Her melancholy taint changed the current which had rushed boisterously and recklessly in the veins of Maximilian and Philip; there is a distinction of race and demeanour between the Habsburgs before and after Joanna of Castile.

What will happen when Germany and England, when Italy and France, come into collision with a Neo-Platonic Papacy and a Neo-Carolingian Empire, when the theology of Wiclif, Hus, Thomas à Kempis, Melancthon, meets the principles of Leo X., when the countrymen of Macchiavelli, Comines, Erasmus, Ulrich von Hutten, Rabelais, discuss the programme of Charles V.?

The appearance which the Imperial authority assumed, when such a candidate as Charles of Spain was in the field, was recognised at once. The Empire presented itself to kings and statesmen in that lately unaccustomed view, in which, as we noticed,

the Papacy will, at the death of Leo X., commend itself to the consideration of foreign cardinals and prelates, to whom the succession to the Roman See would heretofore have been a matter of no private consequence. Francis I. of France, Henry VIII. of England, Lewis II. of Hungary and Bohemia, hankered after the tempting prize; ruminated each of them, more or less seriously, upon his chance of intercepting it. There were two other potentates whose pretensions were discussed, princes then of inferior power and less weighty credentials; but we may conjecture that, if either of them had been promoted to the Empire, the history of Western Europe would have been written for our perusal in very different type. One was the Elector of Brandenburg, on account of his eloquence and part in council styled the Nestor of Germany, the founder of the University of Frankfurt; the other was Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, in his career to this point the antagonist of the policy, which Brandenburg had propped, of Habsburg. The Frankfurt professors continued, amid coming controversies, strictly orthodox. Frederick was the founder and the firm friend and patron of Wittenberg and its teaching. Neither of them would have come near Charles V.'s station in the history of the world: on the other hand, had either of them been chosen, there would, in all likelihood, have been established, under Imperial auspices, a great North-German monarchy, for which there was then reasonable place, though the creation of such a state was fated to be postponed for some hundred and eighty-two years longer. To record the enterprises, to enumerate the acts of Charles V., one must write in bulky volumes; and it would be vain for us to attempt any examination of them here. He was, if you like, a great Emperor; that is to say, he was fully equal to the highest position, he had vast territories, vast ability, vast energy, vast influence. But there was no Empire, nor could he restore it. It would not thrive, neither in Germany nor in Italy. And out of Germany and Italy the anti-Imperial policy kept its footing; sometimes it was discontented and disconcerted, it was never dejected and distressed; it ought to have held the undisputed present, it already, beyond all doubt, could feel its hold upon the future. In what contrast to the reign of Charles V., to all the conduct of it from election to abdication, oppose themselves such reigns as those of Francis I., Henry VIII., and—it is the most noteworthy of all, but our space forbids our pointing its moral—Gustavus Vasa!

It may be asserted, and with truth, that Francis I., in camp and cabinet, was the beaten and thwarted rival of Charles. But let the grasp be noted he had on the mind of France, and see what a pillar he became in the structure of the monarchy! His subjects, nor they alone, pointed to Francis as the man with the real spirit and mien of royalty. In him, not in Charles, had Cæsar returned. How fine a captain, how thorough a soldier! He had broken his sixty lances a day among his gentlemen, he had lain all night in the open among the troops, he had fought till dusk, he fought again at dawn in the foremost ranks. On his part, how faithful to his crown, how devoted to his country, how identified with it was the king! His very weaknesses and faults, when they seemed abroad least pardonable, were expounded for his benefit and at once forgiven him in France. When he was a prisoner, in the power of the defender of Christianity—of Charles—in the midst of recollections sacred to martyrs steadfast for the Cross and the verities of religion—at Madrid—Francis, alive only to his absence from France and his bad want of allies, started negotiations with the Mohammedans. He became, to the scandal of Europe, a partner with Sultan Suleiman, the tyrant and scourge of civilisation. The French were delighted at his elastic intrepidity and his supple diplomatic talent. He had made promises to his captor, not intending to abide by them; he had sworn, knowing that an oath against the good of France could not bind a French king; he had signed a document, but, before signing, he lamented the constraint put upon the quill between his fingers. His release having been procured, France—she was to have parted with a province—was declared one and indivisible, and that fundamental principle in the law of nations was reaffirmed which pronounces that a king of France can make neither oath nor compact, except at his own free will, and on behalf of and for the behoof of his people. Who and what, it was scornfully asked, was Charles V.? Who could say whether he was most a Spaniard or a German, whether the Flemings ought to call him theirs or the Austrians, whether it was Castilian haughtiness or Aragonese, which had a sluggard after-life in his countenance and deportment? But where was such a Frenchman as the king? Italy delighted him, but his love of foreign art and taste was always second to his love of home. He languished, and his friends, when they had got to know her, away from France. He transplanted his Italy; the gracious Italian painters came to feast with him and to work for him at

Fontainebleau, and were pleased to pass the last years of their decline near Amboise and Loire. Polite literature and correct taste were altogether in the pay of France and Francis; he was 'le père des lettres.' Round the later Renaissance there swam a French atmosphere.

Here is a general, nay more, it is the special mark of the sixteenth century, on which we have alighted—this solidarity between kingdom and king. It is not only in France—there this is always the case—it is everywhere, in the North and West of Europe, in England, in the German and Scandinavian territories, the same. The Sovereign is the keystone of the State. The national life thinks, acts, speaks, through him. Not the capital, not the boundaries distinguish and describe a kingdom, but the king. There were not as yet cities, in which the royal residence was permanent or looked for as a thing of course, and the larger towns, in which fermented a certain republican and particularist leaven, had not yet determined to throw in their lot with either dynasty or country. The European waters, the Mediterranean Sea and the German Ocean, were still in the hands of oligarchical corporations; towns stared on Venice and Lübeck, or saw no further than Antwerp and Bruges, wondering how far there was room for imitation, for confederacy. Even Paris, in the early sixteenth century, is no exception; it is a kind of Babel; the listener, far off in the nineteenth, catches echoes of the voice of the university, of the trades, of the law courts, of the exchange, but, notwithstanding Lewis XI. and Lewis XII., the court and aristocracy have not begun at all to give colour and tone to metropolitan politics, and the royal name does or does not resound above the hubbub, according as it does or does not suit the strife of civic partisanship. The interest of town and country was never more widely severed. Not only did it remain for the king to fix the opinion and the relation of the capital, he had also to fix the extent and borders of the land. The king on the shifting and gradually settling frontier—the king on the marches, a figure in the guise, as we first describe him, of one tentative, dubious, irresolute, turning his purpose hither and thither, snuffing the air, stamping the ground, moving the line backward and forward, like the mathematician, engineer, and architect of the political works of a nation—this is the royal labourer, these are the royal functions, when the curtain rises, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, on the scene of Western Europe. How the king of France towards the North, the East, and the South,

tries and makes his way, acquires confidence and craftiness, inspires provincial loyalty, fills his own brain and soul with a wider idea, conveys nationality to an army and to peoples from which his army was raised, finally has learnt the geographical and tribal limits to his sway. Of supreme interest for the history of France under this aspect are the Italian campaigns, not destined, hardly designed for wars of conquest, but expeditions, in which, half out of the training, half out of the spoil, the king secured his kingdom and the kingdom realized its need and duty towards its king. As in France, so in England. What pains does it cost the dynasty to discover and to define the limits of the British empire and of the true and real influence of England? Shall a fresh endeavour be made to gain extensive possessions on the mainland? With what object and for what period are Calais and Boulogne to be retained? Shall England be not only the maritime but a continental bulwark of Protestantism, undertake the Protectorate of Denmark and the Baltic, or accept the Sovereignty of the Netherlands? Or shall every magnanimous disposition be strained, every terrible risk hazarded, to push up the Northern frontier, and so to unite the island? Shall England stand alone, seek her old foes and new subjects far away from Europe, at any price maintain her single estate, her solitary policy, her separate faith, the ally everywhere of freedom, left to grow as circumstance and Providence might permit, but nowhere the champion of a Catholic and uniform creed, even of Liberty? These were questions which in their plainest form were put, in the sixteenth century, but to persons rather than populations, to be decided on the responsibility of one individual judgment rather than by universal suffrage: they got their answer from the lips and the lives of a Tudor King and a Tudor Queen.

For a short while the accession to the Empire of Charles V. drew—we have above directed attention to the fact—Henry VIII.'s eyes off from England and fastened them on Europe. Henry had frequent interviews both with Francis and Charles to consider general affairs, and, after hostilities had broken out between France and the Emperor, there was a moment when the combatants agreed to allow Thomas Wolsey, as Henry's nominee, to arbitrate. A little later was conceived a plan, in which are mirrored Emperor, King, and Cardinal, at the giddiest summit of their hopes, intoxicated by a landscape in which the whole expanse of civilisation was spread beneath their feet. From Windsor Castle their vision extended to Rome and Constantinople.

Henry VIII. had at that time, as the offspring of his marriage, one child, a daughter, Mary. Charles was to be betrothed to Mary. Henry, for his life, would have been King of England and France, with the cométable Bourbon for Lieutenant abroad. At Henry's death Charles would inherit France and England, and would govern the world. The distinction which a couple of years before Pope Leo had bestowed on Henry, 'Defender of the Faith,' would be the most illustrious of those commemorated by posterity, which would record how his minister had been collated to Rome, and his son-in-law had consolidated Europe and hunted the infidel from the Bosphorus. The surveillance over this domestic contract between Charles and Henry would belong to its evident author, the future pontiff. We may presume to guess that if Wolsey had become Pope, he would have assumed the style which the actual successor of Leo X. did, by a picturesque coincidence, bear. Was there a spice of malicious wit, at the Archbishop of York's expense, in Adrian of Utrecht's sticking to his baptismal name? Cardinal Wolsey would have taken the title of the one Englishman who has hitherto occupied the Papal chair; who was said to have wandered forth, a poor scholar, from that very St. Alban's, the income of which formed one of Wolsey's perquisites; who had been the friend of another Henry, another sovereign, [in effect, of England and France, another master in imperialist and matrimonial scheming, Henry II., the Angevin. Was Wolsey's mind entirely occupied with the monuments which he, the projector of Christ Church, would leave behind him at Rome, where Julius and Leo were to be reached or eclipsed? He might catch several allusions in the name Pope Adrian. And did he, one wonders, often muse on the story of a certain Thomas of Henry II.'s reign, like himself an Archbishop—like himself a royal favourite and Chancellor? Politics are mostly earth-bound and prosaic, and Wolsey's Utopia went away upon the winds. A few years and he was disgraced.

The king had soon stepped out of the clouds. He betook himself to the old grooves of English statesmanship, and speedily the Englishman had outstripped the Frenchman. Not, indeed, that Henry VIII. allied himself with the Turk. But he dared as much, or more. He set absolutely and unreservedly at naught the whole Imperial and Papal system, disregarded and denied it in all the details—in respect to family ties, ecclesiastical decretals and dispensations, Biblical interpretation, connection of Church and State, and

what not besides. He repudiated and was divorced from his Aragonese Queen, the aunt of the Emperor. Katharine's daughter, that Princess Mary, thought of just now as heiress of France and England and bride of Charles, was stigmatised as illegitimate, and declared incapable to succeed her father. He asserted the emancipation and independence of himself and England—Parliament and Convocation confirmed the assertion—in view of the whole public and private jurisdiction of Rome, Imperial and Apostolic. It is astonishing what little difficulty he had in the particular quarrel between him on the one part, and the Papal authority and the Imperial power on the other, in enlisting a general adhesion to his side. He entrenched himself behind legal and theological learning. The most ancient seats of law and divinity, Bologna and Paris, gave sentence for him, as well as his own universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He was in terrible earnest. He proceeded to execute a former Lord Chancellor of England and a Roman Cardinal, men beloved throughout England, More and Fisher, who refused to express their unqualified acquiescence in the royal and national will. It is not at all at present our concern either to judge or to justify Henry VIII., for whose effigy, in sooth, both mud and white-wash, long enough ago, did their utmost. But, whenever we reopen his reign, we are struck afresh and above all things with the way in which—in spite of his tempestuous temper, and the touches in him as of Eastern and old-world kings, so that he is from childhood upward imaged to us a very Nebuchadnezzar and Ahab of English history—his presence in his own days is invariably popular and his most audacious ventures are quite sure of success. There was no man in the country so English. He was bound up with England. His people were prepared for his acts, prepared to obey him, to back him up; there was nothing strange or unintelligible to them about his methods; strong measures were necessary. His reign was not a break, but a new link in the chain of English history. With him had come the right leadership, a hot wave of restless blood, a vista of a renewed life, where there had been a pause and a fear, lest the pulses were beating out of time, were going to flag altogether. The reigns of three of the Henrys before him—Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI.—had fallen into a hapless and dreary period in our annals, filled with crooked designs, wicked foreign wars to stave off peremptory home questions, trials for witchcraft, aristocratic feuds and butcheries. The fifteenth cen-

tury in England had worn the livery of a time when a late frost stays and partly blights the bursting of the spring. The nation had been waiting and watching for some such sovereign as Henry VIII. He might have followed straight upon Richard II.; a Hugh Latimer might have caught, as it fell, the mantle of a John Wiclif. When Fox, Bishop of Hereford, spoke, at Schmal-kalden, of the Pope as Antichrist, he was not so very far in advance of the soundest English Episcopal opinion of pre-Lollard, of quite the olden days; the position that the then Pope Innocent IV. was an obstinate heretic had been substantiated, according to all the logic of the schools, in half-bitter, half-whimsical irony, on his deathbed, while his friend, the pride for knowledge of medicine and theology of the Dominican Order, stood by and reverently listened, by the foremost English Bishop in the, until the sixteenth, finest century of English life, by Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. Henry VIII. took up, where it had been left, the work of the Third and of the First Edward, his statutes followed in the wake of the Great Charter\* and the Constitutions of Clarendon, and of the proud words of the Conqueror and his sons. The English spirit was throughout consentient with the dim oracle of primitive tradition and poetic legend, the tale of an unyielding retreat into and defence of an island fastness by Alfred or by Arthur.

So far we have been seeking to suggest what it was we intended—the attempt has taken up more of our space than we expected—when we said that the sixteenth century might be called the century of the Reaction as well as the century of the Re-

\* Innocent III.'s condemnation of Magna Charta has a curious look for us Englishmen now. Here is a sample: 'Wherefore forasmuch as the Lord hath spoken unto us by the prophet: "behold thee have I set over the nations and over the kingdoms, that thou mightest root up and destroy, that thou mightest build and plant," and again in another place: "Loosen the bonds of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens," we will not cloak the hardness of such malignant enterprise, contemptuous of the See of the Apostles, derogatory to the rights of the crown, shameful to the English people, menacing gravely the great cause of Him crucified. . . . We, on the part of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the authority of His Apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own, and by the common counsel of our brethren, reprobate utterly and condemn such document, and forbid under anathema the king from presuming to observe, the barons with their accomplices from urging him to observe it, and the charter and its guarantees and all things passed through it or for it, we make of no effect, and cancel, that never at any time should it be established.'

formation. We have been seeking to show that it is, at the commencement, the history of a severe and unseasonable curb on the growth of that mingled religious and political life which goes on, as one whole, in a nation, which combines the members of a nation or, in fact, of any association, expanding outward from the original germ of the family. We have been seeking to show how scholarship, philosophy, theology, statesmanship were perplexed and petrified at the reappearance—as if the evil genii of children's fables were, to stride bodily into our streets—in the plenitude of power of the Empire and Papacy, vampire-like, thirsting to suck the life-blood out of letters, belief, freedom, adventure, ambition. We have been seeking to show that what we style the Reformation is only part of a formation in process before and after that particular century, subject also, so far as we see, in that century to oscillation and counteraction as much as in any other. Once more, we have been seeking to show that the sixteenth century, like all history, is to be read, on the one hand as the history of states, on the other hand as the history of individuals. Nor do we think, though here we may not demand nor count upon any unanimous approval of our readers, that any advantage is to be derived from the study, apart from the history of states and individuals, of the history, as such, of the medieval Church. Religion seems to us to owe an incalculable debt to the inspiration, the valour, the indomitable spirituality of individuals; to owe a most insignificant debt to its ecclesiastical organisations, imitated after, and never, under accurate analysis, differing from, the organisations of States; to owe, moreover, wondrous little, considering at once the unselfishness, the devotion, and the tools at the disposal of such champions, to the efforts, however heroic and sustained, of men of special political genius, who have seemed to gain for the ecclesiastical system independence among, or supremacy over, civil societies. The noblest part of individual life is the religious part, lies in the faith and hope and charity, of which the last is greatest, of the individual; the most ignoble part of ecclesiastical life is its quasi-religious part, lies in the extinction and extermination of faith, hope, and charity, beyond a certain so-called organisation of religion. Leo X. and his Bulls could never banish Luther from the history of religion. In any true history of the successors of the Apostles, the Pope Alexander Borgia has no place at all; the Sacred College of Cardinals, which admitted into their body John Fisher, Bishop of

Rochester, was an oddly constituted circle of diplomatists, the martyr cardinal himself was—not by their vain breath or dictate—doubtless a prince of the Church militant and triumphant.

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ART. IX.—*England and Russia in the East.* A Series of Papers on the Political and Geographical Condition of Central Asia. By Major-General Sir Henry Rawlinson, formerly Envoy and Minister at the Court of Persia. London, 1875.

Up to a year or two ago few things were apt to strike the typical 'intelligent foreigner' as more remarkable than the general indifference of the English public to the affairs of Central Asia.

The Russian newspapers had long teemed with articles on the subject; but it was rarely noticed by the leading English journals, and Englishmen otherwise well informed on all matters of foreign policy, generally showed a strange ignorance of the details and bearing of many questions likely to lead to misunderstanding between the two great Christian empires of the East.

Latterly this seeming indifference has given place to a rather restless anxiety, and since it has become apparent that Russia either could not or would not withdraw from the position she had acquired by her success at Khiva, not only has much more attention been given by our own countrymen to the proceedings of Russia in Asia, but the general tone of the Press has become more, or less alarmist, and men of experience and reflection may be found arguing in favour of measures which could hardly be adopted without at once bringing us into direct antagonism with the great Power which has thus made such rapid strides towards close neighbourhood with our own Indian Empire.

It is observable that ever since we have possessed an empire in India, we have rarely been without some question of the kind occupying our attention; some rivalry of a European Power for Asiatic Empire, which disturbed us. At one time it was the French who contended with us for supremacy, on pretty equal terms, in India itself. Subsequently when we had clearly taken the lead of all other European Powers in India, we were troubled, and not without reason, lest the French should attack us from the Mediterranean, and impel upon our ill-consolidated possessions in the East a fresh invasion of semi-barbarian Powers—Turks, Persians, Afghans, and Arabs. That this was

a very real and proximate danger in the judgment of many leading statesmen from the days of Pitt till the end of the revolutionary war, is clear from the great exertions they made to avert or meet it. It would not be amiss if we were now to consider what were the French designs, why they were laid aside, and what Pitt, and Dundas, and Lord Wellesley, and the sagacious men who then directed the policy of the Indian Company did, while they thought the danger of a Franco-Oriental invasion imminent.

There is abundant evidence to show that Napoleon's expedition to Egypt was by no means such a crack-brained scheme as it has appeared to many, even of his later historians. To occupy Egypt, to destroy the effete Mamluk dynasty, and to rule the Fellaheen so as to make the country pay for a French occupation, were not more difficult exploits in those days than Mehmet Ali's establishment of his own dynasty, or the French occupation of Algiers have been in later years. Napoleon could have had but a general idea of the difficulties attending further progress eastward; but he knew that men then alive remembered Nadir Shah marching an army from Persia to Delhi; that the Afgans had subsequently performed a very similar exploit, and that the Turks in their better days had found no difficulty in maintaining a formidable fleet in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. To one who was master of Egypt, the conquest of Syria and a march to the Bank of the Euphrates was no impossible dream, as Ibrahim Pasha showed a generation afterwards; and once on the shores of the Persian Gulf the French conqueror would have been in a position to command and direct such aid as the Persians, Afgans, or maritime Arabs could afford. None of them would have objected to an expedition to plunder the unbelievers in India, with a French force to aid in meeting the English. If Turkey and Russia could have been induced to join, success would be all the more certain; but, even if he had been left single-handed, with a fair force of French troops freed from all religious prejudices in fraternising with Moslems, there was no impossibility in the dreams which led the young Gallic Alexander to Egypt and Syria.

What he did *not* adequately allow for was the naval power of England. But it must be remembered that when he first began his expedition, the English superiority at sea was by no means unquestioned; and in both the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean the French fleets and squadrons maintained a not unequal contest, which at any time by the fortune of war or by aid from other maritime Powers, such as Spain and Turkey then were,

might have been converted into at least a temporary superiority.

All these visions were dissipated when Nelson's victory at the Nile gave the English a decided superiority in the Mediterranean, and cut off the French troops in Egypt from their own country. It then became evident that much must be done in Europe before any onward move could be attempted from Egypt, and Napoleon abandoned the enterprise, bequeathing to his successors, in the idea of the Suez Canal, one of the most important steps in any renewed attempt to establish a French Empire in the East.

But Lord Wellesley and his successors did not rest content with the knowledge that our naval supremacy in the Mediterranean as well as the Eastern seas was for the time unquestioned, and would form for many years an all-sufficient defence against overland invasion. They sent embassies and formed alliances as strict as circumstances would admit with Persia and Afghanistan, with Sind, and with Muscat which was then growing into importance as a considerable naval power on the Arabian and African coast. They entered into treaties, whenever they could, with the greater native Powers in India, binding them to make the Indian Government their confidant in all matters of foreign policy, and to abstain from all diplomatic intercourse with any European Powers except the British. They reformed and greatly increased and strengthened the Indian local marine as a fighting service, organised a regular postal service which was kept up during the whole French war *vis-à-vis* Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, and established a fact of no small importance to the defence of India when they sent an expedition, partly composed of native troops, to Cosseir on the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea, marched them across the desert to the Thebaid, and let the Indian sepoy taste the waters of the Nile.

From the peace of 1814 Indian statesmen seem to have felt little anxiety regarding any interference in India by European Powers till about 1830, when the advances of Russia in the direction of Herat and Cabul roused the Indian Government from their dreams of security, and caused a real and permanent alarm, which was not lessened by the distance of the danger or the general ignorance of its real character and dimensions.

There was at that time no lack of men well acquainted with Persia and Afghanistan, whose advice might have directed the Government of India to a wise policy in meeting this new danger. But unfortunately an able clique of Calcutta secretaries surrounded Lord Auckland, and prevented his exercising

his natural good sense and right judgment on such advice as could have been given him by men who knew the Afgans as Burnes, did, and who estimated as wisely as Sir Henry Fane the peculiar perils of our then military position in India.

The story of our subsequent proceedings towards the Afgans and what befel us, from the time we invaded their country till we quitted it, has been well told in the eloquent pages of Sir John Kaye's '*Afgan War*.' The avowed and more obvious springs of our policy, and our manifold mistakes, are there narrated as perfectly as may be by a contemporary. Another generation will remove the seal of secrecy from much that is not now accessible to the historian. But our main errors are sufficiently clear; and there were many at the time who pointed out that a military enterprise, in itself by no means difficult or dangerous, became extremely hazardous when our troops were far separated from any secure base of operations; when powerful and warlike nations, independent of us, whose loyalty as allies depended on the life of Runjeet Singh, an old and worn-out man, were interposed between India and the British forces pushed forward into Afganistan; when the military was subordinated to the civil element in the administration of our conquest; when no more care was taken in the selection of the military commanders than if they were to succeed by routine to commands in the United Kingdoms; and when no stricter discipline was enforced than if our troops had been in their own cantonments in India.

The greatest mistakes of all, *i.e.* entangling ourselves with a pretender to the Afgan throne, and resorting to the hypocrisies of the Tripartite Alliance of Sikhs and English with the Afgan Shah Sooja, in order to give a false appearance of justification to our proceedings, and to excuse our attack on Dost Mahomed, the able and energetic leader who had made himself the accepted ruler of the Afgans, were from the first self-evident. But it was not generally known till long afterwards how gladly Dost Mahomed would have undertaken all we required Shah Sooja to do for us; how little he was inclined to sell himself to be the vassal of any power, English or Russian; and how effectually judicious support to him would have enabled him to assure us of that friendly but independent power in Afganistan, which it has always been our true interest to secure.

It was probably the sense of how much had been wrong in the conception as in the execution of our enterprise, which prevented an outburst of popular feeling at its disas-

trous results, such as might have led to attempts to re-establish ourselves permanently at Cabul. The temporary re-occupation of the capital sufficed to satisfy popular feeling in England at the time, and the difficulties we had ourselves experienced assured most of our political and military authorities that, for some years to come, we had not much to fear from Russian interference at Cabul.

This was not at the time an unnatural or unwholesome state of public feeling. But it must ever remain a subject of sincere regret that, for many years after the return of Dost Mahomed to Cabul, nothing was done on our part to obliterate the traces of the contest into which we had forced him and his subjects. They had little cause to love us, and the manner in which he was released and sent back to a desolated, distracted, and impoverished kingdom, said little for our sense of generosity, or even of justice. But mutual injuries, which among civilised nations would not be forgotten or forgiven for many generations, do not produce any lasting effect on a people whose usages in their own civil wars are so sanguinary, and in foreign wars so barbarous, as those of the Afgans. Our troops, even in the first flush of victory after exasperating reverses, everywhere behaved far better than Afgan victors would have done, or than Afgans vanquished would have expected. The Dost himself had seen enough of us in our own dominions to know that we were, on the whole, a kindly and generous people; that we were not likely again to burn our fingers by attempting an invasion of Afganistan; that we did not really desire to extend our frontier over his rugged mountain-frontier till we reached his distant and sparsely-scattered fertile valleys; that in all essentials his interests and ours were identical as regards his western neighbours, and that to this, and not to any lust of further conquest, he might safely attribute our interest in his affairs.

There can be little doubt that, under such circumstances, a generous, manly policy which offered him our friendship, and such aid as we could offer and he receive without a sense of humiliation, would have made him our fast friend, and in time have given us a very preponderating influence among his people.

But the opportunity was lost, and few things can be imagined more galling to Afgan pride than the studied affectation of indifference with which we treated a people whose affairs a few years before had absorbed public attention. The evil was not confined to the effect of this kind of treatment on the Afgans. It more or less

affected the larger portion of our frontier political service, and often perverted the views and vitiated the proceedings of men who, under better guidance, might have done much to heal the breach between us and our neighbours. Enterprising political officers soon found that it was not wise in anyone who valued his own advancement in the public service, to look too much across the frontier. To cultivate friendly relations, or any relations at all, with our frontier neighbours, was dangerous; to recommend any measure which might make men over the border more inclined for neighbourly intercourse was to risk the suspicion of unpatriotic leanings, and a defect of devotion to and belief in the superior wisdom and excellence of our own Government; whilst to hint at danger from any foreign influence in the councils of our neighbours was to forfeit all claim to any character for sober sense or political insight.

The consequence was a wilful and often affected blindness in all frontier affairs, and the assumption of a tone of supercilious disregard and contempt for all beyond our own frontier, more worthy of Chinese mandarins than of English officials.

These results were not fully developed for many years after our evacuation of Afghanistan. In the mean time our frontier had advanced from the Sutlege to the foot of the Suleiman range. The Punjab and Sind had been annexed; our western frontier was coterminous with the eastern frontier of Afghanistan throughout its whole length; our position in Beloochistan extended the relation along the southern frontier of Afghanistan; for the Khan of Khelat, subsidised by the British-Indian Government, was the nominal suzerain of the whole of the Belooch tribes up to the Persian frontier.

But though we and our subsidised allies were thus neighbours of the Afghans along the whole of their eastern and southern frontier, the Government of India, and their representatives on the Punjab frontier, studiously discouraged any renewal of relations of good neighbourhood with the Government or subjects of Dost Mahomed. Why and how it was managed that for fourteen years from our evacuation of Afghanistan, up to the eve of the Persian war in 1856, our Government, as though unconscious of the existence of the Afghan nation, kept up a policy of apparent indifference and absolute abstention from all diplomatic intercourse, is in itself a curious chapter of Indian history, which well deserves separate attention. For the present, it is sufficient

to note that in 1856, mainly through the influence of the late Sir Herbert Edwards, the Government of India once more resumed its intercourse with the Amir of Cabul; and the useful results of the change of policy were abundantly evident, both during the Persian war of 1856-7, and the mutiny of 1857-8. But it can hardly be said that there was much of generosity or frankness in our renewed intercourse up to the time of Lord Mayo's arrival in India as Viceroy. He infused an entirely different feeling into our transactions with our neighbours, in Afghanistan as elsewhere; but nowhere were the effects more notable than in his dealings with the successor of Dost Mahomed.

Let us now note the changes which have taken place in public opinion in England regarding our relations with the Afghans, subsequent to our evacuation of their territory in 1842.

After the first paroxysm of popular anger at the reverses we had met with had passed away, all questions connected with Central Asia were shelved, as Englishmen are apt to shelve subjects which are not in themselves pressing or agreeable. Men persuaded themselves that Russia was not advancing in our direction; or that, if advancing, it was so slowly that generations must elapse before she came near us; and that when her outposts approached ours it would be time to think of meeting her. The various pleas on which the subject was put aside were not very consistent with each other or with well-known facts; but the Press, as a body, and the Public, were resolved to hear nothing on the subject; attempts to discuss it were resolutely discouraged, and when persisted in were met with the assertion that the highest authorities in India had no apprehension, and were resolved to do nothing. This determination to see nothing to apprehend, to treat danger as non-existent, and to justify, on the grounds of such presumed non-existence of danger, a determined inaction, was in later years raised to the dignity of a policy and explained and lauded as 'the policy of masterly inactivity' in articles written with much ability, and attributed to authors whose position gave a kind of official sanction to their opinions.

But, from time to time, facts transpired which showed that the Russians were rapidly extending their outposts in the direction of India, and the studied indifference and refusal of the public to listen to any rumours of danger threatening India from the north-west have been succeeded by a rather startled alarm—a feverish disposition to believe that danger is very imminent, and that 'something must be done.'

There is apparently no very clear idea of what that 'something' is to be; but when influential public writers—not to say high officials—in their sober senses talk of urging Her Majesty's Government to send the English fleet to the Baltic or Black Sea, or to move armies far beyond our Indian frontiers to the north-west, there seems some risk that like all men who at last perceive a danger, to which they have long been blind, they may rush, panic stricken, in some wrong direction.

The general abandonment of the policy of 'masterly inactivity' by those who were formerly its warm advocates is the one new feature in the facts of the case. The rest are but a continuation of what has been going on for many years past—of what has been often detailed and foreseen by all who studied the subject, and by none more clearly than by Sir John McNeill, in a pamphlet published so long ago that it had reached its third edition at the time of the Crimean War.

As we write, a fresh and most important contribution to the permanent literature of this question is offered in Sir Henry Rawlinson's work on '*England and Russia in the East*,' the title of which heads our article. It consists in part of Essays, written at various intervals during the last twenty-five years, with notes and addenda bringing up the review of events to the present time, with illustrations from ample stores of more recently acquired knowledge, political, historical, and geographical.

The opening Chapter, originally published in 1849, contains a masterly sketch of our relations with Persia during the first half of the present century, from the time when England and the French Republic were rivals for the favour of the young and ambitious King Futtch Ali Shah, through the tangled story of the rival Missions of Sir John Malcolm and Sir Harford Jones; the negotiations and treaties of Onseley, Morier, and Ellis, of Macdonald and Sir John McNeill; the rupture with Persia regarding Herat, and the Afghan War in the next reign of Mahomed Shah, concluding with a sketch of our relations with Persia, as they stood in 1849, after the accession of the present king.

In the second chapter the narrative is continued up to the present time, including our relations with Persia and Afganistan during the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny; our various arbitrations, with a view to a peaceful settlement between Persia and Turkey on the west, and Persia and Beloochistan and the Afgans on the east; the Reuter concession; the Shah's late visit to Europe, and a review of the present

prospects of Persia, and of the policy of England towards her; which contains the matured opinions of the accomplished author on a subject regarding which few men are better qualified to speak.

The next two chapters are reprints, with many important additions, of articles which appeared in this '*Review*' in October 1865, and October 1866, the former describing the progress of the Russian conquests in Central Asia, and the latter summarising our geographical knowledge of Central Asia, and the countries adjacent between the Russian and Indian frontiers, and exposing some remarkable apocryphal travels which have exercised undeserved influence on the political views of diplomatists. These chapters are followed by a survey of the political positions held respectively by Russia and England in the East in 1868. This Essay was sketched as a speech to precede a motion in the House of Commons, and, though never spoken, must have had some effect on those officials in India and in England to whom it appears to have been confidentially communicated, and it may be regretted that it was not earlier placed before the public.

The last chapter brings up the sketch of Central Asian affairs and the position of England and Russia to the present date. Its main object is to show 'that if Russia should overstep certain limits in her approach to India, she must be checked by an armed resistance, even at the risk of producing war between the two countries.' Sir Henry Rawlinson claims for this part of his argument that it is put forward essentially in the interests of peace, to prevent that 'uncertain sound' as to the intentions of England, which led Russia into the Crimean War. The work is full of information not easily to be found elsewhere, and nowhere in so intelligible and readable a shape. It abounds also in weighty and well-considered opinions, which deserve the best attention of Englishmen, and, we may add, of Russians also, whether we look to the author's character and position, or to the unequalled opportunities he has enjoyed for forming a sound and impartial judgment on the subject.

The Essays might have gained in popularity if they had been re-written throughout from existing points of view; but they would by such a process have lost one of their characteristic and most important features. Reading them now as originally written, we are constantly struck by the rapidity with which events, appearing as distant possibilities to the author as he wrote, have become to the reader of to-day facts of the

past. What appeared at the time daring and somewhat speculative forecasts, are already historical events; and in the case of the Russian conquests they are events of no small importance to the rest of the human race, and especially to those under the sovereignty of Great Britain.

We must refer to chapters iii. to vi. for details as to the advances of Russia during the present century; merely noting that since Sir John McNeill's pamphlet was first published (just twenty years ago) Russia has completed her conquest of the Caucasian territory and its tribes, and the annexation and assimilation to her older dominions of a strip of territory between the Black and Caspian Seas, widening from fifty miles of Black Sea coast, to more than 200 miles of coast on the Caspian. The greater part of this large area was acquired more than fifty years ago; but the completion of the conquest, so as to render the Caucasian territory no longer an obstacle to an advance southward or westward is among the measures which the Russian government has effectually carried out since the Peace of Paris. A glance at the map will show its strategic and commercial importance. It lays the whole of the north of Persia and the Eastern provinces of Asiatic Turkey open to Russian commerce, or to Russian military invasion.

The Russian advance of frontier east of the Caspian during the last twenty years embraces a far greater area. A strip of country, of various width from north to south, bounded on the west by not less than 500 miles of the eastern shore of the Caspian, and running eastwards for at least 1400 miles in a direct line to the Chinese outposts, has been gradually annexed to the Russian Empire. Much of this vast territory is waterless desert—but there are within its boundaries districts of great natural fertility—two large rivers, with a considerable length of navigable channel, and the inland Sea of Aral, which may one day become a most valuable link in the chain of water communication between the Volga and the Afghan border. The extension of Russian dominions along the shores of the Caspian has made that sea virtually a Russian lake, and the steam flotilla now on its waters has enormously increased the facilities for transport between the old provinces of the Empire and its advanced frontier.

Moreover, the character of the recent Russian conquests has been quite as remarkable as their extent. A generation ago, the Circassian mountaineers were traditionally regarded even as more invincible in their own fastnesses than the Swiss or Tyrolese;

but they have been surrounded, defeated, and forced to submit to Russia. The rulers of Khiva and Bokhara were, in like manner, regarded as absolutely inaccessible in their strongholds of barbarism. But both have been defeated, effectually conquered, and forced to sue for peace in their own capitals. As mere military exploits the Russian conquests in Asia have been no inconsiderable achievements.

But what has roused the Anglo-Indian public from its lethargy, and created real alarm in the minds of many of our least excitable statesmen, is not so much the extent or character of the Russian conquests, as the obvious unwillingness or inability of the Russian Government to check or prescribe bounds to the onward movement.

The English public has been ready enough to believe that Russia had no designs upon India, and did not contemplate an invasion of Hindostan. But as often as alarm was excited by some fresh conquest, and allayed by a recapitulation in some peace-loving public journal, or in diplomatic despatches, of the reasons why Russia herself should wish to restrain her own advance, so often fresh victories were sure to be reported, which again raised anxieties regarding the object of our ally in such continuous annexations of kingdoms and provinces which in themselves were certainly not worth holding. The effect of these repeated instances of what might be regarded as proofs of Russian aggressiveness was enhanced by two instances of misunderstanding regarding Russian intentions. The effect of the misunderstanding was in both cases aggravated by an unaccountable misconception on our part of what the Russians had avowed to be their objects and intentions.

In the first case some diplomatic discussion had taken place regarding the establishment of a zone of neutral territory between us and the Russians, on which zone neither party was to trespass. The outside public had persuaded itself that Russia had acquiesced in this arrangement, and we were very sore when told in effect that Russia had regarded the notion of a neutral zone as a very pretty idea, but did not contemplate binding herself to it as a practical solution of the questions between the two Powers.

Again, the Russians thought it necessary to march on Khiva. India and England were both alarmed, and in rather a hesitating fashion, as if doubtful of our right to inquire, asked questions as to what the Russians meant to do. Russia assured us that the Emperor had no intention of letting his troops occupy Khiva permanently. There is no reason to suppose that there was any

insincerity in this assurance as far as the Emperor's Cabinet was concerned. But circumstances proved too strong for the Emperor. Having subdued Khiva, he could not, if he would, shake himself free from the responsibilities of a conqueror. In Ashantee or Abyssinia we may escape from the consequences of our victories; but in Central Asia it is not so easy, as we have found, and Russia has found, as often to the detriment as to the profit of either nation.

Nevertheless, when we heard of the occupation of Khiva, of a treaty with Khiva, and of cessions of Khivan sovereignty to Russia, and of discussions regarding an advance on Merv, we were more than alarmed, we were affronted and distrustful, and the loftiest assurances of the ordinary leaders of public opinion to the effect 'that people who knew all about it, and had almost a monopoly of information and judgment on the subject, saw no cause for apprehension,' failed to allay the instinctive popular distrust; and this frame of mind—a rather puzzled combination of alarm, annoyance, and distrust—continues (barring such diversions as are afforded by discussions of Vatican Decrees, or of the municipal Government of London) very much to characterise the temper of nine-tenths of those who think or write on the subject of Anglo-Indian affairs in Central Asia.

It is impossible to say that such feelings are void of any foundation in reason. It is equally difficult to find in any of the measures generally suggested as the 'something' which 'must be done,' any solution which promises to place our relations with our neighbours north and west of India on a more permanently satisfactory footing.

Without pretending to any knowledge of official proposals, let us examine a few of the suggestions which have found most favour with influential public writers here and in India.

A very favourite formula is that we are to intimate to the Court of St. Petersburg that any further advance by Russia—say on Merv—will be held to be a declaration of war against the Anglo-Indian Government. A threat of this kind is supposed to be justifiable on the ground that Merv is a step towards Herat, any occupation of which by Persia, or by any Power in the interest of Russia, has been long and justly considered so threatening to India that the English Government has repeatedly expressed its intention to resist any attempts on Herat by an appeal to arms.

But before we make or threaten such an appeal, let us consider what Merv is. It is undoubtedly a great step in advance from

the present Russian frontier towards Herat; though by no means an essential preliminary to an investment of Herat. Its great immediate importance to Russia is the command it would give to whoever held it over the Turcoman Deserts and the lawless tribes inhabiting them. Its occupation may indeed be said to be an essential element in any arrangements for putting an effectual stop to the forays of the Turcomans, and controlling the hordes which have so long been equally the terror of Persians and Afghans, and of all the Tartar tribes of Turkestan. It is of quite as much importance to any northern power, which confined itself to protecting and ruling the Kirgis Steppes, as to one which meditated an advance on India *via* Balkh and Cabul, or *via* Herat and Candahar.

Apart therefore from any question of the invasion of India, the occupation of Merv by the Russians would be a great service to humanity. It is, of course, conceivable that in the interests of India we might be justified in resisting or resenting such an occupation; but in the interests of humanity we are bound to make it very clear to ourselves, and to all the world, that this is the case; and if we object to the extirpation by Russia of such a refuge for frontier robbers and manstealers, it seems an obviously consequential duty that we should either ourselves undertake the work, or get it done by some Power to whose interference the same objections do not apply. Neither alternative seems, at present, a practical, or even a possible one.

Altogether it seems more than doubtful whether any threat of the kind we are considering could be justified. But there can be no doubt that, whether justifiable or not, it would be quite ineffectual to stop any advance of Russia. Supposing Balkh or Herat to be the ultimate object of such advance, the actual occupation of Merv may well be deferred to a more convenient season, whilst the influence of Russia is quietly spreading up the Valley of the Oxus or the Attreck; so that, if the Russians regarded our threat at all, it would merely postpone the one step of the actual occupation of Merv, till, as in the case of her disregard of the obnoxious clauses regarding the Black Sea in the Treaty of Paris, Russia chose a moment for taking the step when we could not go to war with any chance of fighting to good purpose.

But supposing Russia met our threat by pointing out that the question of occupying Merv was really one which she must consider as affecting Russian and not Indian interests. That we—the English or Indian

Government—had no relations, friendly or otherwise with the place or with any of the tribes around it; that our only *locus standi*, as claiming an interest in the affairs of Merv, rested on a distrust of Russia, and on the imputation to her of some distant ulterior designs on India; that to Russia, on the other hand, and to all inhabitants of the Russian frontier, from the Caspian to the confines of Badakhshan, the conduct of the tribes round Merv was a matter of vital and immediate interest, involving questions of peace and war, of commerce or no commerce, of freedom or slavery for peaceful travellers and pastoral tribes within the Russian territory; that the present condition of the Turcoman tribes was a curse to their neighbours on every side, whilst they kept large provinces of Persia and Afganistan, as well as Turkestan, in a state of permanent desolation and savagedom; that we could not possibly, in reason, expect Russia to tolerate such a state of things by postponing an advance which no more necessarily threatened the peace of India than our advance from Delhi to Lahore, or from Lahore to Peshawar threatened Asiatic Russia; that we might have urged equally valid objections to every step which the Russian Government had taken southwards or eastwards, from Orenburg during the past century, and that Russia must claim the sole right of judging when and how to act in matters which directly and vitally concern her interests and dignity, and which she could not, unless admitting ulterior and unfriendly designs of her own on India, regard as in any way affecting us. If, in short, Russia declared her intention of regarding our threat as utterly unreasonable, what could or ought we to do? Of course the English Ministry would be reminded by irresponsible advisers on all sides, in the Press and in Parliament, how Chatham and Cromwell and Queen Elizabeth acted, when they wished to restrain a foreign Government from any step which they deemed inimical to English interests. But sober-minded Englishmen would probably remember that the great statesmen and sovereigns of our best days were not wont in their most unbending moods, to utter threats which they were not prepared to enforce, nor to enforce any which were not worth fighting for; and that we should find some difficulty in making it very clear to ourselves, or to any one else, that to stop Russia in routing out such a nest of robbers and savages as the Turcomans was justifiable on any ground of self-interest or of higher motive. What has been said of making a Russian advance on Merv a *casus belli* is

equally true of any Russian advance in any other direction, at least till the frontier of Afganistan is reached, when our interest in the matter, and right to remonstrate with an invader, stand on a different footing, to which we shall refer hereafter.

But in any case, whenever the question comes to so grave an issue as peace or war between England and Russia, Englishmen, at least, could hardly avoid asking themselves what is it that impels Russia to advance her frontier southwards in Asia? It is easy to assign a variety of motives, all more or less connected with a desire to obtain the empire of India. No one can doubt the attraction which such a prospect must offer to any assemblage of northern nations which saw such a prize within possible reach, however distant. But the more the question is studied, the less will any reasonable man be able to convince himself, that lust of Indian empire alone could induce the rulers of so vast and ill-consolidated an empire as Russia to embark on an enterprise so full of hazard to her older possessions; and he will probably arrive ultimately at the conclusion that the impulse, which drives the Russian frontier southwards and eastwards in Asia, is very much the same as that which impelled ourselves from Calcutta to Peshawar, and has finally made us masters of the whole Peninsula. Ambition and love of empire doubtless had their share in impelling us; but they could not have carried us on in our career of conquest so far or so fast, had we not been a strong, united, aggressive, and growing power, full of life and energy, more trusted and worthy of trust than the great native Governments. Such being our character, we everywhere came in contact with States so effete, disunited, and demoralised, that whatever power they possessed was paralysed: few of them had any inherent vigour and capacity for resistance, still less for growth; and they who possessed some vitality were as ready as their weaker fellows to join the Western invader, in any enterprise for enriching themselves at the expense of their neighbours. Save in Rajpootana few of the great dynasties ruled over national governments. The great rulers were rarely men of the same race as their subjects; many of them were foreigners, and very recent conquerors, with little hold over the affections or traditional loyalty of their subjects, beyond that they were genuine Orientals of some kind, less widely separated from their subjects than Western conquerors could be. But in few other respects did our rule contrast unfavourably with the dynasties we replaced, and the first impression made on subjects who had long

since become callous to changes of dynasty, was usually one of intense relief from oppression and misrule. Under such circumstances State after State invariably gave way and crumbled before us. The few which retained some power of resistance were for the most part governed by men so shortsighted or so faithless, that in a few years they gave us some fair cause for quarrel, and were worsted in fight, paying the penalty of defeat in loss of independence. There were doubtless, in many cases, wars of ambition and lust of conquest; many annexations of territory, of which posterity will find scant justification save on the plea that might makes right, and that it is always difficult, sometimes impossible, to restore, after complete overthrow, a government which was in no sense national, and had no ties of kindred or sympathy of race with the people under its sway. But, as a rule, we had generally a fair case to state for ourselves; and, as so stated to our own people at home, there was rarely much difficulty in obtaining the national ratification of Indian conquest. Sometimes the verdict of the public at home was little more than acceptance of what was inevitable and past recall; but even in the cases where the abstract equity of the war seemed most doubtful, there was always a halo of genuine heroic patriotism and self-devotion round the actors, which compensated for much doubtful observance of international law in the eyes of a people like the English, who are fairly desirous of dealing justly by their neighbours, but who love in their inmost hearts nothing more than an uphill fight, and are too apt to forget the rights of the quarrel if the smaller force win by steady fighting and undaunted pluck.

But whether the home authorities and public approved or disapproved, the conquerors of India never stopped in their career of conquest from consideration of home policy, or in obedience to orders from London. Some of our greatest acquisitions were made, in our own generation, by men who came out from England sincerely determined to avoid extension of boundary. But the course of conquest never was stayed till we got to the mountain barriers which surround India everywhere on the landward side. Conquest went on, in spite of the most incessant and positive orders from home, and even in spite of the most sincere wish on the part of men at the head of affairs in India to obey those orders.

If this is no unfair picture of the course of our own conquests in India, it is not easy to see in what essentials it differs from what has been the course of Russian advances in

Central Asia. There is, indeed, one essential point of difference; for instead of public opinion in Russia being, as in England, strongly and sincerely pronounced against further extension of territory on distant frontiers, a vast majority of Russians are inclined to applaud every extension of the Czar's dominion, without much reference to the intrinsic value of the acquisition. There are, indeed, two parties among those who aim at influencing the policy of the empire. Neither of them objects on any moral ground to extensions of empire. It is the destiny and duty of Russia to conquer and command, to diffuse the blessings of the Imperial Government as far and as fast as the ability given by God permits, and to bring all infidel nations to the faith of Holy Russia; and no conquest of Turk or Tartar can be wrong as long as it results in their annexation to the Russian empire. Such is the creed of nine-tenths of those who admit any moral or religious element into their political calculations; and, in Russia as elsewhere such men are, in proportion to their numbers, the most powerful party in the State. It is on grounds of expediency, alone that there is any division of opinion. The smaller party, including, it is said, the Emperor himself, some of the best and ablest financiers and most enlightened politicians, and even the most enlightened soldiers, is strongly opposed to any present extension of territory in Central Asia. They consider that it must entail financial embarrassment, without any but a most distant prospect of repayment; that it must weaken the empire, which needs consolidation rather than extension, and expose it to the risk of military disaster in the event of any combination of European Powers to attack Russia whilst engaged in serious hostilities in Central Asia. But though strong in reason and argument, this party is numerically weak.

The party of aggression, on the other hand, embraces a large and influential majority of the military and ultra-national politicians, especially those who, unhampered by official responsibility, look to ultimate conquests in India without any necessity for counting the cost; it includes most of the Russianised Germans, often more Russian than the Russians, and large numbers of the mercantile class, who are generally strong protectionists, and who see in the extension of the empire access and subsequent monopoly in many markets now closed to them by English competitors. This party is also strong in popular sympathy, and is on the whole by far the more powerful.

If we English, with our strong political

discipline—with the earnest desire of Viceroy and frontier officials to obey orders, and with a still more earnest desire on the part of the nation at large to avoid conquest—if we, so favourably situated for abstention from aggressive warfare, found circumstances too strong for us, and were unwillingly forced on from the sea to the Himalayas, what chance has the Russian Government, or that party in it which dreads further conquest, of resisting the pressure similar in kind, but much greater in degree, which forces them to break up and annex the savage hordes intervening between them and India? Great as is the power of the Czar, and rigid as is the discipline he enforces, it may reasonably be doubted whether he is better obeyed on the banks of the Oxus than our Government is on the banks of the Indus; and our home authorities probably learn at least as much of the truth of frontier affairs as the Imperial Government does on their side. We need not, therefore, wonder if the Czar has not succeeded better than we ourselves did in old times in enforcing on his frontier officials a policy of rigid abstention from extension of territory.

How the annexation of frontier neighbours and extension of frontier comes about, needs no detailed description. We have had innumerable instances in India up to a few years ago, and the history may be read more or less daily by any one who studies the proceedings of the Russians on the Turkestan frontier. The civilised power,—be it Russian or English—naturally and unavoidably puts its best men on the frontier, in contact with the uncivilised neighbour. If the frontier commander is ambitious, his uncivilised neighbours give him constant and apparently justifiable cause for hostilities, which in the end must of necessity lead to the victorious advance of the stronger and more civilised power. If the frontier commander is conscientious or unambitious, and strives heartily to obey the orders of moderation received from St. Petersburg, the uncivilised neighbour gravitates to the stronger power by a process less violent than in the former case, but even more certain—the savage despot fades and shrivels, and changes either into a Russianised soldier noble, or into a titular princeling, who trembles at the frown of a Russian frontier commandant. In any case, when by any means forcible or gradual the half-savage ‘Humpty Dumpty’ gets his fall, ‘all the King’s horses and all the King’s men’ are utterly unable to set him up again. There is life and power of recovery, after the most damaging defeat and disaster, in the most mismanaged branch of civilised power. There is nothing but

death and decay in the uncivilised—the limb lopped off never reunites—the slightest wound is apt to be mortal. The civilised power is insensibly and by internal vigour urged to grow and aggress. The uncivilised has no inherent life, no natural force of resistance, unless by giving up antiquated arms and indiscipline, and adopting the powerful weapons and military array of the civilised nation. But these are of no avail; in fact they cannot exist, unless with his old armour the barbarian abandons his barbarous habits, his impolitic finance, his tyrannous internal administration—unless, in a word, he too enters the ranks of civilised nations. But such lessons are not learned in a day, and before they can be learned the weaker power succumbs to the stronger, the lesser is absorbed by the greater, and the barbarous kingdom or khanate ceases to be more than a frontier province of the great civilised European Power. This is as true of Russia in the present generation as it was of England in the past; and whilst Russia is a civilised living and growing power, the will even of the all-powerful Czar and the instructions of his ablest councillors will be equally impotent to stop her career and growth amongst the less civilised nations of Central Asia.

But the Russians have one source of impulse which moves them more powerfully than it does any other European nation, though we too feel something of it. This is the religious crusading element. It visibly affects the policy of nations like France and Germany, but it cannot be said to be in either a popular element of political action. Among ourselves this kind of impulse at times strongly moves the great mass of our people; but it is, as a rule, studiously discouraged, and generally mistrusted by our professed politicians of both great parties. There is a decided missionary impulse in many classes of the community, sufficiently strong to ensure outwardly respectful treatment even from those who do not share it among the governing classes; but it is by no means a fashionable and hardly even a popular impulse, as moulding our foreign policy. Most Englishmen have a genuine feeling of toleration for any belief which does not affect parish or county affairs, or elections. Even amongst the least reflecting, this feeling is not the result of indifference so much as of an innate love of independence and fair play, and a real desire that other people should be as free from tyrannical control in such matters as ourselves. ‘Every man has a right to his own religion.’ ‘Every man is the best judge of what religion suits him best.’ These are the popular axioms of most

Englishmen on the subject. Among the more educated classes, there is little of bitter hostility to other than Christian creeds. Even divines, of the broader and more fashionable type, are apt to seek relief from repetition of Biblical illustrations by borrowing from the moral teachings of Hindoos and Buddhists, to an extent which says more for their reading, than their knowledge of the practical results of the religions thus laid under contribution. As for Mahomedanism the Turks are its popular exemplar. That 'the real Turk is always a gentleman' is an accepted fact; especially among the classes, members of which occasionally see him at home in his own country. He is the 'traditional friend of the English nation,' and always pays his debts when he raises a fresh loan. Altogether, apart from his polygamous habits, there is little alteration needed to make him 'a much better fellow than most foreigners.' In a mild way, religious English people will subscribe to societies for the voluntary conversion of the Turk; but as for a war on genuine crusading principles, to turn him out of Europe or Syria, it would meet with infinitely less sympathy than a war to secure him free toleration of his own religion in his ancient conquests.

But it is quite otherwise in Russia. There, whatever of national feeling, or of real loyalty to the throne exists, is inseparably bound up with religion; and whatever is religious is actively propagandist and hostile to non-Christian Powers. To a modern religious Russian, the prospect of a war with a Mahomedan or idolatrous prince has the same aspect and excites the same feelings as a crusade did among religious Englishmen in the Middle Ages. Every feeling of patriotism and loyalty, as well as of religion, is enlisted in the contest. This is one of the great Russian political forces, of which we either habitually ignore the existence, or take less account than it deserves. It is, in many ways, a source of strength to Russia far beyond her own borders. Take, for instance, the religious feeling which animates the declared purpose of Russia to spare no pains to put down slavery; wherever Russian influence extends, such slavery as is prevalent among Turcomans and throughout Central Asia. There can be no doubt that a feeling that it was a part of their mission to abolish slavery, gave elevation and religious fervour to many a soldier engaged in the expeditions to Khiva, and reconciled many a simple Russian taxpayer to the imposts necessary to carry on so holy a war. But its influence went much further. Many a pious and intelligent Englishman or American who had little sympathy with wars of mere con-

quest, wished the Czar 'God speed' in an enterprise, of which the philanthropic motives were at least as apparent as the political advantages; and men old enough to remember hearing what Stoddard and Conolly suffered, without any effort on the part of England to relieve or avenge them, felt that the Russians had good reason to be proud of a Ruler who directed the national energies to so worthy an object as the extirpation of the horde of barbarians at whose hands our countrymen suffered so cruel a death.

This may give us some faint idea of the sense of national credit, of national duty bravely performed, and the strong impulse to do more, which patriotic and loyal Russians must feel when they think over what their Czar is doing in Central Asia. The work may not be very perfect, but Russian national feeling regarding it reckons for much in weighing political forces, as compared with the half-hearted shilly-shally of ordinary English proceedings in such questions, when we have no Treaty or Act of Parliament to guide us.

But perhaps the most potent motive which actuates the non-military classes of Russians in desiring enlargement of empire in Asia, is a wish for commercial extension. This makes Asiatic military expeditions generally as popular among the moneyed and commercial as among the military classes, and reconciles them to burdens of growing empire which might otherwise cause discontent. Two generations ago Lord Malmesbury reported that the jealousy of England, which he found so rife at Berlin and St. Petersburg in the days of the Empress Catherine, was commercial, not political, and so it is to a great extent now. With very rare exceptions, the Russian commercial and manufacturing classes are stout protectionists, and believe their interests opposed to ours in Asia. The line of almost prohibitive delays and import duties, protecting Russian manufactures, moves forward with the conquering columns, and sometimes in advance of them; every fresh annexation of territory is a new market, which is supposed to be secured exclusively to Russian industry. It is true that Russian packages and trademarks often cover the products of British, as well as Russian, looms and workshops, and that the smugglers created by a prohibitory tariff along a vast line of frontier have no feeling of patriotism; but the suspicion, that the laws intended to protect the native artisan, enrich chiefly the foreigner and the contrabandist, does not lessen the bitter feeling of the Russian producer against his commercial rivals, nor abate his interest in the distant conquests of the Czar which, it is

hoped, are to shut out the foreigner, and secure the exclusive rights of a valuable trade to the Emperor's own subjects.

Again, every class which has anything to say to the foreign policy of Russia feels the one great want which since the days of Peter the Great has cramped the energies of the empire—the want of an ocean base on an unfrozen sea. It is this which urged on the great Czar and his successors to ceaseless efforts to secure a footing in the North Sea. This forms the substantial charm of Stamboul, more alluring as the key of the Bosphorus and Mediterranean, than as the traditional seat of empire. This attracts Russian enterprise and ambition to the shores of China and Corea, at the distance of half the globe from the capital, and this, no doubt, as much as the riches of India, attracts the attention of Russian soldiers, diplomatists, and commercial men to the seas of Persia and Arabia. In any of these directions, a good port, on the open ocean, not liable to be closed in winter, would be something more than a fresh outlet, a sea base, or the root of a great naval power. It would be a point whence the consolidating forces applied to a too extended empire could act efficiently; like the holding ground of an anchor, or the point of attachment of a constricting muscle.

Thus impelled by a variety of forces, many of them of a kind which in other countries indispose the nation to extension, Russia *must* go on in her career of Asiatic conquest, whether her Government wishes it or not, till something stops her; and it is difficult to see what obstacle can check her till she encounters some almost impassable barrier, such as we, in India, have found in the Himalayas, or some political barrier—a frontier which she cannot pass without coming into collision with an equally powerful nation on the other side—and that nation must be as civilized as Russia herself—able and willing to give her honest hearing and reasonable redress in all frontier discussions, and able to require equal justice from her.

It is obvious that neither China nor Turkestan, Afghanistan nor Persia, standing alone, fulfil all these conditions. No one of them, nor all combined, could successfully oppose Russia in the field. None are likely to abstain long from some act, which would give plausible excuse for war to a strong military power prompt to take up any challenge; and all are liable to chronic visitations of internal strife and weakness, which almost invite aggression from any neighbouring Power.

Not long ago it was proposed to raise a

barrier to future Russian advance in the direction of India, by establishing a 'neutral zone,' comprising the dominions of the Ruler of Afghanistan and some of his neighbours, forming an intermediate independent territory into which neither England nor Russia were to trespass, and this project was said to have found favour with some leading diplomatists in both countries.

But a very little reflection would show that such a barrier, if comprising the territory of unsettled or ill-governed States like Afghanistan, between two great civilised Powers like England and Russia, must be wholly ineffectual and worse than useless, as a check to either of its neighbours who wished to aggress. The uncivilised or unsettled power must, by the nature of things, occasionally act in a way which gives to its civilised neighbour—if aggressively inclined—plausible ground for advance; or, if the civilised power is sufficiently strong and determined to abstain from advance, the weaker and less civilised power must gravitate towards the stronger body, and become in time an integral part of it, without formal aggression or annexation. Any way, the so-called 'neutral zone' must disappear. Till it disappears, its neutrality will be respected or ignored, according to the inclination or interest of the great Powers on either side. If one be advancing and aggressive, whilst the other is passive, the neutral zone must gradually yield to the aggressive power; and this is at the present moment the condition of the region which it was proposed to neutralise.

For similar reasons it will be no check to Russian advance for Russia to find herself on the frontier of an uncivilised power under the influence or protection of England, unless the relations of all parties are so well ascertained and defined that we can use our influence to direct our less civilised protégé in all its relations with its neighbour. We must be prepared not only to support the protected state when right, but to enforce its making satisfaction when wrong, otherwise we shall not close the opening for interference by Russia, the civilised Power on the other side, because we can offer no effectual guarantee that our uncivilised neighbour will not repeat the provocation; and therefore can raise no valid objection to Russia on the opposite border exacting efficient guarantees for her own security.

For a Protectorate it is necessary that the protected state should be willing to be guided by the advice of its protector in all matters of foreign policy. It is clear, from what little we know of the present state of affairs in Afghanistan, that our present posi-

tion there is not favourable either to an alliance on equal terms, or to a simple protectorate.

Is there, then, no alternative but to sit with folded hands, and watch the gradual but certain approach of Russia, till her agents appear on the frontier towns on the Indus ?

Before attempting to answer this question, let us glance back for a moment at the character of the danger to be guarded against.

A very few years ago, many men who had the means of correctly appreciating the probable results of Russian approximation towards India, and all the less reflecting portion of the public, were glad to believe the optimistic assurances of those authorities who maintained that there was no danger to be apprehended from the Russian advance.

'The difficulties in the way of advance were too great to make the danger one which practical men need regard. Our position in India was too assured to be assailed with any chance of other result than disaster to the assailant.'

But, as already noticed, the experience of the last few years has shown the essential unsoundness of this view ; the difficulties supposed to exist in the impregnable barbarism of Khiva and Bokhara, and in the desolation of the Turkestan Steppes, have disappeared before the steady advance of the Russians. If Merv is not a Russian garrison, if her outposts are not entrenched on the Attreck, it is simply because Russia believes such occupation would bring matters to an undesirable crisis with England, and not from any strategical difficulty in the necessary movements on the part of Russia. Both positions can be easily occupied whenever the Czar wills it, and the Russian outposts will then be continuous with the Afghan and Persian frontiers. Russia will then be in the position which, ten years ago, it was said by so many well-informed persons she could never possibly attain during the present generation.

The natural consequences of recent Russian proceedings have been considerable excitement in the native population of many parts of India, and a very decided panic among our own countrymen. The panic is by no means least marked in those quarters where the policy of 'masterly inactivity' had a few years ago the warmest supporters.

The present position of affairs is certainly worthy the gravest consideration of English and Indian statesmen ; but there is some risk of its character being considerably misapprehended ; and it may be well, in the

first instance, to consider what is the real nature and extent of danger to our empire in India from Russian advance.

People talk of a Russian invasion of India. If this means an expedition, like the expeditions to Khiva and Bokhara, formally prepared by the Russian Government with Russian forces, and marching from the Russian frontier to attack British India, the danger may be taken as somewhat remote. It would not be by any means a difficult task for a Russian general regardless of everything but success in the expedition before him. He might easily secure the temporary neutrality of the rulers through whose states he would have to pass, because he might rely on the active co-operation of the great mass of their troublesome and well-armed subjects. The war-cry of 'Death to the idolaters and infidels,' the promise of pay from the plunder of Lahore and Delhi, would suffice to carry the whole armed and able-bodied native male population along with the invader, obedient to any leaders he might appoint to direct their march on Hindostan.

But no Russian statesman in his senses, with any regard for the position of the Russian Empire in Europe, would, as matters now stand, dream of sanctioning such a movement. Russia has neither the money, the men, nor the organization necessary to make such an invasion more permanent than the plundering inroad of Nadir Shah in the last century, as long as the defence of India is in the hands of a great European naval power like the British, able to worry Russia in the Baltic and Black Seas, and capable of harassing the Russian advance along the whole line from the Caucasus to the Indus. Many British officers could at this moment be named who, once free from the trammels of incessant instructions from home, might be trusted to stop such an expedition, or, at any rate, cut it off from its Russian base, without moving a single British regiment. Some command of money to pay levies raised in the countries invaded, and a few good subordinate young officers to lead and direct such levies, would go far in harassing the flanks, and cutting off the communications of the invading force. Any check might turn the arms of the Turcoman or Afghan auxiliaries on their Russian allies, and send them back to their native steppes or mountains well content with the plunder they had got from the Muscovite, without the trouble of facing the British-Indian forces in the burning plains of Hindostan.

It may be doubted whether any but a first-class naval power, with a fleet prepared for distant aggressive warfare, could, single

handed, attempt with any chance of success to wrest from England the empire of India. Combinations may be imagined, which might supply such a requisite for successful invasion; but such combinations are only possible during a general European war, or with the certainty of involving all the great European Powers in such a war; and, whatever the result to England or India, it may safely be predicted that Russia would, in such a contest, risk the results of ages of diplomacy and warfare in Europe—would cease, in fact, to be a great European Power.

We in England know something of the cost and burden of Indian Empire. It is not the first conquest which is difficult, nor the problem of ruling the generation of men, who have experienced what native rule meant in such anarchical times as the last century. The trial comes a generation or two later. We cannot settle in the country and become Indianised, as Moguls and Tartars did, without losing the ties which bind the Indian Empire to Europe. India is too large, and the nations comprising it too numerous, too varied, and too strong to be subjected to a perfectly selfish colonial system like that under which Java is made so profitable a possession to Holland. Sound policy concurs with our national instincts and inclinations in endeavouring to give to our distant conquests as good a government as we have at home. But to protect life and property, to develop and improve long-neglected provinces, to give equal and just laws to a population of 200 millions of men, of divers religions, nations, and languages, is no easy task. The demand it makes on the best of the national mind and muscle is felt to be heavier than any mere money-tribute could represent. Every now and then, at those seasons of national depression which occasionally visit us, faint-hearted prophets are to be heard preaching that we should be better and happier without any Indian Empire at all.

Such doctrine, however, does not find many disciples among us. We manage, on the whole, to bear our load bravely, and often feel a little pardonable pride in the ease with which we walk under it. But we never fail to be sensible that it is a burden, however honourable, however well-adjusted and stoutly borne. Sometimes we feel that, at a pinch, our whole strength may have to be put forth, to enable us to carry it worthily. Possibly, if set before us for the first time, with the option of declining it, we should think twice before putting our shoulders to the task.

Yet we have many facilities for undertak-

ing such an enterprise which are scantily enjoyed by other nations.

The most gloomy of military pessimists, when deploring the difficulties of recruiting, never supposes for a moment that the necessity of keeping up our English army in India detracts from our aggregate military strength as a nation. It is not from military critics that any suggestion ever comes to throw India overboard. Our naval resources enable us to send annually ten or, if need were, twenty thousand of our soldiers backwards or forwards from India in a few weeks, with less expenditure of life or health than if they were in quarters at Aldershot. Our annual earnings and savings in a thousand different forms of industry furnish the sinews of war in abundance, and the means of executing all sorts of public works, whether military or industrial; and, in the latter case, of making the outlay at the same time a good commercial investment.

We have no lack of skilled mechanics or engineers, and we have an abundant supply of educated trustworthy agency for every branch of administration. Our great middle-class, whence most of our official civil and military are drawn, is sufficiently linked with an old and proud aristocracy to share many of the advantages incidental to birth, wealth, and social position, whilst trained from youth to look on work of some kind as a necessity of existence, and work such as abounds in India as the most desirable of any. Above all, notwithstanding our party divisions and jars of rival classes, as well as provinces, we are, on the whole, an eminently united people. In any common national danger, the number of those who could think with complacency of any national disaster or disgrace would be found infinitesimally small.

Contrast with all this the difficulties which Russia would have to encounter to garrison India, supposing all the obstacles to conquest were overcome. Vast as are her armies, the numbers needed would be no inconsiderable addition to those who must be kept to garrison the Baltic and Black Sea provinces and Circassia. To recruit and relieve a Russo-Indian army, even in peace, and with the utmost conceivable facilities from railways, would, in so long a land journey, cause a great expenditure of life and health, whilst the drain of money, of skilled workmen, and, above all, of trustworthy officials, would starve European Russia in the three most essential elements of her present development and prosperity. Probably at no time since Russia was an empire has the general progress of the nation been so rapid as during the past twenty

years. But the improvement has been attended with an amount of fermentation, which renders continued peace for some years to come almost essential to avoid revolutionary changes in all the great elements of society. If something has been done to weld together discordant nationalities, and to heal old divisions, fresh causes for anxiety are to be found in the altered positions of the aristocracy, of the peasantry, and of the educated classes; in the rapid growth within the empire of new ideas not always favourable to stability; and in the equally rapid growth, outside her western border, of great Powers, where Russia was, till lately, the umpire Colossus. We may fervently hope, in the interests of civilisation and human progress, that all the diverse, and sometimes conflicting, agencies which have worked these changes within the empire may combine to form a united people, such as may hold its own on the Polish and German frontiers, maintain its influence on the Danube, and in the Caucasus, and continue to be a Power respected and courted in Vienna, Berlin, Paris, London, and Washington, as well as on the banks of the Volga and Amour. But the more the subject is considered, the clearer will be the assurance of any impartial observer, that nothing worse for the European influence of Russia, nothing more injurious to her growth and progress as a nation could possibly be devised, than schemes of conquest in Southern Asia.

It may be admitted, then, that such a Russian invasion of India as we are now considering is so full of risk to the invaders that every credit may be given to the sincerity of Russian statesmen and far-seeing soldiers, when they disclaim any idea of such designs, at least during their own generation.

But the danger to be apprehended is not of this kind; it may be described as two-fold.

First, there is the danger which Dost Mahomed so well described to Burnes as like that you apprehend when you see a stranger looking over your garden-wall. He may be on his own side of the fence, and he may make no apparent attempt to climb over; but you are uneasy, because you know he is there for no good; you do your best to dislodge him, and do not rest till you have made him retire and leave you in unwatched possession of your own property.

If we suppose Afghanistan no further Russianised than that Russian travellers freely move about the country; that Russians not necessarily in the pay of the Russian Government, but deserters possibly, or outlaws from Russia, drill the Amir's troops,

cast his cannon, coin his rupees, prescribe for his sick, do, in fact, all those civilised offices which wanderers from Europe have done in every Asiatic Court from Kublai Khan's time down to our own, what would be the effect in India? No man in his senses, who knows anything of Indian or general history, can doubt that the effect now, and for many years to come, must be to disquiet everyone in India except that great majority of the cultivators who, if not over-assessed, will go on cultivating, without talking politics, until the crack of doom. Every Englishman, from the Governor-General downwards, will be disquieted, feeling that a great foreign Power has almost as much to say to the proceedings of the disaffected and troublesome classes as the English Government and its officials. Every native prince and chief, small or great, will see in Russia a possible and proximate alternative claimant for empire in India. All the disaffected dangerous criminal classes will be on the *qui vive*, ready to stir at the slightest symptom of local disturbance. All the millions, who have still the old martial spirit left, in Oude, and the Punjab, in the Mahratta country and Central India, will furbish any old weapons they can find, and believe that another era of fighting and spirit-stirring contest for plunder and renown is again at hand. All these elements may be stirred into activity any moment by a Russian proclamation issued at Cabul, or even by a false report of one; for it is not necessary that the report should be true, to set most of these restless elements in motion.

Now this danger, to be reasonably and certainly apprehended from a Russian agent established in Afghanistan, and Russian subjects quietly permeating the country, is a danger never many weeks removed from the present time. No doubt the good feeling and loyalty of the existing Government in Russia would prevent their taking any steps towards it if we seriously remonstrated with them. But we must recollect that the more material steps in such action may be taken at any moment by a daring Russian frontier official, who chooses to run the risk of a formal disavowal and recall; and that, once taken, the step might be truly said to be irrevocable.

If the Amir of Cabul invites a Russian official to discuss their frontier difficulties, if he affords friendly protection to Russian travellers, in what form could we put our complaint, and what could we say in answer to the obvious Russian reply to our remonstrances, that 'The Russian frontier being now conterminous with Afghanistan, it is absolutely necessary, in order to avoid dis-

putes and complications, that Russia should have a trusty accredited agent at the Amir's right hand. Russia sees no other way of avoiding grounds for continual discussion and possible offence, of enabling her to observe the moral obligations of good neighbourhood to the Amir, and his friends the British Government of India?'

Once driven or led by an over-zealous subordinate into such a position, it would not be easy for the Russian Government to recede. The difficulty would be increased with every day of delay spent in diplomatic negotiations, and if the Russians remained immovable, what is our next step? We should, of course, hear popular demands for fleets to the Baltic and Black Sea; but large numbers of our own English people would hesitate to declare war on Russia merely because the Russians had obtained from our semi-civilised ally an amount of friendly protection for their representatives and subjects, which we have been unable to obtain for ours. Many very patriotic English people, who do not in the least undervalue our Empire in India, would be apt to ask, 'Why should we declare war against Russia because blundering Indian politicians have left us in a worse position at Cabul than the Russians? Why are not we as much feared and respected and courted there as the Russians, who have less real identity of interest with the Afgan Government than we have?'

This, there can be little doubt, would be the state of affairs if a Russian agent were established either formally or informally in Afganistan, and if openly friendly relations prevailed between Russians and Afgans whilst there was peace in Europe.

But in the second place the position would be far worse if there were a great war in Europe, even if we were not engaged in it; and who can tell how far we may be from a position—either as parties, neutrals, or arbiters in such a war—when anxious Continental politicians might think that the prospect of such an alternative as a great war on our Indian frontier might induce us to do or forbear some act in Europe, and thus to justify pressure put upon us in the East?

We have only to reckon up the discussions which have occupied our diplomatists during the last ten years regarding Denmark, Spain, Luxembourg, Switzerland, and Italy, discussions in which we were not directly interested, but in which the part we took was of more or less interest to the great Powers concerned, and we shall then be able to estimate how important it may be to Russia to give us a strong additional motive to support her actively, or to neutralise our voice against her. A totally false report got up

by our enemies, and subsequently proved to our satisfaction to be groundless, that the Russian agent in Cabul was urging the Amir to prepare for war, might cause very serious results in India. And this, be it remembered, might occur without our having any real breach with Russia, or any good reasons in Europe for mistrusting her.

But the case would be far more serious if matters went a little further. We are not more loved by restless spirits in Central Asia than in Europe, and they who know those countries best see least difficulty in impelling upon us, in India, hordes of Asiatic barbarians more or less disciplined by renegade European and Indian soldiers, drilled perhaps in our own Indian army, and followed by a vast train of undisciplined marauders, such as accompanied Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah almost within living memory. When people talk of the difficulties of such a move, of want of commissariat, &c., they speak in entire ignorance of the mode in which an Asiatic marauder, or even the regularly paid soldier of an Asiatic power habitually travels; the sole difficulty is want of money to buy food and secure the pack-cattle needed to carry the food which cannot be stored in the horseman's saddle-bags or the foot-soldier's wallet. Assured of this for the number of marches necessary to reach a cultivated food-producing district, the Asiatic invader habitually trusts to war supporting itself. His people live on the country till it is exhausted, and unless he intends permanently to occupy and tax the country, no mode of supporting his men more refined than allowing them to supply themselves when and how they can from the people of the country, ever enters his head. Of course such a force would be met as soon as it appeared in India, and we may reasonably hope would be speedily annihilated, but what would take place meantime? What expense would be incurred in repelling the invasion? How many outbreaks would occur in India itself, and who can tell what would happen when once the rolling stone is put in motion? All this might come to pass without Russia committing herself in the least or being in any way actively unfriendly. Indeed an assurance of real Russian neutrality might do much to favour such a move; for among the doubts which continually perplex the Afgan mind a suspicion that Russia and England are in concert, and intend to divide the Afgan valleys between them is never far distant, and a thorough assurance that Russia was simply sulky with England, and would not be displeased to see her troubled in India, would remove one strong motive which keeps the Afgan

quiet, between his two gigantic neighbours, and makes him hesitate to give either of them serious offence.

We are always sure of having in the Russian councils an influential party sincerely opposed to any attempt to favour such inroads on India; but we are also sure of finding an opposite party, at least as large if not as influential, intent on Russian extension, regardless of consequences, and capable of doing much mischief before any effectual check can be applied.

The recent explosion of Russian ill-humour, because we would not join in the proposed renewal of the Brussels Conferences at St. Petersburg, illustrates the ease with which our north-western neighbours in India might be persuaded that the Russian Government were not disposed actively to interfere, in order to prevent a little humiliation of British arrogance in India.

Briefly, it may be said, that the establishment of recognised Russian agents, and the toleration of Russian travellers and traders in Afghanistan, while our agents and travellers are systematically excluded, means war establishments instead of peace establishments on our north-western Indian frontier.

What, then, is the barrier proposed to protect India against the necessity for a large immediate increase to our present heavy military estimates?

Before attempting to answer this question, let us consider the essential difference of British and Russian policy, using the word less in the sense of a design for political action, which may be changed from time to time, than as the result of national instincts and tendencies, and the expression of national interests which are less variable. Used in this sense, Russian policy in Asia has long been and is, as we all see still, positive, active, aggressive. Whatever the professions or wishes of Russian statesmen, the exigencies of her frontier position, render it impossible for her to stand still unless she meets some physical or political obstacle, such as certainly does not exist at this moment, between her frontier and ours. The question, when the two frontiers will be conterminous, is, as far as Russia is concerned, simply one of more or less time.

Our policy, on the other hand, is purely defensive and stationary, and by the nature of our position it must so continue, unless we are inclined to enter the lists as rivals to Russia, and embark on indefinite schemes of further Asiatic conquest. For this the British nation is clearly not prepared; nor likely to be prepared if it has due warning, is aware of the consequences, and knows that, once on the move, we may not find it

easy to stop, nor to fix our own limits to our conquests.

But our policy hitherto has been not only stationary and nominally, though imperfectly, defensive. It has been also purely negative. We are ready enough to say what we will *not* do, but all efforts of our Asiatic allies have hitherto failed to elicit from us any declaration of what we *will* do, under any given combination of circumstances.

This feature in our policy will at once explain to anyone who knows mankind, but especially to one who knows Orientals, the inherent weakness of our policy as compared with that of the Russians. We, every day, find in Europe that negatives do not satisfy any of the smaller Powers who can possibly need a good word or friendly act from us. How, then, can they satisfy the Shah, the Amir, or any other Oriental who understands and may trust a positive promise, but who can neither understand nor trust a vague assertion that, 'when the time comes and the event happens, we will think seriously about it;' and who cannot estimate, as a European diplomatist can, what, from a variety of motives, we may do in the event of a weak European Power being threatened by a strong one? If it is once understood that nothing will move us till the Russians appear on our frontier, we shall certainly hasten that event by a great many years.

But a defensive policy is not necessarily inactive, nor merely stationary, still less is it necessarily weak. On the contrary, a true defensive policy for India seems to require now more than ever, much active exertion in many ways. Our great danger, greater than anything we can fear from foreign aggression, seems to be on our own side, in the Indian belief that we are indifferent to, or afraid of, or connive at, the Russian conquests; in our English insouciance and distaste for the subject. This is certain, sooner or later, to end in a sudden rude awakening to the dangers of our position; and there is always in such cases, especially where the popular will is strong, risk of passionate, ill-considered, violent action, more dangerous to peace than the ambitious designs of despotic autocrats.

What, then, ought to be the character of our present action? One class of advisers is for making an advance upon Merv by Russia a *casus belli*; but, as already pointed out, the proposal will hardly bear examination. We can hardly state an objection to the Russian occupation of Merv, which might not, with almost equal force, have been urged against the expedition to Bokhara, or Khiva, or the extension of frontier

to the Attreck—all are steps towards our Indian frontier. The main importance of Merv to us is that it is a step towards Herat and Cabul; but it is not a necessary step towards either point. To prevent the Russians from occupying Merv, might oblige them to turn it by moving up the Attreck or the Oxus, and thus delay for some time the subjugation of hordes of ruthless robbers and manstealers, whose intervention between Afghanistan and Russia must be a fruitful source of misunderstanding. Till the Turcomans are effectually subdued, Russia will not, more correctly speaking, she *cannot*, stop, for any mere threats or promises of ours.

The Russians are now committed to the occupation of posts on the lower portions of valleys which lead upwards into the heart of the Afghan country. They cannot recede without a loss of character, which, apart from all considerations of policy or ulterior views of conquest, would preclude the consideration of such a step by any great military power, except as the penalty of defeat after an exhausting war. There is no well-defined physical boundary to stop their advance, and they must move onwards till they reach a clearly marked frontier, with the officers of a civilised government on the other side, exercising effective control over the races which front the Russian advance, and able in frank diplomatic communication to give, as well as to demand, explanations, and arrange all international differences.

It is clear that no Afghan-frontier official is likely, unaided and unsupported by European influence, to possess all the qualifications needed either to check the Russian advance, or to enable the Russians themselves to check it, if so inclined.

Dost Mahomed himself, in his best days, could not have secured the services of such a body of men as would be required for such frontier service between Herat and the Pamir; men who could be trusted to intrigue neither against the Amir nor his northern neighbours, to put down plundering, and to give no asylum to criminals, to abstain from oppressing the people or traders, and from giving offence in any of the numberless ways in which frontier feuds are so likely to occur.

All this might doubtless be done by Afghans, supported by British officers or influence. But there is now no British officer, and but little British influence, nearer than the Indus Valley, and the most pressing question just now is—Shall we rest where we now are and await the Russians on the banks of the Indus? or shall we take steps

to meet them on the northern and north-western frontiers of Afghanistan?

The risks of waiting for them on the banks of the Indus have already been pointed out. It may be a few years, it may only be a few weeks, ere we hear of the reception given to a Russian envoy by the Amir of Cabul; but whenever we do hear of such an event, whether the envoy comes to cement friendship or to demand redress, we may bid adieu to peace establishments on the Indus; our military arrangements on that frontier will need to be recast, and will assume proportions which must add sensibly to the item of frontier defence in our future Indian budgets.

In fact, every consideration of sound policy and future economy points to the wisdom of our officers meeting those of the Russian Government on the north-western rather than on the south-eastern frontier of Afghanistan. It would not be difficult to prove that, in this respect, as in many others, the real permanent interests of Russia are identical with our own. But for the present it may suffice us, if we are satisfied that it would be well for British interests to await the advent of the Russians as far westward as possible from the valley of the Indus.

But how is this to be effected without military expeditions, of which no man can foresee the probable end or the possible expense?

One thing only is abundantly clear, that nothing of the kind can be attempted with any chance of success unless we have a much clearer and better understanding than now exists with the Amir of Afghanistan; a better knowledge of the state of affairs in his country, and, we may add, a similar understanding with Russia, and a similar knowledge of what passes on her side of the border.

How this understanding can be brought about, and this knowledge be obtained, seems one of the most important, and not the least difficult, of the problems which can occupy the attention of our English and Indian statesmen.

As regards Afghanistan, much was done by Lord Mayo to place our relations with the Amir on a more satisfactory footing. The frank and generous spirit in which he acted went far to remove from the Amir's mind many a bitter recollection of the past, and to encourage hopes of a better understanding for the future. But such personal impressions cannot be transmitted by succession or bequest even of an autocratic Viceroy; and we may have to wait till Lord Northbrook has had an opportunity, like that presented

to Lord Mayo by the Amballa Conference, of personally impressing on the Amir his sense of the identity of our interests, and his desire to aid the Amir to the utmost in preserving his independence, as a barrier to all encroachment from the north and west.

But events will not wait in Central Asia any more than in other parts of the world; and if any one doubts how rapidly the situation there is changing from month to month, we would advise him carefully to study Sir Henry Rawlinson's volume, with the map spread before him; but especially the last chapter, which deals with 'the later phases of the Central Asian question,' from the Amballa Conference in March, 1869, up to the present time.

Sir Henry is careful to tell us that he appeals only to published documents, and speaks with no official authority; but no one could have written so voluminous a review of transactions so complicated and so imperfectly known to the outside public, unless his vision had been cleared by long official acquaintance with the subject, and habituated to guide the accomplished diplomatist in the half-lights and the obscurities of Oriental intrigue.

Beginning with the events which led to Lord Mayo's memorable interview with the Amir, Sir Henry sketches the discussions which took place at the conference, the divergence of view between the Viceroy and the Amir as to what the latter might reasonably expect from us, and the final result due, in a great measure, to the personal influence and bearing of Lord Mayo, which 'obliterated for the time all remembrance of previous disappointment; so that Shir Ali returned to Cabul, not only satisfied, but deeply impressed, with the interview; and so completely identified with our political interests, that he was immediately suspected by Russia and Persia of aggressive designs in support of them' (p. 298).

At the time, the approval of Lord Mayo's language by the English Cabinet was not very hearty; and then followed what is justly called Lord Clarendon's 'remarkable correspondence' with St. Petersburg on Central Asian affairs, which has lately (1873) been submitted to Parliament. It is clear that the conditions of the situation were very imperfectly appreciated at the time by statesmen in England; and the details incidentally given by Sir Henry Rawlinson of the mistakes and omissions in the geographical and other information on which we relied, show how persistently those officially responsible for the conduct of our relations with Russia and Afghanistan must have ignored the subject since it had engrossed our attention during

the Afghan campaigns thirty years previously.

Fortunately Lord Mayo and the Indian Foreign Office were somewhat better informed. They successfully objected to the project of a 'neutral zone,' laying down the sound maxim that 'we should be responsible to no foreign potentate for any of our dealings with the peoples who inhabit our frontiers' (p. 302). And though their alternative project of a double margin of independent states—one along the Russian, the other along the Anglo-Indian frontier—is justly designated as 'hardly practical,' there can be no doubt that it saved us from pledging ourselves to engagements which would have seriously hampered our free agency on the Indian frontier, without removing any one of the causes which are impelling the Russian Asiatic frontier southward and eastward. It also ultimately led to the definition of the Oxus as the northern boundary of Afghanistan, and to a prolongation of the frontier westward from where the road from Balkh to Bokhara crosses the Oxus to the Persian frontier near Sarakha. This line, when surveyed and better defined, may be of material service in preventing the Afghans from being hereafter involved in any difficulties which their Turcoman neighbours may have to settle with Russia and Persia. In its present ill-defined state it is not only a weak point in the Russian frontier line, but a possible cause of discussion and misunderstanding between the powers on both sides.

Sir Henry Rawlinson's account of our present relations with Afghanistan contains matter for very grave reflection. He describes the process by which 'the Amir of 1873' has become 'a very different individual from the Amir of 1869. His four years of unchallenged rule had relieved him from all apprehension of competitors, and had made him proud and self-reliant; it had also given him an insight into foreign politics, which rendered him not only extravagant in his demands, but stubborn in pressing those demands, and sullen when they were negatived.'

If this is—as we have no reason to doubt—a correct description of the Amir's temper, the change is ominous, especially as we are assured that the Viceroy was 'fully prepared to support Lord Mayo's policy, earnestly desired to strengthen the Afghan alliance, and announced to his envoy at Simla, in 1873, a programme of unexampled liberality.' The details given of the assistance afforded, or promised, fully justify this description; but when Sir Henry observes that, 'if the Amir had been actuated by no other feeling than one of genuine alarm at the ad-

vance of Russia, and a desire to be shielded from danger, it is hardly conceivable but that this implied promise of protection would have satisfied and reassured him; 'we think more weight must be given to the utter invalidity in the eyes of an Afgan, or indeed in the eyes of almost any Oriental, of an *implied* promise. The Amir might trust the good-will of a man whose character he thought he had thoroughly gauged, as he had Lord Mayo's; he might rely on a written promise or treaty, or on any act which he said clearly committed us to support him; but in the absence of all these securities, an *implied* promise, from a man he did not personally know, would carry no weight at all. It would be simply impossible for him to estimate, as the English or Russians might, the measured expressions of so watchful and farsighted a statesman as Lord Derby, when, in his speech in the House of Lords, on May 8th, 1874, he uttered those remarkable words: 'That any interference with the national independence of Afganistan would be regarded by Her Majesty's Government as a very grave matter, requiring their most careful and serious consideration, and one which might involve serious danger to the peace of India. I think, if such an interference occurred, to put the matter mildly, *it is highly probable that this country would interfere.*'

To us these words carry more weight than an ultimatum coming from a less prudent Foreign Minister. But it would seem that nothing of corresponding definiteness to an Afgan comprehension can have been conveyed to an Amir. We are told that the assurances given to his Envoy seem 'to have entirely failed in restoring the Amir's confidence and good feeling towards us. His envoy left Simla disappointed and complaining; and from that time to the present our relations with Cabul have become daily more strained and disagreeable.' Sir Henry enumerates a succession of slights and rebuffs which justify this description, and considers that the recent arrest of the Amir's son Yacub Khan, 'summoned to Cabul under a promise of safe conduct, shows a reckless disregard of our good opinion which augurs most unfavourably for the maintenance of even formal relations of amity. Finally,' he says, 'the British agent at Cabul does not occupy that position of independence and authority to which he is entitled as the representative of the Government of India, being unable, it is believed, either to obtain or to communicate any trustworthy information of a confidential character.'

Assuming this to be an accurate picture of our representative's position at the Capi-

tal, it seems to us to afford a very sufficient explanation of what appears, even to so experienced a diplomatist as our author, the inexplicable conduct of the Amir. Our only representative and channel of communication with the Amir is a native gentleman of Afgan origin, who has indeed given substantial proof, in his past service, of his devotion to the British Government, but who cannot be expected to occupy in any sense the position which ought to be held by an English envoy in Afganistan. We are, in fact, in a somewhat worse position than if we had no representative or envoy at all in the country; and we may cease to wonder that we can neither make out what is really passing in the Amir's mind, nor give him an adequate impression of what is passing in ours. The first requisite towards establishing a more satisfactory position is that we should have, within reach of the Amir, an English officer as envoy who, whilst enjoying the entire confidence of the Viceroy, should be able to secure equal confidence from the ruler to whose Court he would be accredited.

It is seldom that any questions in our Foreign Policy, of equal moment to those now before us, are discussed with such clearness and knowledge of all the facts as in the last seventeen pages of this remarkable volume; where, after describing peculiarities of the Afgan confederacy, its lack of the cohesion of a regular monarchical Government, and its other elements of weakness, the Author points out the probable mode in which Russian pressure will be brought to bear upon Afganistan. We know of no subject more deserving of careful attention in the present somewhat ominous lull of political action abroad as well as at home. It is evident that whenever the need for action arises, as it may any day, unless Sir Henry Rawlinson and all our best authorities on the subject are utterly mistaken, there will be little time for discussion or preparation; and unless the question be looked to in time it may prove one of the utmost gravity in the relation between ourselves and Russia, and we may be hurried far beyond what would now be necessary to make our position one of permanent security.

What then, it may be asked, do we consider the main requisites for a condition of stability and peace on our north-western Indian frontier as permanent as can be reasonably expected in an era and a region of such constant changes?

We should assign the first place to a thoroughly frank and clear understanding with Russia as to the objects and interests of both Governments in Central Asia. It is

clear that the explanations exchanged between Lord Clarendon and Prince Gortchakoff at Heidelberg were much misunderstood on both sides, possibly owing to the subject being one which had not of late years attracted much attention, at all events from our own statesmen. We may admit that much was done by Lord Granville, and, still more, by Lord Derby, to correct any misapprehension. But there appears much reason to suppose that both parties are still in a state of uncertainty as to what the other may or may not wish or intend. Shall we add that the uncertainty sometimes seems to extend to what they themselves desire, and what is really for their own interests?

This uncertainty admits of easy removal by discussion and explanation; but whilst it remains it is, no doubt, an element of possible and dangerous misunderstanding.

Up to what point are the movements of the Russians in Central Asia really free from any disturbing influence on our Indian empire? To what extent and by what measures do we contemplate meeting such disturbance when it occurs? Have we any plan for rendering the occupation of Merv unnecessary to the Russian position in her recent conquests? How do we intend to provide for the independence of Herat so as to prevent its occupation by such a force as would possess the option of threatening an invasion of India at any time?

All these are questions which it would be well to ask ourselves, so as to settle the answers definitely in our own minds. But there seems no reason why we should not, and every reason why we should, frankly discuss them with the Russians, so that we might at least clearly understand one another's views and intentions.

In the second place, having made up our own minds as to the limits at which we would wish the Russian advance should be checked, with regard for our own interests in India, it is of great importance to define those limits by something better than a pencil-line on a map; so that Russians, Persians, and Afghans, as well as ourselves, may know when and where we wish the Russian advance to stop. This may seem a simple matter to any one who does not know the untrustworthy character of the best geographical information we possess regarding those regions, and the difficulty of obtaining better information even relating to the physical features of the country. Such a demarcation of boundary as we require would probably task the energies of some of our ablest engineers and diplomats for more than one season. Nor will our difficulties end when the line is drawn.

Persian vanity and Afghan suspicion will join with the inevitable intrigues and delays of all such inquiries in the East to retard the attainment of a satisfactory settlement. But tedious as the task may be, it is absolutely necessary to learn when and where we ought to put down a foot and say, 'Thus far and no farther,' to any whose restless ambition may lead them to transgress what may be justly termed the external frontier of our Indian interests.

The third requisite for peace seems to us to be that we should understand ourselves, and learn the views of others concerned, relative to the position of those States which will intervene between the Russian frontier and our own in India.

Regarding Persia, we have treaties to guide us; and we apparently are not disposed to imitate Russia in the kind of pressure she puts on Persia with respect to railway concessions, and other matters of internal administration. It may be that our statesmen see no reason why Persia should not become more and more a vassal of Russia; but if it is so, it might be well that our intentions were made a little clearer to ourselves, as well as to our neighbours. At present few things can be considered more irritating and unsettling than the apparent absence of any definite purpose in our dealings with Persia, alternately inclining to hot fits of patronage and protection, and cold fits of neglect and abandonment to ruin. Which course may be the wiser we will not now discuss; but either, if definitely adopted and steadily followed, would entitle us to more respect than is now felt for our policy by those whom it most affects.

With Afghanistan and Beloochistan the case is very different. They bound our Indian Provinces, and holding each of them more than one of the usual gates of access, we cannot, with any regard for our own safety, allow any other European Power to possess an influence superior to our own in those territories. But this by no means implies any consequent interference with the independence or self-government of Afghanistan. It seems impossible that we should any longer permit our relations with the Amir to remain in their present strained and unsatisfactory state, whereby British agents and representatives are excluded from the country as completely as they ever were from Japan or China; and we are left dependent for our information, as to the acts and views of our neighbours, on sources whose fidelity or friendliness is by no means assured.

How better relations can be brought about is a problem which we have no doubt

will in time be solved by Lord Northbrook. Meantime let us point to the two inevitable alternatives indicated in Sir Henry Rawlinson's pages, namely, an expedition to occupy and defend Herat on our own account, or doubled garrisons throughout our Indian frontier.

Let it not be supposed that we advocate interference with the independence of any State beyond our present border. We should be glad to see Afghanistan occupy exactly the same position as an European State, where we claim no more than that our subjects and envoys should be received as friends and good neighbours, but where we should not be inclined to regard our exclusion as compatible with continued peaceful relations. In Europe we have no desire to interfere with the freedom of any State. There are some for whose independence we might ourselves be inclined to make the greatest sacrifices, but there is none from which we should receive with equanimity a message that the ruler would not receive an English Minister, nor permit an English traveller to set foot in the country.

In the fourth place, we would note as essential to a continued good understanding that, in dealing with Russia, we should limit ourselves to full discussion and clear explanation, and be careful lest we bind ourselves by any of those inconvenient conventions or common understandings which we so often find tie our own hands, but leave the other party free to act in any manner which may seem convenient; how narrowly we have sometimes escaped this position is shown in more than one of Sir Henry Rawlinson's chapters.

There is no necessity for our pointing out that an ostentatious declaration of our unwillingness or inability either to defend Herat in the manner suggested by Sir Henry Rawlinson, or to increase our garrisons on the Indus as an alternative, is not the way to give point or force to what we may say to other Powers in any discussion on the subject; but it may not be out of place to note that now, as in all our previous Indian difficulties, a powerful navy is one of the first requisites to the safety of the Empire. We sometimes fear that the importance of our navy to India, and the changed conditions of naval supremacy in the Eastern Seas since the Suez Canal was opened, are hardly sufficiently recognised by our Admiralty and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is a favourite mode of shelving all such questions for the Session, for India to say that the Empire should pay, and for the Admiralty to retort the obligation on India. But if difficulty

arises from inadequacy of naval power in defending India, the country will ask few questions as to which treasury should pay; and we are glad to infer from Lord Northbrook's demand for a qualified Naval Secretary that he recognises the fact that India is as much interested as any other part of the Empire in the maintenance of our naval supremacy.

Let us add one word more on the question whether the discussion raised by Sir Henry Rawlinson is, as he considers it, in the interests of peace? We believe that it is so, not only for the reasons he assigns, but because we believe that in Europe the maintenance of anything like the existing *status quo* of the political map depends greatly on a thoroughly good understanding between Russia and England, and that this fact is at least as patent to the Russian Government as to ourselves. As regards old causes of jealousy in Europe, it is clear that in resisting any attempt to encroach on European Turkey we may now trust to other Powers, not forgetting the nascent Christian nationalities within the Turkish frontier, to maintain that which it cost the English, French, and Italians, so much to vindicate in the Crimean War. It is in Asia alone that there is any practical possibility of our interests clashing with those of Russia; and it is more than probable that if Russia were satisfied that we had no jealousy of her attempts to dominate and civilise the countries east of the Caspian, as far south as the Attreck and the Oxus, she would be only too glad to know that we considered that frontier as fixed as her own is in Eastern Europe, and to find our officers, as her frontier neighbours, prepared to use the vast moral influence at our command to ensure to her reasonable satisfaction in the event of just cause of offence being given by the tribes and Powers to the south of the border.

But for all this, more accurate knowledge than we now possess of the border line and its relations is needed, and a much better and more intimate understanding with Persians as well as Afgans. England cannot conceal from herself that the situation is a critical one, but it would be difficult to name two ministers in whose hands these questions will be safer than Lord Salisbury and Lord Derby; and the Viceroy of India will have every assurance that neither want of appreciation of the facts, nor want of spirit in dealing with them, on the part of our Foreign or Indian Ministers, will cripple his efforts to maintain the outworks necessary for the defence of our Indian Empire.

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- ART. I.—1. *The Works of Francis Bacon.* By J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, and D. D. Heath. 7 vols. London, 1859.
2. *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon.* By James Spedding. 7 vols. London, 1874.
3. *Isaac Casaubon.* By Mark Pattison. London, 1875.
4. *Englische Geschichte, vornehmlich im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert.* Von Leopold Ranke (now Leopold von Ranke). 7 Bde. Leipzig, 1868.
5. *A History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century.* By Leopold von Ranke. Clarendon Press translation. 6 vols. Oxford, 1875.
6. *History of England, 1603–1616.* By Samuel Rawson Gardiner. 2 vols. London, 1863.
7. *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage.* By Samuel Rawson Gardiner. 2 vols. London, 1869.
8. *A History of England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I., 1624–1628.* By Samuel Rawson Gardiner. 2 vols. London, 1875.

THE above are but the most conspicuous among a large number of works which have appeared within the last few years, and which, varied as is their respective choice of treatment and material, have had this to begin with, in common, that they deal with the history of this country 'principally in the seventeenth century.' The above, moreover, are all works which, notwithstanding considerable difference of subject and aim,

take a view of the period they illustrate dissimilar in not unimportant particulars to the common view which is represented by such influential names as those of Lord Macaulay, Mr. Forster, and Mr. Motley. Nor is it unlikely that, sooner or later, we shall have to receive several new readings, if we are, according to these the most recent inquirers, to interpret aright a central chapter in our national annals, alike in its bearing on the course and progress of British institutions and of the British empire, and in its place in the survey of Europe. It will not be possible, within our limits, to examine in detail all or any of these writers, nor, in truth, to do more than, after commending very shortly their investigations to the attention of our readers, to make one or two observations of our own on that reign, which occupies in English history the greater part of the first quarter of the century in question.

We make bold to say at once of all the works on our list, and as our tribute to their merits, that in their case we are dispensed from the more cruel and painful duties of critical vivisection. They all of them pass straight to our shelves among standard authorities, and will, for long, each of them, be indispensable to every thorough and earnest student of the times, of which they treat.

Mr. Spedding's 'Letters and Life of Bacon,' as well as his earlier editorial labours, are so well known as to stand in need of no fresh encomium from us. We congratulate him on the successful accomplishment of the task, which for many years

has so worthily employed him, and, presently, we hope to show that we have perused his volumes with interest and profit.

And we regret exceedingly that our plan restricts us to a most summary mention of Mr. Pattison's book as a whole, though here, too, we shall find, later on, a portion of it of most pertinent value. 'We cannot afford,' says Mr. Pattison, 'to know all about everybody.' We trust that every one of our readers can and will afford to know all that Mr. Pattison has to say about Isaac Casaubon.\*

To proceed to Professor von Ranke and Mr. Gardiner. We can scarcely aspire to add anything to the laurels of the accepted and revered head of contemporary historical science. We must be understood throughout the following pages to be writing with perpetual reference to and regard for Professor von Ranke's exposition. He is possibly, at first, not the most attractive of historians, but by those who have had to weigh him against others, who have tested in him the rarest union of learning and judgment, who have grown accustomed to the power of his leadership, he will be followed (not so much in relation to every small fact, though here it would be hard to find a more accurate historian, as in relation to the grouping together and summing up of facts) with a species of unquestioning faith, for which, we think, there is no precedent in the domain over which, by a general suffrage, he rules supreme. Nor need von Ranke be afraid of that comparison with our native historians, which in his preface he a little shrinks from inviting. He has a descriptive gift—let us instance his characters of Charles II. and of William III.—as remarkable, if not quite as pictorial, and as immediately effective, as has Mr. Carlyle or Mr. Froude: while his critical faculty is not less keen, and—as they would in all probability be the first to admit—more finely practised, under more absolute command, and exerted over a far wider field than is that of either Mr. Freeman or Mr. Stubbs. English historical learning must rejoice in, and our country, we dare to add, may pride herself on the monument which Professor von Ranke has raised in honour of England. It is mainly (on this occasion we can notice but the smallest portion of his labours) for the sake of his development of the history of the House which stepped into the place of that of Tudor, that the attention of Eng-

lishmen with political or scholarly leanings will be drawn to Professor von Ranke's elaborate and delicate studies on the England of the seventeenth century. An Englishman of the nineteenth century can hardly bring himself to do honour or even justice to the upholders of the divine right of kings and the divine right of bishops as rights overriding those of the individual conscience and of Parliament; but now that the storms of the seventeenth century have entirely cleared off, he may well be most thankful to the genius of the veteran master of the lore of history and diplomacy, who has desired to grant full allowance to the monarchs who made the most picturesque and the most pardonable failure in the political history of the modern era, while he has all the time felt how the failure could not but ensue, and how the struggle against and the victory over the principles of the Stewarts involved the whole future of Britain.

Among our own writers there may still be room for some one who will try his pen at, if not a vindication of, at least an apology for, the Stewart kings. The other side among our recent historians in quite modern times has had a little too much its own way. We must not, however, overlook very good work, though somewhat over-hesitatingly and modestly performed, done in the direction we now indicate by Mr. Gardiner. Professor von Ranke said of Mr. Gardiner's first two volumes: \* 'Gardiner (1863) avoids unauthenticated statements, but the views of James's character, which have grown up and established themselves owing to the commonplace repetition of such statements, control his representation of it.' But, since this was written, Mr. Gardiner, in his four subsequent volumes, seems to us to have most steadily improved and advanced. His carefulness and trustworthiness in minute matters are as strong virtues in him as ever. Now and then his mastery of pamphleteering, and generally of the documentary literature, enables him to supplement and even to correct von Ranke.† And his acquaintance with the original authorities is more and more opening his eyes. He has lost his awe of his nearest predecessors. He is no longer to be frightened out of an honestly-founded and well-fortified opinion. And no one has given so much time and reflection to the whole epoch from the commencement of the century to the

\* It may perhaps interest some of our readers to know that this work owes its origin to an article which the learned author wrote in this Review in 1854. (See 'Quarterly Review,' vol. xciii. 'Diary of Casaubon.')

\* Vol. i. p. 470, note, transl.

† *E.g.* cp. 'Spanish Marriage,' ii. pp. 364-366, 'At last some one bolder-people of England,' with von Ranke, transl. vol. i. p. 515. 'The second ecclesiastic-laws of the land.'

outbreak of the Civil War\*. Some words of Mr. Gardiner, in his last preface, describe aptly enough his own position, and we believe him to be entirely within bounds in using the language which we have emphasised below:—

‘We have had historians in plenty, but they have been Whig historians, or Tory historians. The one class has thought it unnecessary to take trouble to understand how matters looked in the eyes of the King and his friends; the other class has thought it unnecessary to take trouble to understand how matters looked in the eyes of the leaders of the House of Commons. I am not so vain as to suppose that I have always succeeded in doing justice to both parties, *but I have, at least, done my best not to misrepresent either.*’ —*England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I.*, p. vi.’

With, then, such guides as those enumerated, and always with Professor von Ranke as guide in chief, we would now for a brief space transport ourselves and our readers to the beginning of the seventeenth century. There are still in the hour-glass of the last Tudor a few sands to be turned. Let us not fail, as we hurry on, to do obeisance to that august memory.

It is the most plaintive page in the romance of English history, it is the very sternest chapter in the record of English policy, in which the final words and deeds of Elizabeth are set down. Among all the touching fancies of the great poets of that dramatic age there is none more sombre, more sorrowful, more startling than this reality of the death-scene of a Queen, starving her body now that heart and soul are beyond relief, withered and starved. She sits, her finger on her lip, the haughtiest and the most famous, the one survivor of the most majestic of the dynasties of England. She is impatient for the end. Her ears are shut, and withdrawn from the too distant plaudits of a grateful and pitying posterity. Her wide and weary eyes are aware of nothing but remembrances. They wander after the shadow of Dudley, and about the scaffolds of Devereux and the Scotch Mary. In the earlier months of 1603, she had still been capable of forgetting herself in her wonted business and pleasures, in the transactions of Italy and Ireland, in music, which throughout her life was her most customary and best beloved relaxation. But when the Carnival drew on with its annual uproar of

festivities, the Queen was nowhere to be seen. There had fallen upon her sudden wretchedness and disgust. The second Ash Wednesday approached, arrived, since the dreary day of the execution of the Earl of Essex. Hour by hour through the dismal Lenten season his Royal Mistress slowly died. ‘The Queen grew worse and worse, because she would be so.’ ‘Elle dit de vouloir mourir.’ ‘She would not hear the Archbishop speak of hope of her longer life. She might have lived if she would have used means, but she would not be persuaded, and princes must not be forced. Her physicians said, she had a body of firm and perfect constitution, likely to have lived many years. . . . She departed this life mildly . . . like a ripe apple from the tree; cum leni quadam febre absque gemitu.’ Would it have comforted at all her vexed and parting spirit could she have foreseen Marston Moor and the Battle of the Boyne, and the fates of Buckingham and Strafford, and known as a certainty, that for a true Stewart the block was in England the inevitable destination, and that the Commons of England would prove altogether as envious of the encroachments of favourites as their virgin Queen!

What were the anticipations of English statesmen at the new accession?

We see no better way of setting forth these anticipations than by quoting two or three passages from an author, renowned in other walks, and as active and sagacious a politician as this country had at that epoch bred—Lord Bacon. We can give but a few specimens: a careful collection of the famous Chancellor’s remarks on this subject, might form a valuable introduction and key to the reign of James I. The colours, which the sun of Elizabeth, as it went down, left in the sky, require, if they are to be fitly revived, a touch from the pen of one who saw and felt the times and their changes.

‘In the consideration of the times,’ writes Bacon, ‘which have passed since King Henry the Eighth, I find the strangest variety that in like number of successions hath ever been known. The reign of a child; the offer of an usurpation (though it were but as a Diary Age); the reign of a lady married to a foreign Prince, and the reign of a lady solitary and unmarried. So that it cometh to pass in massive bodies, that they have certain trepidations and waverings before they fix and settle, so it seemeth that by the providence of God this monarchy before it was to settle in his Majesty and his generations (in which I hope it is now established for ever) it had these prelusive changes in these barren princes.’—*Bacon’s Letters and Life*, vol. iii. p. 250.

\* Had our list not been already a long one, we should have included in it several most valuable publications, edited for the Camden Society by Mr. Gardiner, to whom the Society of Antiquaries and the ‘Archæologia’ are also indebted for some papers excellently well done.

Thus had the preparation been made for the coming in of James I.

'It seemed as if the Divine Providence, to extinguish and take away all note of a stranger, had doubled upon his person within the circle of one age the royal blood of England by both parents. This succession drew towards it the eyes of all men, being one of the most memorable accidents that had happened a long time in the Christian world. For the kingdom of France having been reunited in the age before in all the provinces thereof formerly dismembered; and the kingdom of Spain being of more fresh memory united and made entire by the annexing of Portugal in the person of Philip the Second, there remained but this third and last union, for the counterpoising of the power of these three great monarchies, and the disposing of the affairs of Europe thereby to a more assured and universal peace and concord. . . . The Island of Great Britain, divided from the rest of the world, was never before united in itself under one king. . . . A King in the strength of his years, supported with great alliances abroad, established with royal issue at home, at peace with all the world, practised in the regiment of such a kingdom as mought rather enable a king by a variety of accidents than corrupt him with affluence or vain glory; and one that besides his universal capacity and judgment was notably exercised and practised in matters of religion and the church; which in these times, by the confused use of both swords, are become so intermixed with considerations of estate, as most of the counsels of sovereign-princes or republic depend upon them. . . . It rejoiceth\* all men to see so fair a 'morning of a kingdom, and to be thoroughly secured of former apprehensions as a man that awaketh out of a fearful dream.'—*Bacon's Works*, vol. vi. pp. 275-6.

'Now,' exclaims Bacon, in a letter to his new Sovereign, 'the corner-stone is laid of the mightiest monarchy in Europe.'—*Bacon's Letters and Life*, vol. iii. p. 63.

The memoranda and instructions supplied by Bacon for the king's private study are full of suggestive remarks in regard to the coalescence of the two kingdoms.

Dealing with the practical difficulties to be encountered, he writes:—

'It sufficeth that there be an uniformity in the principal and fundamental laws both ecclesiastical and civil. For in this point

\* One illustration of this joy from another hand, out of the number that might be cited, will serve as sample. Thus Sir John Harington, Queen Elizabeth's godson, welcomes James:

'Joy Protestant, Papist be now reclaimed,  
Leave Puritan your supercilious frown,  
Join voice, heart, hand, all discord be disclaimed;  
Be all one flock, by one great Shepherd guided,  
No foreign wolf can force a fold so fenced,  
God for his house a *Steward* hath provided.'

*Nugæ Antiquæ*, i. 334.

the rule holds, which was pronounced by an ancient father touching the diversity of rites in the Church, for finding the vesture of the Queen (in the Psalm), which did prefigure the Church, was of divers colours, and finding again, that Christ's coat was without a seam, he concludeth well: *In veste varietas sit, scissura, non sit.*—*Bacon's Letters and Life*, vol. iii. pp. 97-8.

Bacon's personal judgment upon the real differences between England and Scotland as to church matters is thus expressed:—

'For matters of religion, the union is perfect in points of doctrine; but in matters of discipline and government it is imperfect.'—*Bacon's Letters and Life*, vol. iii. p. 223.

But he is not sanguine of speedy effects, he knows how late in their season the fruits of policy ripen:—

'It must be left to Nature and Time to make that *continuum*, which was at first but *contiguum*. . . . Those mixtures, which are at the first troubled, grow after clear and settled by the benefit of rest and time.'—*Bacon's Letters and Life*, vol. iii. p. 98.

And yet there have arisen further responsibilities which may not be shirked:—

'God hath reserved to your Majesty's times two works, which amongst the acts of kings have the supreme pre-eminence, the union and the plantation of kingdoms. . . the one in the union of the island of Britain, the other in the plantation of great and noble parts of the island of Ireland.'—*Bacon's Letters and Life*, vol. iv. p. 116.

Some years later he could venture so far in self-congratulation as to say:—

'Ireland is the last *'ex filiis Europæ'* which hath been reclaimed from desolation.'—*Bacon's Letters and Life*, vol. vi. p. 205.

And indeed all through the reign Bacon never lost sight of the brighter face of things. 'Video solem orientem in occidente,' he cries in his 'Discourse on the greatness of the Kingdom of Britain;' and in James's very last year he wrote to the Prince of Wales:—

'Your Highness hath an Imperial Name. It was a Charles that brought the empire first into France, a Charles that brought it first into Spain, why should not Great Britain have his turn?'—*Bacon's Letters and Life*, vol. vii. p. 469.

This language of Bacon concerning James, his purposes and achievements, is not at all the language adopted later on by English historians, and to which we have grown accustomed. Since Bacon had thoughts of being to James what Burleigh was to Elizabeth, what Strafford was to be to Charles I., Clarendon to Charles II., a more or less ima-

ginary personage has employed politician after politician, novelist after novelist, historian after historian. The novelist has too often taken his cue from the politician, and the historian his plot from the novelist. From Professor von Ranke's pen we have at last, we believe (if it be at all possible, without presumption, to make at this distance of station and observation such an assertion), an authentic and faithful portraiture, and one which will not soon be superseded in the accredited gallery of the likenesses of our Sovereigns. In the contemporary pictures and frontispieces there is commonly written in the background over the head of King James I. his own selected scriptural sentence, 'Beati Pacifici.' It was a favourite motto of the seventeenth century; it was ever on the tongues of the foremost men of that century in Church and State; but it was along their slippery and unsafe roads the hardest device for them to be invariably true to. It was an altogether new style for a Stewart, and, in particular, it was a strange symbol for a man called to be king over a divided and turbulent island, in every border and in every harbor of which swarmed the moss-trooper and the privateer, 'knowing no measure of law but the length of their swords.' It was a text which had, however, been meditated and commented upon by James from his earliest boyhood; he was faithful to it throughout his life; it explained his advent to power and his whole confirmation in power to his conscience; by it he had interpreted the history of his parents and of Queen Elizabeth, and his own marvellous and singular escapes from destruction, first in his mother's womb, then in the Northern Castle, and the third time in the Westminster Parliament. He read in it the cause of his preservation as a youth in Scotland through unceasing treason and discontent. Even at the very last, when he could not but be aware of the ever-widening ravages of a great European war, in which the prospects of some of his children must be, those of all of them might be involved, he still drew a personal promise from it. After all his dangers, alone or nearly so of his race, and in his generation nearly alone of his rank, after having seen, to look for examples not further than the two nearest states, the assassin's knife reach the champion of French royalty, the headman's sword the guardian of the Dutch republic; James the Peace-maker, the first King of Great Britain, could 'go away hence satisfied,' having met death tranquilly in his bed, his crown safe, his son by his side.

James, all along, was thoroughly awake to his own disadvantages, though he might be thought to make little, or to have never caught

sight, of them. He had no beauty of presence; the growth of natural courage which had distinguished both his house and the house which had preceded it in England, had died in him from the terrible shock of the murder of Rizzio. He had not the inestimable faculty to a king, of winning or of inspiring enthusiasm, of even, in the case of ordinary lookers-on, securing habitual respect. Affection would not be bestowed on him, but would have to be bought by him. He would never gain that kind of friendship which sits lightly and pleasantly, except by creating favourites. And yet just such facile friendships were indispensable to a ruler so active and inquisitive. All this he knew, and he had early considered how he should make the best bargains. Sometimes, though rarely, the thought of the drawbacks in himself roused his jealousy of others and warped his judgment. He was very sharp at the discovery, whenever there was an alteration in his surroundings, how reverence had to be forced into growing about him. Such experience was bitter enough to him, impressed as he was with the importance of the authority he wore and meant to exercise, and with the grandeur and dignity of what he took to be his own place among kings. James found out quite as soon as, probably sooner than, the English courtiers, how far he came short of the stature of the Tudors, and where would be the weak side of his reputation in England. He felt the difficulty of his situation, and he took his own means of overcoming it, so far as that could be done. At the very beginning of the reign he may have foreseen the satires and scurrilities which would assail him before its close. He would notice how the English country-gentleman fell with him involuntarily into an unacceptable intimacy, and at a very first interview was easily to be led on so as 'not to refrain from a scurvy jest.\* His own appreciation of his predicament may be excused for taking at times a tetchy and petulant air, though there is generally a laugh at himself, as when to a noble who, regardless of the King's anxiety to please, repeatedly and over-vehemently urges his suit, he cries, roughly rejecting the petition: 'Shall a King give heed to a dirty paper when a beggar notes not his gilt stirrups?† No one discerned so clearly as James himself that the tone of Elizabeth, the tone of Essex, Sydney, Raleigh, was gone from the English court. There remained close to him only one of the conspicuous pillars of Elizabeth's state; and Salisbury, shrewd statesman as he was, had been the meanest

\* 'Nugæ Antiquæ,' i. 308. † Ibid. i. 393.

in face and figure, the most prosaic in fancy, of the Elizabethan magnates. James had to begin his reign by recognising all the consequences of this change in the atmosphere around the throne, and by preparing himself to constantly meet them.

Some efforts he made or allowed to be made to bring back the old régime. Careless in money matters by disposition, and besides afraid of being considered miserly, he went into the extreme of profusion. In expenditure, in luxurious feasting, his Court far outstripped Elizabeth's.\* But the whole thing was always heavy and flat. Queen Anne might deck herself and her maids of honour for masque after masque. The King himself felt the oppressive collapse, and would have preferred to be at his hunting-seat. His own worst shortcomings were due to his original lack of what were held to be, and in England were, the established signs of good breeding. Awkwardness and a consciousness of awkwardness were congenital in him. The strictest investigations lead one little further. His mind was coarse but not vicious, his character apprehensive but not cowardly. He was not of attractive, neither was he of contemptible parts. He strove to the utmost to be a just King; he was a benevolent man. On small and on great occasions he showed himself capable of generosity, even of magnanimity. But when he became King of England he was already thirty-seven years of age, too old and too downright to think of breaking up his Northern habits.

Times of peace and plenty are trying times for a Court. The whole general community, a thoughtless householder, not seeming in want of stores, leaves its finest and choicest fruits on the tree and in the sun. Through the long calm spell of autumn weather they are never gathered. They are shaken down and smashed in the stormy presence of the winter, overripe, rotten, gone to ruin. For, indeed (one is tempted to say it when one turns to past history), great colonial positions or frequent foreign wars are necessary to keep the aristocracy, the wealthy and intelligent class of the nation, however named, in pure and wholesome vigour. In the absence of other calls, the upper and the official nobility are bound, more almost than the very person of the Sovereign, to the household and the Court, and, in reigns such as that of James, are peculiarly sensitive and responsive to Royal demeanour and Royal manners. In

those about the monarch, who tried to suit themselves to him, who belonged not to his literary and learned, but to his hunting and dining set, or who gave the word to a larger, sprightlier society into which he himself comparatively seldom entered, the change he brought in was a most distinctly bad one in morals as well as in manners.

And then, that enthusiasm which had in Elizabeth's time been irresistible, was necessarily transient. It could not be otherwise. The uncertainty of the succession, the reign of an unmarried queen, unprotected except by her people, the fury of the Papacy and of the Continent manned with Spanish mercenaries, had kept the universal national estimate, and specially amongst the foremost ranks of society, the personal aspect, of manhood and womanhood, of duty, degree and responsibility, at the highest level. James might advance faces, which made fortunes, a penniless page or a pushing fair; but he could make no centre for the old peerless cluster of brave men and sweet women, the warm ideals of Spenser and Shakespeare. Majesty could give no longer the remembered frank and stately entertainment. And now, the poetry of English public and domestic life had, for a generation, retired, like the greatest of English poets, into the country.

Favouritism was at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a received institution according to a recognised and customary law of Europe. It was a form of artificial extension of the family of a prince, which had become an accepted part of the State machinery. It was a means of keeping existence, during the minority or the undisciplined youth of the heir, a dynastic secret. If his rivalry were feared or his succession disliked, his too close initiation into politics might be prevented. Or if a break of line or succession was imminent, it was thus possible to equip an opposition and qualify it to hold on to and carry forward the principles it had known at work. It was a convenience which had been devised and developed in the nest of modern political cunning in Italy, and it had been at Rome brought to perfection under the example and by the name of Nepotism. It had been promoted in each pontificate a step further by the bishops of Rome of King James's own period. In James's lifetime the Peretti, the Aldobrandini, the Borghesi, the Ludovisi, the Barberini had received a substantial benediction in the sight of the city and the world from a Papal relative, and had become the schoolmen of a new discipline, the masters of diplomacy. The art was at its best. Its greatest disciple, in whom

\* Mr. Gardiner's Introduction, p. ix., etc. Parliamentary Debates in 1610. Camden Society, 1862.

it culminated, the pupil of the Barberini, the man to be known hereafter as Cardinal Mazarin, was about two and twenty years of age when James died. In Spain the favourite was as to date an older permanent establishment than in Italy, and there too he was regarded as essential to the security of the monarchy. In France the Italian faction was every day gaining ground, and the conflict between the noble houses and the favourite or minister was settling itself with a steady determination toward the triumph of the new craft. We might trace the introduction of this instrument of a new science of government in the history of the German Courts, in which, at this epoch, the influences of Italian and Spanish maxims are unusually prominent.

In a modified form James availed himself of the prevalent manner among monarchs. But when we look closely into the innovation, as he made it, we get evidence sufficient how cautious he was, and we perceive the checks he had kept in reserve. The favourite was to rule the Court, not the Council. The favourite's position, his behaviour in his place, his foundation in his master's affections, were to be the principal topic for the men and women of fashion. This new phenomenon would serve for a mark or target, constantly shifting and never quite settled, in general conversation. The anterooms of politics would be maintained in perpetual motion and expectation, and would find this tempting food always close at hand. The favourite himself was to be as much as possible in the public eye, was to have opportunities of forwarding his friends, was to make marriages for his relations; he was to be pressed on by his own clique, he was to hear also the threats of those overborne by him, he was to be, throughout, trying for foot-hold and on the verge of the precipice, over which he might have to be flung. James prided himself with justice on his power of seizing on the meaning of an unguarded gesture or a stray remark; appearances might look otherwise, but from an interview he generally took away with him what he had come or waited for; he excelled at a *tête-à-tête*. The favourite was to have the private ear of the King; it was his especial privilege to be able to see the King alone; he was to come straight out of the crowd into the King's chamber. Vain, passionate creatures like Somerset, or Buckingham, speaking out of their panting hopes and fears, echoing the cries of their partisans and the criticisms of their foes, detailing the scandal they would have to hush up or to brave in London and in the country houses,—or among the law-

yers and the merchants,—were worth all the price, he paid for them, to that queer, shrewd connoisseur, their gossip and patron. It was they who gave to the King (whose own taste lay over sea with negotiations and difficulties there) that intimacy with England, which it was not easy nor agreeable to him to acquire for himself; with which he could not altogether harmoniously associate his person; but outside of which he could not, without manifest danger, pursue his career. In England, as abroad, one use of the favourite was to be the breaking down of the old aristocracy, and the substitution,—in England this could not be worked with any considerable success for absolutist purposes,—of 'novi homines.' The king warned his favourites, and those who in their rise rose with them, to be heedful. Countenance and protection should be granted them to the furthest social limits, but let them never get within the clutches of a legal tribunal. There was the den of lions, out of which he would not be able nor willing to deliver them. The famous prosecutions of the reign bear witness to James's sense of the majesty of the law. Favourite or Chancellor, if he came to trial, had to take his chance; James would not prevent, he was not easily brought to mitigate, a sentence. The Spanish, French, or Italian favourite, powerful all round, was ordinarily the chief minister of foreign affairs; the English favourite was, after all, little more than a reporter on certain sides of political society at home. Just at the end, it is true, of James's reign a somewhat different state of things is exhibited. But Buckingham, as playing the prime minister was Prince Charles's nominee, was no favourite of King James. Had the King lived a little longer, and felt himself strong enough to take up again the reins of government, his first act would probably have been to disgrace and dismiss the duke.

'Those,' says Mr. Pattison (p. 361), 'whose impressions of character have been chiefly derived from modern histories, will find that, as they become better acquainted with the contemporary memoirs, their estimate of James's abilities will be raised.' We altogether endorse, we are ready to take a long stride beyond Mr. Pattison's eulogy. In the first place we would urge our readers to notice the sagacity and insight displayed by the King in the selection of ambassadors. We doubt whether any British Sovereign was ever served by abler diplomatists, and whether any British Sovereign was ever served by diplomatists who could feel more assured that their exertions were closely and studiously scanned and conned by an anx-

ious, vigilant, and accurately experienced master. Mr. Motley has spoken disparagingly of the statesmen who served James, but we, for our part, know not when England was represented abroad by more capable envoys than in this reign. Where, we would ask, shall we match a time when Winwood or Carleton was at the Hague, Weston at Brussels, Wake at Venice, Anstruther in the North, Digby in Spain, Roe at Constantinople, Herbert (later Lord Herbert of Chisbury) and Carlisle were at Paris, Chichester and Davies in the Irish plantations? The preservation of peace was James's chief care; but had he been forced into the heat of conflict, it would have been found that he could act with effect, that he had the secret, and could touch the spring of a most nicely organised international combination.\* In view of the war in progress and prospect, and in view of the whole future of British enterprise and commerce, the position of, for instance, Sir Thomas Roe at Constantinople, is most noteworthy and instructive. Sir Thomas Roe, like so many of the best servants of the Crown during this reign, had been knighted (we have in such promotions a hint to light up another branch of King James's statecraft) shortly after the King's coming into England. Soon after his advancement Roe went for Prince Henry to the West Indies; in 1609 Roe had been in Guinea and on the Amazon; in 1614 he was taking part in the debates of the House of Commons; then, in 1615, he travelled as far as the Court of the Emperor Jehanghir at Agra, to further the English East India Company, yet in its infancy,—it was established in the first year of the century;—after so many commercial and diplomatic missions he had been sent as British minister to the Porte. There he was the Stratford de Redcliffe of his time, for years the one unchanging power in Turkey. He relates himself, how 'in the first fifteen months of his embassy he had seen three emperors† of

the Turks, seven prime visiers, two captain bassas, five agas of the Janissaries, three great treasurers, six bassas of Cairo, and other changes in proportion.' He made the most of himself and his position. He did his best to secure jewels and rarities of classical antiquity for the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Arundel; he claimed and he took precedence before all other ambassadors; he assumed the protectorate over the Greek Church; from the centre of Islam he carried on an active antagonism to the cabals of Rome; he procured the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Ottoman dominions; he brought the Sultan to regard and honour King James as the natural and equitable mediator of Royal controversies. Roe was not a vain-glorious man, but he could make so proud as to write home:—'I am confident that the Emperor would rather strangle ten visiers than dismiss your minister.' He was one of the Queen of Bohemia's most faithful friends and most constant correspondents. In her letters she has an old playful name for him: 'Honest Tom,' a sobriquet from her pleasant girlhood. He has been and will be her truest adviser and consoler. He writes to her in evil times: 'How happy should I be if I could bring one contented thought to your Majesty, to whom I have been devoted from your infancy.' Had England taken up in earnest and in full the cause of the Elector Palatine, Sir Thomas Roe at the divan, and Bethlen Gabor, 'the Transylvanian Mithridates' in the field, would have been the fomentors and the champions of war in the East of Europe. A great blow dealt from the East, with another great blow at the same time from the North,—from Denmark and Sweden,—how might these have changed the course of the Thirty Years' War? Sir Thomas Roe, as long as he lived—he survived until close upon the outbreak of the English Civil War,—continued to have the highest reputation among diplomatists. And it was not only in distant countries and in the East of Europe that he won his spurs. After Gustavus Adolphus had gained his victory of Leipzig, he sent Sir Thomas Roe a present of £2000, and in his letter terms him 'his "strenuum consultorem," *he being one of the first* who had advised him to this German war, after he had made peace betwixt him and the Polander.' A man like Roe felt his own power and that of Great Britain to do, in time of need, decisive things. One can understand, when one looks at Sir Thomas Roe's countenance in his picture, dignified and determined, with hints of

\* Charles's whisper, during the debates of 1624, would have come true enough of a great war in the last ten years of James, after he had secured himself. 'My father has a long sword. If it is once drawn, it will hardly be put up again.'—Gardiner, 'England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I.', vol. i. p. 80.

† In his detailed description of one of these revolutions we have some very fine reflections: 'Thus a man despised, naked, taken from a pit, at first only begging a little water, was in a moment made one of the greatest monarchs in the world. He that was now in the jaws of death—starved and dying of thirst, is become the emperor, and may drink gold or the blood of men.'

spleen\* and melancholy, but such hints all but erased by a passionate and fiery spirit of action—the very portrait eloquent with its devise, ‘te colui, Virtus, ut rem, sed nomen inane es’—how it was that, when near the close of his career he was at Ratisbon on a mission to the Emperor and the Princes of Germany, the chief potentate in Christendom was reported to have said of him: ‘I have met with many gallant persons of many nations, but I scarce ever met with an Ambassador but now.’

It cannot with truth be said that James's foreign policy was one of folly; it was not even one of failure. James's relations in regard to the political system of Europe run exactly parallel to his relations with regard to its ecclesiastical and theological system. He holds, in both relations, a strong fortress in a neutral territory. The site on which it is built is impregnable, or nearly so, to outside assault. But it would be neither fitting nor wise, if it were possible, for its inhabitants to issue forth too far from it, either to act like light horsemen or to adopt the offensive on a pretentious scale. Fighting from a distance, if at all, his must be an indirect warfare and the strategy of the Cabinet. His tentative, procrastinating, in form haggling, in spirit freezing, policy had no special cause in any fault in his mind and judgment. The very same policy is and has been the rigorous line, marked out by interest and also by duty, at many a juncture of European affairs, for the United Kingdom. Here, too, James's sympathy touched a distant future. British policy in regard to Europe has since been, by choice and primarily, pacific. For wars Britain likes a clearer case and a hotter climate. In Europe she has preferred alliances which secured peace to those which preluded campaigns. She has to be driven out of herself and out of her temper into war. There are plenty of later examples (and they are most assuredly not examples of mere fumbling ignorance, and groping incompetence) of behaviour on the part of English statesmen very like that of James I.; while the Thirty Years' War, a war which no English king, general, or minister could stop, guide, or comprehend, loomed and threatened, but, as it were, from altogether another sphere than his own.

James's reign began with interviews with Sully, Barneveld, and the Count of Mediana, representatives of French, Dutch, and Spanish views. He was then, as later, fully aware of the important bearings of contem-

\* ‘Preserve me,’ he wrote home once, ‘in his majesty's remembrance for good, that it may not be written on my tomb: the best of this man's life was banishments, “Consul et exul eram.”’

porary politics. The Republic of Venice had a special regard for him as having been, at a trying moment, one of her best allies. He admired her struggle with Rome, and she set a high value upon, and drew considerable benefit from, his friendly offices. The Twelve Years' Truce between Spain and the United Netherlands was in great part the work of English diplomacy. King James followed the whole life in the Netherlands with a keen and scrupulous eye. He observed the social and literary, as well as the political results, of independence. Some jealousy, some rather needless jealousy, arising out of old Scotch misgivings and recollections, he showed here concerning the bias of controversy and dissension in a republic. There was constant commercial friction between the Dutch and the English. Yet on the Dutch to the end he bestowed his regular confidence and his best and most cordial goodwill. In conjunction with Henri Quatre, the Dutch, and the German Union, King James assisted the Lutheran claimants to the Cleves' succession, Brandenburg and Neuburg. And after Henri Quatre's murder (and James's energy at this crisis was unusually incisive and determined) the English Sovereign continued the protector and foremost member of the alliance. It was under these circumstances that a house, now Imperial in Germany, first gained a settlement on the Rhine, first advanced towards the west and centre of Europe, first took its place side by side with the United Provinces and the United Kingdom over against Hapsburg, the Spanish power, and Rome. Subsequently, in 1612, James renewed his alliance with the Protestant Princes of Germany; and it was a combination of English and French influence which turned the votes, at the Imperial election, for Archduke Mathias, who was disposed to leniency towards Protestants, instead of Archduke Albert.

As the King's children grew up, the subject of their marriages gave a further complication to their father's politics. His sons and daughters, who had received and, it may be, required in their earliest youth more than ordinary care and attention, developed into the most distinguished and graceful beauty. It was a fine family; they had a healthy and lively blood; they could venture to marry whom they pleased. The ‘Pearl’ of the house was the Princess Elizabeth. Many offers had been made for her hand, one on behalf of the afterwards so renowned Gustavus Adolphus. Two chief alternatives at last suggested themselves for her. She might have carried her loveliness and her Royal desire for grander conquests than

those which a fair face wins, into Italy to the House of Savoy. She might have had for father-in-law the restless Charles Emanuel, surnamed the Great, who, planted as he was close to the Milanese, the midmost spot bristling with steel and masonry of the Spanish military network, lay cowering, crouched like an eager hound straining to be slipped against an aggravating half-contemptuous enemy. It was a Catholic stock, but its allies were the western princes—France and the heads of the Protestants in Germany. A strong affection for England at Turin, backed by the political intelligence of Venice, might hereafter prove useful. But the Princess Elizabeth was a fervid Protestant, and she and the great statesman,—whose last work was her marriage,—Cecil, inclined rather to the Prince Palatine, Frederick. This connection had, when it was made, peaceful prospects; it would quietly strengthen the Protestant hold on the Rhine and the Protestant confederacy within the Empire. It fell out otherwise. Frederick and Elizabeth sought a crown in Bohemia; and poor King James got entangled in dilemmas, international and constitutional, Teutonic, Slavonic, Spanish, as inflammatory as they were inextricable, and where neither his sword nor his learning lay handy. The ordinary Englishman knew and cared as much or as little about Bohemia as did Shakespeare; the Bohemia of the ‘Winter King’ was as unattractive, as inclement, and as ungeographical as that of the ‘Winter’s Tale’—

‘Our ship hath touched upon  
The deserts of Bohemia!  
We have landed in ill time: the skies look  
grimly  
And threaten present blusters. In my con-  
science,  
The heavens with that we have in hand are  
angry  
And frown upon us. Make your best haste  
and go not  
Too far in the land: it is like to be loud  
weather,  
Besides, this place is famous for the creatures  
Of prey, that keep upon it.’

When a prince of Savoy was thought of for his sister, a princess of the same house, or of that of Florence, had been discussed for the then heir to the throne, a youth greatly beloved in England, with strong military and anti-Catholic proclivities. Prince Henry listened to Wotton, who had just arrived from Venice and Turin, and who favoured an Italian match. But he himself took up much more warmly the idea of a German bride, or of having the young Christine of France for wife, a child who in England might be educated and brought over to

Protestantism, whose father’s death might be avenged, whose father’s fame might be outshone by a Henry of England. The open foes of Spain often perished so soon as they brandished, as soon as they spoke aloud of brandishing, the signal of defiance. No Stewart Henry was to follow after in the track of the battles and triumphs of Henry of Navarre. The Prince of Wales, in the midst of talk about his own, of preliminaries for his darling sister’s wedding, fell suddenly ill, and in a day or two was dead. Marriage projects for Prince Charles stood over for a time. James continued to take his own kind of interest in and to exercise his own kind of control over Continental affairs. He kept up a close acquaintance and attachment with Protestant Switzerland. He was called in to mediate, and he settled the terms between, Sweden and Denmark. A point in the history of the House of Romanoff has been noticed, when its representative offered to become the vassal of the House of Stewart.

It will have to be admitted that, taking James as a statesman, there is the same want of elasticity and spring about his policy which men remarked upon in his physique. He has acuteness, grasp of events; he uniformly appreciates any critical movement; he has an unusual skill in forecasting consequences: and yet he can never dispel the coldness and dullness which clog his way through business. When his heart is most in his work, when he expatiates on the attributes and prerogatives of his crown, the elucidation is that rather of a herald than of a king. He has an excellent knowledge of what his house, his station, his era mean; but when he begins to explain the meaning he draws himself aloof, as though he were a genealogian or an antiquarian, and studying his own history for some exploded and extinct particulars, as though he had no general and contemporary public. Let it, however, if we would be fair to him, again be noted on his behalf, how hard he tried to remedy his natural defects. He was an untiring sportsman; and he was indefatigable in his exertions to keep up with the ideas and the projects, wherever new ones were started in the wide world of politics. No English Sovereign for centuries, certainly no English Sovereign since the Reformation, with the exception of William III., was so profoundly and minutely versed in the affairs of foreign countries. Had James been a less well-informed politician, he would have fought more wars and finished off more measures. His reign is full of openings. Midway between the enthusiasm of the sixteenth and the indifference of the eighteenth

century, the seventeenth is in the whole range of English politics the central and most fruitful study. And in relation to the study of that century, and even of times reaching much beyond its limits, one can take the reign of James and find it introduce the large subject as if it were an author's preface. As von Ranke well puts it: 'It was James who struck the pitch for the dynasty of the Stewarts, he gathered into a knot the whole destiny of his house.'\*

Much weight has to be given, when one takes note of James's notions and statements concerning his throne and the centre of power in his realm, and then concerning Hereditary Sovereignty, the Divine Right of Kings, the institution of Episcopacy, to their bearing on his experiences of Scotland and on the circumstances of that country, as he had seen them alter. Whither, when James was born, was Scotland being steered? What but his birthright brought the two kingdoms together? over what a sea of jarring elements had he been set up to stretch the sceptre, to defend the faith, to keep the peace? We are apt not to observe at all considerations which James had, as his first associations and first principles, before him. Not only was there a moral to be drawn from the troubles of his boyhood and early manhood (out of which he had emerged), disorders did not cease in Scotland throughout his reign, and scarcely at any period in the history of their common language has the jealousy between the two nations found for itself such vehement expression.

James's migration into England had been followed, as might be looked for, by a large increase in the petty outbreaks and disturbances of the North. The animosity against the Scotch broke out in public and in private. Publicly the most violent language was, probably, that used in the particular English Parliament which met in April 1614, and which was dissolved chiefly because of the menaces which the King feared might be taken to extend even to himself. In that House of Commons, speeches, loading the Scotch with opprobrium, and coupling in ominously allusive phrase Scotch with Sicilian 'Vespers,' had been heard (cp. Pattison, 424, 30). In the way of private satire, Sir Anthony Welldon's 'perfect-description of Scotland' cannot well ever have been surpassed as a piece of vituperation, rich as our literature is in similar specimens.

If, then, James had never surveyed the wider scene; if his mind had been quite abstracted from Europe and the other continents into which the European was making a new way; if, within his province as King, his eye had rested only on one dividing line, that narrow border which cuts Britain into two; might he not well have deemed the sole type and embodiment of the political consolidation of the island to be himself, the only pledge of the united action and combined glory of what he styled 'Great Britain,' to lie in his own blood and his own title? The exercise of the prerogative to those who, like himself and Bacon, saw it on the ideal side, what was it but the one apparent means to found and mature an Imperial policy? Was not the pressure of a central authority permissible for organisation in the State and comprehension in the Church? How was he to escape, however, a thought of the situation of civilisation at large? Could there be a settlement of the divisions of Christendom? Such questions statesmen as yet could not bear to answer in the negative. Could sectarian fanaticism be robbed of what they, the statesmen, thought a deadly political poison and sting? Could that further evil, the growth of a reckless and mutinous military spirit, be got under restraint? Was any scheme practicable—so in its full import the enquiry would frame itself—for a European balance of power, in which the old and the new might live on together? If compromise had become impossible, terrible times were at hand. Cecil had pondered the dangerous symptoms. John of Barneveld, in a most troublesome corner of the field, had succumbed in the first local outbreak of the threatened plague. Henri Quatre and Sully had attempted to devise the remedy. A famous plan for the reconstruction of Europe, in which every important system of authority, constitution, and creed should exist in co-ordination and counterpoise, remained, long after both Henri Quatre and James I. had passed away, to task and puzzle and occupy the retirement and old age of Sully. After all, his fellows were really not less timorous, nor were they less visionary than James. Let us turn again for a few moments to his foreign policy, in the aspect it had for himself. And, first, let us notice a power toward which he stood in very curious relations—Rome. Clement VIII. was Pope when James was still young, in whom it was said that Julius II., Sixtus V., Pius V., each, in his peculiar force, had risen again,—a Pope for the world, and not only for Italy, whose policy was on a scale to be admired (there seem to us to be several points where it was directly imitated) by

\* Er hat den Ton für die Regierung der Stuarts angegeben, und den Knoten der Geschichte seiner Enkel geschürzt.—Bd. ii. s. 10.

the Sovereign he once, notwithstanding the gulf between them, addressed. This Pope, 'the honest, the devout, the wise,' who would not bind himself to the faction either of Spain or of France; who followed sympathetically but impartially, and as himself arbiter of the Church Universal, the dialectical combat which had waxed fierce between the Orders of St. Ignatius and St. Dominic; this Pope, who hoped for Isaac Casaubon's adhesion and conversion, who absolved Henri Quatre; sent, as we said, word—it was before Elizabeth's death—to Scotland, that a principal place in his affections and his prayers was reserved for the son of Mary Stewart. With a tolerant Pope, James was disposed to toleration. When, shortly after his accession in England, the Puritans complained that 50,000 Englishmen had lately joined the Romish communion, James's rejoinder, with a shrug of the shoulders, was, that it was for them next, on their part, to attract an equal number of Spaniards and Italians. Clement was, however, succeeded by men of a different calibre. James's opinion, even after the Gunpowder Plot—it was his lifelong opinion—continued in favour of toleration. He said, though certainly he chose a safe moment for saying it,—for it was when Paul V., whom he knew for an obstinate and immovable bigot, was Pontiff,—that, if the Pope would make one step toward a reconciliation of the churches, he himself would make four. He added, that he would be prepared to recognise traditional superiority in the Roman See, though his conviction was clear, and that quite independent of political inducements, that his own reformed confession was the purest and best. After Paul came Gregory XV. and Urban VIII., both men for whom, and James, there was no common ground. Ideas of amity and accommodation gave place at Rome to the intoxication of a holy war and of triumphant and wholesale convert-making. The congregation of the Propaganda took its enormous work in hand; the Capuchin and Jesuit missions had unexampled successes; St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier were canonised. A new vehemently Catholic literature was springing up, trained in classical schools and rich and beautiful and mystical emotion, in the native languages of Spain, France, and Italy; a renewed impulse was given to the life of male and female conventual societies; the Benedictines of St. Maur started on their scholarly labours; the courtly eloquence of the French pulpit began with Berulle.

The rooted, substantial, effective resistance, which this movement regularly encountered whenever it attempted to affect

Britain, is a most, we take it to be the most, remarkable trait in the general history of the contrasts of the time in religious thought and in spiritual life. There was in England no regeneration of Catholicism. In England alone the failure of the Jesuits was not only complete but comic. There was raised up to restore the old faith beyond the Channel no St. Francis of Sales, no St. Teresa. There was no literary reaction in Britain. In England the authorised version of the Bible appeared; in Scotland two bulky books should be mentioned, antagonistic to each other, but each inspired by the spirit of the Reformation, each building up something towards the edifice of the days to come—each animated by a vigorous individualism, the works of Spottiswood and Calderwood. And the firm nucleus of the opposition to the Roman attack, the force and learning of the defence, 'the rock in the broad ocean' of controversy, lay with the divines of the Church of England and in King James's own circle. From England went the replies to Bellarmine, Baronius, or du Perron. A valuable memoir on the Church of England, as James I. understood it, and as he and his friends wished to mould it, may be extracted from that excellent biography of Isaac Casaubon, which the accomplished Rector of Lincoln College has added to a difficult and incomplete department in the history of literature.

Casaubon had set out from Geneva; he had found himself at last at London. He had travelled through the whole field of letters, and opinions, and conduct. He began as humanist and grammarian; he soon grew into the first Grecian of his century. He was, by marriage, son of Henry Stephens (Henry II.); in character and attainments, and by affection, he was the twin scholar, knowing himself the less gifted, and always most humble and reverent toward his elder, the twin scholar with Joseph Scaliger. But he ended among English episcopal seats and English polemical colleges, denominising Greek fathers for the British Solomon, studying old English chronicles with an acclimatised patriotism, pamphleteer and argument-dealer in chief to the Anglican establishment. How strong and how intense an attraction must those interests have had, which caught a Casaubon into their stream!

It was after the murder of Henri Quatre that Casaubon quitted Paris, where he had resided many years, and crossed into England. The assassination of his patron—*illa atra et nefasta dies*—was a new spur, driving Casaubon out of the company of the ancients and his own meditations into the fight. His faith dropped into the regular

formula. 'I think it now,' he exclaims (Pattison, p. 349), 'a part of my religion to make public profession of belief (in the Royal supremacy).' Mr. Pattison is very happy and forcible in the sentences in which he sketches the Church of England as it presented itself to this 'stranger and sojourner' in it, Isaac Casaubon. 'To his surprise he found a whole national Church encamped on the ground on which he had believed himself to be an isolated adventurer' (p. 303).

To the passage, we next quote, we would draw particular attention:—

'The ministers of his (Casaubon's) own communion scouted antiquity. . . . Books fell in his way written on this side of the Channel in which he met with a line of argument very different. There were others besides himself who could respect the authority of the fathers, without surrendering their reason to the dicta of the Papal Church. The young Anglo-Catholic school which was then forming in England took precisely the ground which Casaubon had been led to take against Du Perron.

'The change of face which English theology effected in the reign of James I. is, to our generation, one of the best known facts in the history of our Church. But it is often taken for granted that this revolution was brought about by the ascendancy of one man, whose name is often used to denominate the school, as the Laudian School of Divines. Laud was the political leader, but in this capacity only the agent of a mode of thinking, which he did not invent. Anglo-Catholic theology is not a system of which any individual thinker can claim the invention. It arose necessarily, or by natural development, out of the controversy with the Papal advocates, as soon as that controversy was brought out of the domain of pure reason into that of learning. That this peculiar compromise, or via media, between Romanism and Calvinism developed itself in England, and nowhere else in Christendom, is owing to causes which this is not the place to investigate. But that it was a product not of English soil, but of theological learning wherever sufficient learning existed is evidenced by the history of Casaubon's mind, who now found himself, in 1610, an Anglican ready made, as the mere effect of reading the fathers to meet Du Perron's incessant attacks.'—Pages 299–300.

Casaubon was writing an account not only of the present but of the future when he explains to Saumaise: 'Haec gens nihil minus est quam barbara, amat et colit literas, praesertim autem sacras. Quod si me conjectura non fallit, totius reformationis pars integerrima est in Anglia.'

It is not necessary to send our readers further than to Mr. Pattison's pages for traces of the impression produced in those days

by the English national Church on foreigners who saw her on the spot—on such men as, besides Casaubon, Sully, George Calixtus, and Grotius. They will find also, in Mr. Pattison's volume, Casaubon's very favourable estimate of the King, whose command of the religious and literary situation, whose knowledge of languages, whose reading in divinity and criticism, whose powers as a conversationalist, whose intimate acquaintance with the classics he celebrates. Casaubon was far removed from being an indiscriminate flatterer, and he is writing to de Thou, the historian, for whom nothing but a correct report would have value, when he says of James, 'I find him greater than his fame; he grows upon me daily' (p. 320).

In communion with and in support of the Church of England Casaubon made his last effort, spent the remnant that was left to him of time; from amongst the group of courtly theologians, sometimes with the King himself for collaborateur, his dying shaft was sent in against Rome. 'The most conspicuous Protestant writer of the day was here stating the case of the most powerful—of the only considerable—Protestant Sovereign' (p. 438). That case was on behalf of the Church of England as a purified Church, which declined the name of 'schismatic' as a description—as a Church desiring English freedom and Christian concord. Other establishments were to be urged to reform, and re-constitute themselves on a national and inclusive, on a sound historic basis. The unity and the peace of Christendom need not be broken, though it might be found impossible to keep terms with Rome. Rome might have to be put under restraint, or set aside. Since Clement's death, James had not hoped to make, in any direct way, an agreement or truce with Rome; she would have to make her peace last—peace would be forced upon her. But if Casaubon was astonished to find what he found in the Church of England, James, finding what he found in Casaubon, was convinced the more, that principles he believed in, of ecclesiastical government and settlement for England, were applicable to other States of Europe.

Let us turn from James's position towards Rome to his position towards Spain. It was, we take it, the cherished and constant motive of all James's foreign diplomacy to compass an understanding with Spain, with the ultimate intention of a political pacification and a religious settlement of Europe. The Spanish alliance would also seem desirable to him when he went upon narrower ground, when he considered himself as an insular or as a colonist King, when he look-

ed at Ireland, or when he thought of America and Asia. A peace with Rome, as we said, King James did not seriously expect, at any rate from a Rome not compelled to be benignant. The peace with Spain he missed, as was the case with so many a stroke of his, only by a hair's breadth. And we may suppose that, had he not died when he did, the consistent plan of his reign would have risen again to the surface in the first moments of smoother political sailing.

Spain, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, still overshadowed the world. Was it because evening lights were setting in, or was it indeed because of an invincible vitality and a still shooting stature? Who, at that instant, looking about him for signs, could tell? A man might have his doubts concerning the Hapsburg-Burgundian line, the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, the exhaustive process, which was being attempted to garrison from Spain, and by a spiritual militia to convert, all nations. Yet a man could scarcely make himself sure that the grandeur of Spain was on the ebb, and that its life was being all forced into one or two artificial channels. Let us remind our readers that Cervantes lived on to 1616, Ribalta to 1628, Lope de Vega to 1635; that Zurbaran was born in 1598, Velasquez in 1599, Cano in 1601, Calderon in 1601, and Murillo in 1618.

Mr. Gardiner has been guided by a true historical instinct in treating with the utmost detail the history of Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage. This is, though it may surprise some of our readers to hear it, the central subject of the six volumes, to which, so far, Mr. Gardiner's history has been brought. The needle in the compass, which was to guide the voyage and destiny of Christian civilisation for centuries, kept vibrating and hovering in the neighbourhood of such small personal and amatory conjunctions. Without looking away to Imperial or Italian affairs, and remaining strictly in the West of Europe, how, in France and in England, did all the plots and possibilities of politics, the question of peace, the question of the concord of religions, seem, for years, to turn upon the bridals of Spanish Infantas? A Spanish connection might, after all, have grown popular with Englishmen. With regard to the prolongation of the war with Spain, the case cannot better be stated than in Mr. Gardiner's words. He is writing of the very commencement of James's reign:—

'As far as England was concerned, with the exception of the disputed right to trade in the East and West Indies, there was absolutely no reason whatever for continu-

ing the war. . . . Cecil looked upon the whole subject with the eye of a statesman. . . . He knew, as Elizabeth had known, that England could not bear many more years of war. . . . He was anxious to see a peace concluded, which would relieve England from the burden of an objectless war.'—*History of England, 1603-16*, vol. i. pp. 66, 69.

'The policy which was adopted by James, under Salisbury's guidance, was on the whole, though open to objection as being occasionally deficient in boldness and in moral energy, the best and wisest course which it was possible for him to pursue. *Neither the pecuniary resources nor the military power of England would have been sufficient to enable him to do more than make desultory attacks upon the outskirts of the Spanish monarchy* and perhaps to throw some little additional weight into the scale of the Dutch Republic. It was better and wiser to adopt a policy which, while it husbanded the resources of the country by the economy which peace alone rendered possible, yet kept constantly on the watch against the designs of Spain, and was ever ready to meet its aggressive diplomacy by a firm union with those powers who were anxious, either from religious or political motives to maintain their independence.'—*History of England, 1603-16*, vol. i. p. 325.

The existing animosity against Spain owed, in part, its strength to the consciousness of a real community of interests and to the remembrance of a former affectionate and unbroken alliance. To Spain England had of old been wont to look for the most congenial of confederates and the most marriageable of dynasties; for three of the last race, for three Tudors, bride or bridegroom had come out of Spain. Had not Philip II. himself stooped his lowest, when he craved the hand of Elizabeth—of Anne Boleyn's daughter? Quiet on the high seas and a lasting accommodation in the Low Countries would have followed on a Spanish match. With the Channel at peace, the trade of the world would be conducted by a friendly association of Spaniards, Hollanders, and English. And a Spanish Queen would greatly strengthen the House of Stewart. It might easily happen that, joined to the stout and hearty Stewart stock, the Hapsburg blood might take a new lease of life, and that the inheritance of her fathers might some day accrue to the posterity of an Infanta, who should be married into Britain. Such a marriage would also take the sting out of the commonly spread and received report that the Queen of Scots had disinherited her son, and named the King of Spain heir to all her rights. Moreover, a Spanish marriage for Prince Charles, following on the Danish marriage of King James, would carry Britain into the centre and foreground of a naval and commercial

league, which would embrace the whole Western coast of Europe, and might well seem the most constraining of imaginable pledges for the preservation of the whole Continent in tranquillity. Moreover, it was always a fundamental point with James, as it continued with all the Stewarts, to assert their liberty to wed beyond the Reformed Faith. Then, again, predisposing arguments, though from opposite directions, toward the marriage might be found in two other considerations, which, in spite of his unaffected love of toleration and charitable constructions, caused James a good deal of worry. The first consideration was the tendency, confined, though it was, to a comparatively very small and insignificant section of the Court and the highest aristocracy, to join the Catholic communion: his own light-minded Queen had coquetted with Romanism, though she died a sincere Protestant. The second consideration was the certainty, the proofs of which he held in his hands, that men in the most prominent offices, of the greatest intelligence and repute—not only a suspected Raleigh, but a Monson, a Northampton, a Salisbury—had been for some purpose or other (we do not judge the purpose to have been a treasonable one, for they were not fastidious about spoiling the Egyptians) in receipt of Spanish annuities and refreshers. Further, it was a valuable circumstance in James's eyes that England should be able to stand before not only Protestant but Catholic Europe on equal terms with Spain, the Defender of the Protestant Faith suitor on behalf of his son for the daughter or sister of the most Catholic King. Nor, we should add, will James's private theory concerning a Spanish or French marriage be fairly comprehended by us, unless we are careful to bear in mind that, in principle and in practice, he stuck absolutely, with stubborn and almost unkind consistency, to his rule, that the Royal womankind should exercise no authority or influence over State concerns. As they both had much reason to know, James was never for an instant swayed in his course either by his mother or his wife, excellent husband as he was, and as good a son as the mother allowed of. It would have been well for his successor, though Charles was justified in the indignant retort on Bristol, at Madrid: 'I wonder what you have ever found in me that you should conceive I should be so base and unworthy as for a wife to change my religion;' still more would it have been well for his later descendants if, following as they did in so many respects his precepts, this integral position

in the system of their ancestor had been remembered by them.

And to negotiate for such a match, even if it were to come to nothing, was quite in accordance with James's manner. He saw the cohesion and the expansion of the British empire pressing and pushing on of itself with a natural and tremendous impetus; his own business he took to be to keep the roads clear; to make a peace, or to get, if not a peace, a truce; to gain, by all means, time. So through the whole reign, from the very beginning to the very end, the Spanish Marriage project is on the cards.

Unwillingly—and yet liking to see this earnestness in others on behalf of a scheme of his own fostering—he let Charles and Buckingham start for Madrid. He was pleased, at any rate, to note that his son was beginning to understand and fall in with his own conceptions concerning the appropriate relations and aims of Great Britain. And thus he allowed the journey, though he felt his health and faculties giving way, and could ill miss the comfort of having son and confidant about him. That Charles should really have taken up the notion of such a match,—that his heir had made himself at home in his father's intentions for him,—consolated James in regard to the whole enterprise. So when he ordered the Prince back, he wrote: 'I confess it is my chiefest worldly joy that ye love her, but the necessity of my affairs enforceth me to tell you that you must prefer the obedience to a father to the love ye carry to a mistress.' As to the manner of the courtship, Charles was doing what he himself had done, what Darnley had done, what James V. of Scotland had done, in going abroad to woo. 'Here are baby Charles and Steenie who have a great mind to go by post into Spain to fetch home the Infanta.' 'What think you,' he said to Cottington, when the notion is fresh hatched, 'of the journey?' 'Dear venturous knights,' is his own paternal comment, 'worthy to be put in a new romanso.' 'But do you think,' months later to Williams, 'that this knight-errant pilgrimage will be lucky to win the Spanish lady and to convey her shortly into England?' Then, however, when the wedding looks quite probable, when he has to begin to build a Roman Catholic chapel for the Infanta, it is remarked in what an ill-humour he is, and he is overheard to exclaim, 'We are building a chapel to the devil.' For if it was to be at all, this marriage must be as part of a great political advance. Here the King and the Prince of Wales were quite at one. As James said for them both,

when he had his son again, 'I like not to marry my son with a portion of my daughter's tears.\*' It may be noted how, afterwards in regard to the French match, father and son again acted in complete harmony.† And when in Spain new difficulties arose and multiplied, he was against all love-sick loitering. 'Come speedily away. Alas! I now repent me sore that ever I suffered you to go. Ye shall be as heartily welcome as if ye had done all things ye went for.'

For while, as usual, we are at one with Mr. Gardiner in his criticism and account of events, we here, as not unfrequently, are compelled to disagree with him in his appreciation of persons. We trust he will pardon us the observation, but we sometimes cannot, try all we will, make him agree with himself. He is complete master of the facts; we are indebted in chief to him for our own knowledge of them; he deserves the greatest credit, and he has our sincerest gratitude for his most laborious, exact, and candidly-recorded researches: but surely his facts themselves make as evidence against the conclusions which he ultimately inclines to draw from them. He speaks of James as being 'in Sarmiento's net,' and again, of his 'dragging to the horror of patriots the English nation to unutterable shame.‡' Why that is just the old, partial, prejudiced view, which we should have supposed had been finally dissipated by the agency of Mr. Gardiner's own narrative. With regard to Spain and to Europe, England's position, even if it be held that James had not made the most of it, was at the close quite as imposing and formidable as at the opening of the reign. Even though she had not drawn, in the opinion of some, all the interest out of her advantages she might at a risk have snatched, still it was impossible to deny that she had (of what other kingdom could the same for James's lifetime have been said?) added vastly to her accumulated capital. With regard to the particular form of alliance with Spain by a marriage, Spain first made and Spain clung longest to the proposition. With regard to Gondomar, his sole importance is that, always unpopular with the English people, he remained from first to last the thorough-going friend and genuine furtherer of the Spanish Marriage.

It was in the last months of Casaubon's life that Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, famous and familiar with Englishmen under his later title as 'the Count of Gondomar,' ar-

rived in London. Here is Mr. Gardiner's description of this celebrated personage.

'It would be absurd to speak of Sarmiento as a man of genius, or even as a deep and far-sighted politician. He was altogether deficient in . . . the power of seeing things of pre-eminent importance as they really are. During his long residence amongst the English people, and with his unrivalled opportunities for studying their character, he never could comprehend for a moment that English Protestantism had any deeper root than in the personal predilections of a King,' &c. ('Spanish Marriage,' vol. i. 9, and *passim*.)

Just so. That prepares us for the kind of statements Gondomar would make in his dispatches. But it does not prepare us to find Mr. Gardiner accepting Gondomar altogether on his own statement. It does not prepare us to find that, after all, Mr. Gardiner, having written thus concerning envoy and Sovereign, should finally consent to repeat that Gondomar was a man to have a James I. in leading-strings. When Salisbury pocketed his 6000 crowns per annum from Spain, because Spain forced them on him, and would obstinately hold him the worse enemy were he to decline the pension (the act was doubtless one for which in later days there could be neither excuse nor condonation), it was not himself that he thought a fool as he handled the money. Nor had Salisbury's master any reason to underrate his own wit and skill when, undertaking after Cecil's death the general supervision of Government, and amongst other branches of it the management of the Spanish business, he had in especial to deal with Gondomar. The Spaniard was just the kind of quarry James liked to be after. The King was far more than a match for the ambassador. Had it been otherwise, there was plenty of counter-check. Winwood, the most Protestant and anti-Spanish of statesmen, took the oaths as Secretary just about the time of Gondomar's arrival, and a bishop was lord-keeper while the marriage negotiations were at their height. Let Mr. Gardiner look again at the whole transaction in the light in which the following extract from von Ranke's characteristic of James would place it.

'On every side he saw himself involved in a struggle with hostile privileges and proud independent powers, from whose ascendancy, both in Church and State, he was careful to keep himself free, while at the same time he did not proceed to extremities or come to an absolute rupture. He was naturally disposed, and was moreover led by circumstances, to make it a leading rule of conduct to adhere immovably to principles which he had once espoused, and never to lose sight of them; but,

\* 'Spanish Marriage,' vol. ii. 423.

† 'England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I.,' vol. i. pp. 94, 95.

‡ 'Spanish Marriage,' vol. i. p. 36.

having done this, to appear vacillating and irresolute in matters of detail. His position abroad involved the same apparent contradiction. Placed in the midst of great rival powers, and never completely certain of the obedience of his subjects, he sought to ensure the future for himself by crafty and hesitating conduct. All the world complained that they could not depend on him, each party thought that he was blinded by the other. Those, however, who knew him more intimately, assure us that we must not suppose that he did not apprehend the snares that were laid for him; that if only he were willing to use his eyes, he was as clear-sighted as Argus; that there was no prince in the world who had more insight into affairs or more cleverness in transacting them. They say that if he appeared to lack decision, this arose from his fine perception of the difficulties arising from the nature of things and their necessary consequences; that he was just as slow and circumspect in the execution as he was lively and expeditious in the discussion of measures; that he knew how to moderate his choleric temperament by an intentional reserve, and that even his absence from the capital and his residence in the country were made to second this systematic hesitation; that if a disputed point awaited decision, instead of attending a meeting with the Privy Councillors who were with him, he would take advantage of a fine day to fly his falcons, for he thought that something might happen in the meanwhile, or some news be brought in, and that the delay of an hour had often, ere now, been found profitable.'—Vol. i. pp. 475–6.

No man of his times, none of the great men who endeavoured to avert or to minimise the Thirty Years' War, undertook to occupy so impartial and, according to the political theories prevalent among us now, so judiciously chosen, yet at the same time so disagreeable and unremunerated a post of observation, so nice and hazardous a line of revision or interference, as James.

Mr. Gardiner has proved, over and over again, that the King was well-nigh the only man in England who understood the drift and import of the horrid storms, which abroad were thickly and rapidly overspreading the heavens. James, while the country at large applauded the Elector Palatine's acceptance of the Bohemian crown, had opposed, remonstrated, threatened, done his utmost to stem and weaken the wild tide of thoughtless enthusiasm. 'The Palatine is a godless man and a usurper. I shall be involved in a bad cause.\*' He foresaw, in the first place, the foreign disasters which ensued. When the news, which the Londoners refused to credit, reached him of the luckless battle on the White Hill, James showed no surprise. His first remark was,

'I have long expected this.\* The torch of war, which had been kindled, could in Germany scarcely be damped. Was it possible to narrow its flame and to prevent the conflagration from touching the outlying countries? To this question James seriously addressed himself.

The Palatinate was a keystone in the military system of Europe. A war in the Palatinate, a war on the Rhine, was fraught with infinite risks in regard to all Western and Protestant Europe. The United Provinces and France, as well as the Northern monarchies and Great Britain, all these were deeply interested. Expostulation, stratagem, as a last resort the sword, must be tried, rather than the Palatinate yielded. Happen, indeed, what might, the Palatinate must never be sacrificed; on that head James was all through calmly, but quite, determined. And had not just now all England been full of excitement and fervour on behalf of the Elector Palatine and his consort, their admired and beloved Princess Elizabeth? Yet was not James right in his foregatherings, in his doubts, how far England would really care to take the lead in a war in Germany? Above all, was he not right in staving off an English war, unless, after the most elaborate preparations, in Germany and against Spain at once? A war with Germany would put a terrible strain on his kingdom. From it England could never gain any of the ordinary rewards of hostilities to victorious nations. It was not like a war with Spain, a war on the ocean or in the colonies, which to the realm, and still more to the individual adventurer—then so large a shareholder in the national stock of daring and vigour—brought a rich and quick harvest of fame and treasure. This war could not, unless carried on—would not, for that matter, if so carried on—with a cold-blooded and professionally exercised barbarity, at which James shuddered with an unfeigned detestation, pay its expenses. The expenses must be provided beforehand and at home. It would be an otherwise incalculable, it was sure to be a long and severe, war. And, as in subsequent centuries, so in the seventeenth, Britain would be expected, beside her share in troops and officers, to furnish, among allies, the chief contribution of money and equipment. To justify James—the apprehensive and the decided side of his policy alike—one has but to skim the sessions of Parliament in 1621 and 1623. The country, as was said, had hitherto been full of outbursts of loyal affection to the cause of the King of Bohemia, and of poetical devotion to his Queen. England

\* 'Spanish Marriage,' vol. i. p. 325.

\* 'Spanish Marriage,' p. 387.

had, it may also be observed—in generals of her own, like Chichester, Vere, and Burroughes—gentlemen and disciplinarians, under whom she might with fair confidence and a good conscience have taken the field. The neutrality, the friendship of Spain—a master-stroke of James's—might be deemed secured. But to carry on war as Englishmen were accustomed—not after the fashion of Mansfeld and his licentious and ruffianly freebooters—would undoubtedly cost, as an experienced Council of War reported, 900,000*l.* per annum.

Meanwhile the measures taken abroad by the King during the early session of 1621 were excellent and prompt. Digby was dispatched to Vienna and Madrid; he was to demand patience and courtesy for Frederick, who was to retain his inherited domains and title, and to give up the Bohemian crown. In case these terms were rejected at both Courts, Digby's instructions were explicit enough:—'Our meaning briefly and plainly is that, in case herein satisfaction shall be denied us, you endeavour to fix the quarrel as well upon the King of Spain as upon the Emperor.' There was a mark beyond which even James's reluctance would not be stretched. 'But this we would have you do rather solidly than by any words of threatening or menace, and rather to give us a just and good ground, when we shall see occasion to enter into a war, than suddenly to embark us in it.\*' Digby's propositions were acceptable. They were equally well received at the Courts of Spain, Brussels, Vienna, and Dresden. And this mission would have altogether succeeded, but for Frederick's incurable folly, and Mansfeld's equally incurable levity. Frederick neglected advice, to which Elizabeth, Carleton, and Nethersole, implored him to listen; Mansfeld—in whose companionship both Chichester and Vere, experienced and veteran English captains, despaired of humane warfare and prosperous events—followed his drunkard thirst for slaughter, burning, and waste. The shocking details of these unlicensed and criminal raids waged by that party, to which by religion, blood, and interest he belonged, threw James into the utmost distress and perplexity, though they confirmed in him the old purpose, to strive for peace. At this juncture of his life it was that James must have most bitterly felt his own defects, and the evils of the generation around him. What would he not have given for a great minister, his own and the nation's confidential friend! It was now that Bacon fell. 'All my lawyers are so

bred and nursed in corruption'—it was not so bad as that—'that they cannot leave it.' Salisbury was dead, Bacon was lost, Digby had no gift of popularity.

By the autumn session of 1621 Digby\* was back in England, in order that he might, in person, put before the Commons the duty of keeping steadily in sight the one primary and necessary plan, if there was to be a war: the occupation and possession of the Palatinate.

If James, in his final days, ever thought it worth while to indulge in self-congratulations on his power of reading troubles beforehand, he may well have done so when he thought over the occurrences of his last two Parliaments. James understood thoroughly—his learning, and the experience of a long life on the throne, had taught him the lesson—that the wars of the future, however styled, would be not religious, but political. James had disliked wars in general, and this war with the rest; if possible he would still keep clear of it, or keep down its proportions. He loved his son-in-law as well as a father-in-law should and his daughter very dearly, but he knew Frederick, as history knows him, in his headstrong and empty conceit: he knew all his rashness and perversity.

The story of this autumn session is one of the strangest stories of cross-purposes that can be read. James and his subjects had alike the same objects at heart: to strengthen the cause of Protestantism and Constitutionalism, to further free institutions and the development of political life, to uphold liberty of conscience. And the House of Commons professed to look on the Elector Palatine, as Mr. Gardiner puts it, 'as an innocent martyr to the Protestant faith.†' Was then the war in the Palatinate inevitable? Or was there still a chance to treat? These were the two points to which, it might have been thought, the discussion would have confined itself. But when the debates began the House would not hear of the war in the Palatinate, it clamoured for a war—with Spain. In the

\* Mr. Gardiner's sketch of Digby at the commencement of his career seems to us very happily caught and finely realised. We look forward with much interest to his further studies of this statesman's character and life. Already Mr. Gardiner's outlines, in which we have the youthful bearing and behaviour of the man, give much fresh force and meaning to Clarendon's words concerning the Earl of Bristol in his later years; 'a man of a grave aspect, of a presence that drew respect and of long experience in affairs of great importance, though a man of great parts and a wise man, yet he had been for the most single and by himself in business.'

† 'Spanish Marriage,' ii. 245.

\* 'Spanish Marriage,' vol. ii. p. 91.

twinkling of an eye the dazzling wealth of the Indies drew away men's thoughts from the ruined villages and overthrown temples of the Reformation in Germany. One just heard the reflection that 'God was angry because the English had not kept the crown on the head of the King of Bohemia,'\* and then the general cry was for what was called a 'war of diversion,' that is to say, a war against Spain in the Indies. So Digges, so Ferrot, so Phelips, so Crew, so Coke.

There were in that crowd two statesmen very notable for us with the work of the coming times in our memories, each of whom took his own exceptional line of thought and intervention during these remarkable proceedings. The younger member for Yorkshire, Sir Thomas Wentworth, lamented the inability of the assembly to grasp the actual position of affairs and to chime in with Digby's matured policy. He moved, and attempted in vain to procure, the adjournment of the discussion. Two days later, in committee, Mr. John Pym, putting aside altogether, or carrying into an entirely new atmosphere, the question under consideration, and yet, in his abstract and statuesque Puritan eloquence, securing the rapt attention of his audience, proposed: 'That an oath of association for the defence of His Majesty's person, and for the execution of the laws made for the establishing of religion, should be taken by all loyal subjects; and that the King should be asked to issue a special commission for the suppression of recusancy.†

The House soon turned right away from a matter which certainly required immediate attention. It had got gradually, but totally and most unmanageably, upon the engrossing topics of the state of religion, of the fear of the Pope, and of the progress of the Jesuits in Great Britain. It petitioned against Papists and Recusants. Day by day during its later sittings the Puritan fires grew warmer and warmer. Digges, when the king was obstinate, would say, 'let us rise not as in discontent, rather let us resort to our prayers.' And at last every other question disappeared before that of liberty of parliamentary speech. The King gave up hopes of the subsidy, tore out a protestation of the Commons from the Journals of the House, and was for days before and after he had dissolved Parliament in a passion of vexation.

'God knows,' said the King, 'we never meant to deny them any lawful privileges that ever that House enjoyed in our prede-

cessor's times.' 'If we had known sooner,' said Phelips, four days before the last sitting, 'how far His Majesty had proceeded in the match of Spain, we should not, I think, have touched that string.' It is always a striking trait in James how, in spite of the manner in which he stood, and set himself often to stand, out of feeling with so much of the very soul and breath of England, he, nevertheless, contrived to retain, through all, as much, if not more, of such personal favour with the masses as he had at starting possessed. And throughout James's lifetime the Royal Family, on which rather than on himself the national love in appearance was bestowed, was extraordinarily popular; the scene, for example, at the return of the Prince of Wales out of Spain has seldom had a parallel.

It is quite impossible for us to enter into details concerning the Government of James at home. Had we space to dwell on it, it would be with a sense of wonder that we should see the wary, slow-paced but sure-footed old King wend his way through the mazes of Council and Parliament. He is never out of the toils, he is never brought to a standstill, he never lets go that thread of his own. We can only give one glimpse at him near the end. The strenuous efforts made by Britain and Spain to prevent the general outbreak of hostilities have, it is plain, failed. The War Spectre is closer than ever. James comes before Parliament prematurely aged and broken. He is to die next year. His address, true to his character and policy, has a special note of pathos.

'I shall entreat your good and sound advice for the glory of God, *the peace of the kingdom, and the weal of my children* (there were left Elizabeth and Charles). I pray you judge me charitably, as you will have me judge you; for I never made public nor private treaties, but I always made a direct reservation for the weal public and cause of religion, for the glory of God and the good of my subjects. *I only thought good sometimes to wink and connive at the execution of some penal statutes*, and not to go on so rigorously as at other times; but to dispense with any, to forbid or alter any, that concern religion, I neither promised nor yielded. I never did think it with my heart, nor speak it with my mouth. A king that governs evenly is not bound to carry a rigorous hand over his subjects upon all occasions, but may sometimes slacken the bridle, yet so as his hands be not off the reins.'

Again the project, the only seasonable one, to form a Protestant confederation in Germany was in Parliament disregarded; again the proposal of a renewed war with

\* 'Spanish Marriage,' ii. 124.

† Ibid., ii. 131.

Spain was rapturously hailed. Even Eliot could press a suggestion, which, indeed, in Mr. Gardiner's words, 'if it had been translated into figures would have organized a tyranny too monstrous to be contemplated,' that for a war with Spain the necessary ships might be furnished by the help of 'those penalties the Papists have already incurred.' A petition embodying the sense of the House went up to the King. But, though Buckingham was foremost amongst those who supported it, James was never less disposed to assume the character of a Protestant crusader. He said he had a bad cold, and declined to receive the petition. His reply to it a couple of days later was: 'As Moses saw the Land of Promise from a high mountain, so would it be a great comfort for me that God would but so prolong my days as if I might not see the restitution, yet at least to be assured that it would be.' He did not want 'one furrow of land in England, Scotland, or Ireland, without restitution of the Palatinate.' And let them consider how serious was the emergency. 'I must not only deal,' from another Royal address, 'with my own people, but with my neighbours and allies to assist me in so great a business as the recovery of the Palatinate.' On the other hand, in the Commons, Seymour exclaimed: 'The Palatinate was the place intended by His Majesty. This we never thought of.' 'Are we poor,' cried Eliot, 'Spain is rich.' James's comment was: his plans 'must not be ordered by a multitude. For advice about the conduct of the future war he must be dependent not upon Parliament, but upon military men who would form a Council of War.' A little subsequently he writes to Conway—and surely this steadfastness of the King has its own nobility and courage—'Ye know my firm resolution not to make this a war of religion.' Never, in fact, in James's time was there a final breach with Spain made. And even Gondomar's re-appearance in London was hinted at to the end. But his practical measures in view of the complete rupture with Spain were admirable. He saw the Dutch Commissioners. He sent even now, however, a last message to Madrid, urging on Philip once more the wisdom of joint action for the restitution of the Palatinate. If all hopes of peace with Spain must go, it would not do to embark in the European war without a French alliance. 'The King is resolved not to break with Spain, nor to give them any occasion to break with him, until he be secure that France will join very close with him and other Catholic Princes and States which have the same interest,' otherwise 'it would be understood to be a

war of religion.' If there must be war let England and France march together again, as in the 'Henri-Quatre' time. If there is no help for it but that this scoundrel Mansfeld must have a great command, let it be over a joint French and English army, 'for the recovery and recuperation of the Palatinate and the Valtelline.' And the fury of war is all the while moving the North. Gustavus Adolphus lays his and Roe's\* grand plan before the Stewart. 'I am not so great and rich a Prince as to be able,' said James, 'to do so much, I am only the King of two poor little islands,' and he may have heaved a sigh because of Parliaments. But Denmark, France, Savoy, would do to begin with; others like the Swede might fall in farther on.

Mr. Gardiner with great truth remarks that the plan and policy of King James with reference to the 'Thirty Years' War, should he have to take action, are in effect the very same with those developed afterwards with such marvellous fortune by the rising French statesman, with whom, in these his own last operations, James was joining hands, Cardinal Richelieu. The two understood each other thoroughly. With reference to the French marriage for Prince Charles, they came to an agreement that the Pope, who had in reality wrecked the Spanish match, should have no such power here. If, declared the Cardinal, demands from Rome offensive to James were not withdrawn in a month, the nuptials would take place without any dispensation at all of the Holy Father's.

Immersed, thus, in preliminaries for battles and for a wedding, James fell sick and expired, misliking much the military, slightly, it may be, even the festive, appointments of his latter days. But in the rule of his life and the realm, he had never weighed anchor, nor launched out upon the high flood further than he could fathom. He passed away from the world with something of the same weariness of it that Elizabeth had felt so strongly, yet, as a statesman with a family, with more of curiosity and care for what was to come after. He held to his last breath his policy in balance and his mind in suspense. In England he had tired of Buckingham, and he was meditating, probably with an experiment growing fast towards trial in his thoughts, on the rivalry between Buckingham and Bristol. In France he was watching with a newly roused sympathy the early difficulties of the famous

\* One cannot be quite sure, perhaps, of the co-operation of Roe, but cp. Droysen's 'Gustav Adolf,' ii. 67, 68.

Cardinal, who there, between Jesuits and Huguenots, was to have much the same struggle as his had been between Romanists and Puritans. James may, besides, have had his peculiar views and guesses as to who was destined to be the great captain in the enlarging war. His own Buckingham, never so boastful and blustering as now, nor so certain of a wide and brilliant future, and whom James would not have been sorry to have seen fully employed at a distance? Or the Dane? Or the Swede? Doubtless his contemplations were never disturbed by the deeds which were to be soon done in his island-sanctuary and oasis, and which would make the whole world ring. He never dreamt of his mother's fate as that which would befall his son, or that, though in the most different setting, his own policy was to be carried out, with the highest of hands, by a Puritan and a man of war, who was to succeed, as he, James Stewart, had never, never could have, succeeded, in subduing and uniting the three kingdoms, in dictating to and dissolving Parliaments, in reprimanding and in awing Europe; strangest of all, in the personal preaching and practising and enforcing of his (James's) own particular creed of Coalition and of Toleration among that potent little congregation of European nations, which, laid to the West and apart from, yet in sight of, the main continent, dwells together within the narrow seas.

The great events which were to take place in Britain and its sister island were beyond James, beyond the previsions and the alternatives he had harboured; though some dangers he did, it appears, anticipate. 'Take him to you,' he had said, when Laud was promoted to St. David's, 'but, on my soul, you will repent it.' 'You are a fool,' he a few months before his death said to Buckingham, who was pestering for the impeachment of Middlesex; 'you are making a rod with which you will be scourged yourself.' The next moment the King turned to the Prince: 'You,' he exclaimed, 'will live to have your bellyful of impeachments.' His personal religious convictions remained as steady as his political maxims. As he had written, and as he had governed, so he died. He wished much to have Bishop Andrewes with him in his last hours, but that prelate was himself too ill to comply with the King's desire.

There will, we imagine, always be a two-fold aspect in every attempted characterisation of James I. But that ungainly figure was, we repeat, the mask of a very considerable personality. Behind those rough and lazy features worked a big and a versatile brain, and a most observant and discrimi-

nating intellect. One has, on the one hand, to take into account the irony of Nature toward him, the pedantic external of his manners and character, his habit of making small slips to save himself from grave falls. Here he reminds us of the lines of one of his own statesmen and poets. They were written in Elizabeth's time, or James might have suggested to Sir John Davies the quaint idea and phrasing with which his 'nosce te ipsum' begins:—

'Why did my parents send me to the Schooles,  
That I with knowledge might enrich my mind?  
Since the desire to know first made men fools  
And did corrupt the root of all mankind;

So that themselves were first to do the ill,  
Ere they thereof the knowledge could attain;  
Like him that knew not poison's power to kill  
Until (by tasting it) himself was slain.'

One has, on the other hand, to regard the originality, the sagacity, the large-mindedness—above all, the permanence of the comprehensive and pacific policy he proclaimed and exemplified. And here the King might address, at large and to our own and later times, a claim for some such consideration as that for which the great philosopher, his Chancellor, on his own private behoof, had to plead: 'For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations, and to the next ages.'

For ourselves and for our readers we hold it to be of some slight value, not only as an exertion of the mental but also of the moral powers, to make, as occasion comes, such attempts as the present, to replace (for the veriest accidents often cast such statues from their pedestals) the shattered fragments of effigies of deserving, though unpopular, monarchs and politicians back in their historic positions and in the lights and aspects in which the originals might have known themselves, and would have been content to rest. Moreover, in the case of James I., although he had fair justice allotted to him by his contemporaries, we may be, better than they, qualified to fix his proper and final attitude and elevation. In some measure, when compared with the earlier and later Stewarts, he conforms to their general type. He has his share of their 'nonchalance,' their uncertain temper, their irregular energy. There is this, besides, that, as he was the first to call himself King of Great Britain, so he was the first to create what is in the main still, both in the eyes of Englishmen and in the eyes of other nationalities, the policy of Great Britain.

ART. II.—1. *History of Jamaica.* By W. J. Gardner. London, 1873.

2. *Report on the Jamaica Blue Book for 1872.* By Governor Sir J. P. Grant, K.C.B. (Colonial Blue Book, Part I., 1874).

So vast is our Empire, so widely scattered the lands overshadowed by its flag, that to a large proportion even of the best educated among ourselves, let alone the comparatively uneducated, many of our noblest colonial possessions, the scenes in their day of the manliest British perseverance, the most daring enterprise, the most signal success, are nothing but mere geographical names, which convey to the mind of the hearer no idea beyond the necessity of hunting them out, should occasion require it, in such or such a plate of the general atlas. Who is there of us but has laughed with Walpole and Smollett, when the Newcastle of their pages naively inquires the situation of Annapolis, and expresses his wonder that Cape Breton should be an island? And yet many a duke, perhaps even a minister of more modern date, might be hard put to it if too suddenly questioned regarding the whereabouts of Montego Bay, or the extent of Dominica. "It is but a poor household," says Horace, "that does not contain many valuables unnoted by the master of the house;" and the mere inventory of the precious things included in that world-wide domain of which our Queen is Lady and Mistress, may well prove too long for an ordinary memory; while a detailed acquaintance with every item recorded on the list would certainly exceed the patience of the most laborious, and the grasp of the most comprehensive intellect.

With some of our colonies, however, the public mind is, in a general way, tolerably familiar; and the mention of them not only brings immediately with it a distinct idea of their geographical character and position, but moreover calls up before the fancy an entire picture, bearing a resemblance more or less accurate to the locality in question. Hindoostan, or at any rate that portion of it which has been for some generations past under British rule, is an instance in point. The muddy waters of the Hoogly, the cocoa-nut groves of Bombay, the surf of Madras, the architectural glories of Agra, the hump-backed bulls of Benares, the caverned wonders of Elephanta, rice-fields and bamboo clusters, tigers and mango-topes, slender Hindoos, bangle-ornamented women, and solar-hatted officials, all these and more shape themselves without effort in the imaginary landscape, and contribute, when India and

Indian affairs are under discussion, to the definiteness of our ideas, and the intensity of our feelings. Perhaps the images are not always perfectly accurate, nor the feelings judicious; still they exist; and should they be at first in a measure erroneous, they subsequently have their use by supplying a groundwork for truer appreciations. It is absolute ignorance alone from which no result can follow, no interest can have rise.

What we have just said about India, holds good in a modified form for Jamaica. But at the name of the West Indian island, it is a vision of sugar-canes and rum-barrels, of creoles and negroes, of burning suns and diluvial rains, the whole projected in some imaginations on a pleasant background of cottages, chapels, and emancipation, in others on a less cheerful one of abandoned estates, ruined factories and Morant Bay, that rises to the view. Indeed a series of analogous landscapes, little differing from the Jamaican, represents to most of us the British West Indian islands, one and all; nor is the panorama, however incomplete, absolutely unfaithful to nature.

Indeed where Jamaica is concerned, it might be well if the imaginary portrayal went no further. But such is not ordinarily the case. The slight outlines of reality have been again and again scrawled over and coloured in with the glaring tints and distorted forms of fiction; romance-writers and emancipationists, Blackwood and Exeter Hall, have, each in turn, contributed their share to the work, till the popular Jamaican ideal bears for the most no truer resemblance to the Jamaica of fact, than a landscape viewed alternately through a prism and a smoked glass, would to the same surveyed by the naked eye.

For much of this prejudice is responsible; much also may be ascribed to ignorance, and to the low estimate formerly set by the British mind on almost everything beyond our own 'silver-streak' of sea, till the combined effects of long peace and of steam had transformed us from insulars to cosmopolitans. When old Sam Johnson, on hearing of the death of a wealthy Jamaica planter, a friend of his own too, if we remember rightly, growled out that 'the deceased would not, on exchanging this world for another, have found much of a difference either in the climate or the company,' he did but condense into a rough epigram what was indeed the current popular verdict of his generation upon the fairest of West Indian islands, and the inhabitants thereof. A pestilential atmosphere, where stagnation alternated with hurricanes, and the deadly heat of the day gave place only to the dead-

lier dews of night ; a land where yellow fever was the normal sanitary condition, and immorality the social : where the existence of the white colonist was summed up in indolence, sangaree, and flogging, and that of the black in field gangs, Obeah, and being flogged ; add mosquitoes, chiggers, snakes, earthquakes, tornadoes, and all things evil, set in a sea-margin of sharks, reefs, and pirates ; such, or nearly, was the Jamaica of the Lichfield Doctor and his compeers. Part, and not an inconsiderable one, of the above description, may be still read in Michael Scott's pages ; part has almost passed away from memory with the windy declamations of Exeter Hall.

A much juster, though not a wholly unbiassed, estimate of Jamaica and its belongings, was given to the outer world by poor Monk Lewis in his sprightly *West Indian Journal* ; and all the mighty changes, transformations we might almost call them, that have since that writer's day, come over the island of his sojourn, do not prevent its visitors from finding even now much to remind them of Byron's amiable friend. His judgment may have been sometimes at fault, his heart never ; and the eyes of the heart, says the true Arab proverb, see often as far as those of the head ; occasionally farther.

Passing over a few names of limited, because almost exclusively local, celebrity, our next authority on Jamaica is Mr. Bigelow, a New-Englander, and endowed with more than the customary amount of New-England prejudice and self-sufficiency. This gentleman visited the island in 1850, not long after the Hon. Mr. Stanley, now Lord Derby, had travelled through it ; and in the following year he published a work which he was pleased to entitle '*Jamaica as it is* ;' but which he might have more correctly headed, '*a comparison of the wretchedness of Jamaica under British rule, with the advantages she might reap from American annexation.*' Mr. Stanley's well-known letter of that period to Mr. Gladstone, undergoes the severest strictures of the New York critic ; as do also, though with more justice, the inflated and injudicious lucubrations of Mr. Carlyle. What approval Mr. Bigelow and his theorizings found in the States we know not ; but they certainly met with very little either in the British West Indies themselves, or, a contemporary notice in the '*Edinburgh Review*' excepted, in the mother country. On the other hand, it may not be considered unworthy of remark that the Hon. Mr. Stanley's tour, and his opinions as expressed at the time in conversation, and subsequently embodied in writing, are still held in grateful remembrance and

deserved esteem by the landowners of Jamaica.

The work now before us, though by no means free from great, not to say gross defects, is yet, as a whole, of a very different and much superior class of merit to that of Mr. Bigelow. Mr. W. T. Gardner writes, not as an outsider, but as a resident ; and one who has with praiseworthy diligence closely studied not only the printed and published documents, but also the MSS. memoirs and archives of the colony. Manners and customs are sketched with the fresh minuteness of actual experience ; the natural characteristics of the island, its incomparable beauty of scenery, its climate, its principal productions, its capabilities, its resources, are distinctly, if somewhat meagrely, described ; and its entire history, from its first discovery by Columbus, down to the sixth year of Sir John Peter Grant's administration, is clearly and even agreeably detailed.

It is to be regretted that these considerable merits are balanced by faults hardly less considerable. Mr. Gardner, who is himself, as we are informed, a member of the London Missionary Society, has not only devoted to the so-called religious life and development, to the petty strifes and squabbles, the rivalries and jarrings of the too numerous sects that divide the Jamaican population, a part of his book out of all proportion with the proprieties of general literature, but has too often done so with the tone and in the spirit not of a historian but of a partisan. Worse still, when on this field he occasionally so far forgets courtesy and good taste as to permit himself personal allusions strongly savouring of sacerdotal spite ; and more than once merits the rebuke given centuries ago by the Highest Authority to those who distribute Divine judgments according to their own passions or fancies. The Church of England and her ministers fare, as might have been anticipated, particularly badly at Mr. Gardner's hands ; while Dissenters and their propagandists of every denomination, but more especially the Baptist missionaries and their flocks, find in him a constant apologist, and even panegyrist at times. On the contrary, in his severe, though by no means unmerited censures of the too well known "*native Baptists*," we trace the orthodox antipathy of the licensed for the unlicensed practitioner ; an antipathy so far fortunate in this instance, that it renders him an almost impartial narrator where Morant Bay and the ill-starred Mr. Gordon are concerned.

Nor is religion, or rather sectarianism, the only topic on which the reverend author over-readily exchanges the characteristics of

an annalist for those of a pamphleteer. Himself an emancipationist of the somewhat sensational type, he is apt to dwell with undue prolixity on the acts of injustice and cruelty that, as is well known, not rarely disgraced the slave-holding community; and while he takes pleasure in deepening the shades of a picture already dark enough of itself, he projects, by way of contrast, lights too brilliant, alas! for truth on his portrait of the liberated African. Here, again, Monk Lewis was a juster limner; and his shrewd, though kindly likeness of the negro in his day of bondage, and by anticipation of what the same would be when 'lord of himself, that heritage of woe,' receive more confirmation from actual experience than the rose-coloured representations of Mr. Gardner and his school.

Slavery, as an institution, has long ago received its condemnation; and no inferiority of the emancipated race, however persistent, no consequence, however unfavourable, no loss, however great, can reverse or even modify that verdict. It is founded on primary justice, on absolute right, on the laws of human nature itself. Nor—we hasten to anticipate a misconception of our meaning that might possibly occur—do we hold that after events, rightly taken, have pronounced unfavourably on the result of the great experiment of 1833. That the negroes have not only by their general conduct falsified the lugubrious vaticinations of those who foresaw in emancipation merely a prelude to the excesses of Haiti, but have, on the contrary, given unmistakable evidence of a notable and constantly increasing amelioration in every respect, moral and intellectual no less than physical, are facts that prejudice itself can no longer controvert or assail. And if the man and brother has not yet realized, nor even seems likely over-soon to realize the utopian visions of his enthusiastic patrons, he has shown himself many degrees further removed from the good-for-nothing, pumpkin-eating ideal of Mr. Carlyle. But the greatest gainers have been in truth the whites themselves.

It is strange how even thinking minds, in the consideration of these matters, often forget that the evils of slavery weigh scarce less heavily, and in the long-run more perniciously, on the slaveholders than on the slaves themselves; and that the prosperity, the existence even, of the former in our West Indian Colonies, was not less at stake in the parliamentary struggle of 1833, than those of the latter. Yet of this the present condition of Jamaica, as contrasted with its past, affords the clearest proof.

Insular history has this advantage, that it

presents us with the working out of social and political problems, free to a great extent from the disturbing influences that complicate similar processes in continental, and therefore of necessity, conterminal, states. Hence it comes that among European annals those of England are unquestionably the most instructive; and thus it has been in the New World with Jamaica, the island which of all others has exhibited the greatest vicissitudes within, while maintaining a peculiarly independent attitude towards its neighbours without. A battle-field of the most sharply-defined interests, a theatre of the most triumphant success and the most disastrous failure; now depressed, now flourishing; now the most autonomic among British Colonies, and now the most subject, Jamaica supplies lessons nowhere else so distinctly to be read as in her chronicles, and claims our attention with better right than many larger and wealthier colonies of the Empire.

The 3rd of May, 1655, was a fortunate day for Jamaica. When the weather-stained sails of the fleet, sent on its war-errand by the far-reaching policy of the great Protector, appeared against the morning sky, above the southern sea horizon of what was then San Jago, the island had been already for a century and a half under Spanish dominion. But except exterminating the native Caribs, that is an inoffensive and unarmed people from whom they themselves had met a friendly and hospitable reception, stocking the woods with half-wild cattle, horses, and swine, and founding, or rather indicating, the future island-capital to which they left their name, the Spaniards had done little or nothing for their possession. Rather they had done worse than nothing; since by the fugitive slaves and vagabonds, afterwards known as Maroons, with whom they had peopled the mountain districts, and the habits of brigandage and murder that they had implanted among these their successors by example and precept, they had rendered Jamaica on the whole less adapted to become a centre of civilisation, labour, and commerce, than they had found it. So weak indeed was their rule, so feeble their grasp, that not even the divided counsels of the half-hearted Penn and the incapable Venables, could enable the lords of the land to prolong their struggle against their famished and fever-stricken invaders; and a week sufficed for hauling down the Spanish flag and hoisting the British ensign in its place over St. Jago de la Vega. Only on the extreme north of the island, amid the sheltering gorges of Ocho Rias and the crags of Rio Nuevo, did the Dons, reinforced from the mother country

and Cuba, keep up a five years' resistance, till the skill of D'Oyley and the bravery of his troops dislodged them for ever from the coast. But departing, they left their savage pupils, the Maroons, behind them, to be for long years a thorn in the side of the settlers, and in our own day a discredit and an evil name, though enlisted in the cause of order.

Jamaica was now an English possession, and no time was lost in rendering it an English colony in the fullest sense of the word. To the energy of Cromwell were due more than 2000 settlers, most of them labouring men, sent out to subdue and replenish the soil; to the very dissimilar administration of Charles II. Jamaica owed a still more important reinforcement of men, even now influential through their descendants; men whom too prominent a share in the reign of the saints had rendered specially obnoxious to the reign of courtiers and courtesans. Barbadoes, the lesser Antilles, Surinam, New England itself, furnished others; and by 1662 the census could already return above 4000 white residents in Jamaica. A few years later the number was almost doubled; it then remained nearly stationary for half a century; and now, after two hundred years and more, it barely exceeds 11,000 in all.

So scant an increase during so long a period appears almost equivalent to a falling off. Has such been really the case? To answer aright we must consider the causes at work in the island.

Of these the chief was undoubtedly the rapid rise, and soon the almost universal prevalence of sugar cultivation. The first settlers indeed, enchanted by the immense, the seemingly unlimited, fertility of the soil, had turned their attention to a variety of valuable products, such as cocoa, indigo, dyewoods, tobacco, and even cotton; while the mild and balmy climate, joined to their own ignorance of the deadly power of a vertical sun, however delusively cool the breeze, encouraged them in the belief that outdoor labour was not less practicable for Englishmen in Jamaica than at home. And truly, in a land where the highest thermometric range, even on the heated coast level, rarely exceeds 90°, and where amid the uplands of the interior, that is throughout three-fourths of the island, the medium temperature ranges from 70° downward to 55°, and even lower, a European might well be excused for thinking himself capable of any exertion to which he had been accustomed in his native country. So Cromwell's emigrants and their comrades tried the experiment, and the fatal results that speedily thinned their ranks established a prejudice, hardly effaced in our

day, against the real, though relative, healthiness of the place. True, sanitary conditions were often not so much ignored as defied by the selection of the first plantation grounds amid spots where excess of moisture promised abundance, but concealed fever and death; common sense was defied also by neglected cleanliness, ill-constructed dwellings, and too often by the wild excesses of debauched and desperate men. But the reversal of all these evil conditions would not, as is now admitted, have granted immunity to European labour under a West Indian sun; and the experiments of Scotch and Irish immigration scarce thirty years since, of Mr. Myers and his German labourers in the favoured western districts, and of but too many others throughout the island, though made with every precaution that prudence could suggest, have met with nothing but a sad uniformity of failure. The lesson is neither far to seek nor to learn. Europeans, Teutons as well as Celts, Englishmen as Spaniards, emigrants from the bleak coast-line of the German Ocean, no less than from the olive-clad shores of the blue Mediterranean, may all enjoy health and fulness of days in Jamaica, equal to any they could have hoped for in Yorkshire or Italy, on condition that they screen themselves behind the comparative ease and comfort of an upper class; but they must look elsewhere than among their own ranks for mechanics, day-workmen, and field-labourers above all.

Energy and perseverance, even British, must yield to nature and fact: and the settlers soon found themselves compelled to restrict their share of the task before them within the limits allotted by tropical laws, and to make over the remainder to a race better adapted than their own to the climatic conditions around.

It were waste of time to speculate what might have happened had an indigenous population been ready to hand. Certainly the 'Indians'—to call them by the convenient but inexact designation of ordinary use—have not, where they have survived, shown themselves particularly adapted for occupying a grade, however low, in the scale of civilized labour and life. In Jamaica Spanish cruelty had never allowed them so much as a chance. But negro importation was already in vogue; and from the coast of Guinea across to the Caribbean Archipelago, the Atlantic is well nigh at its narrowest. In 1658 the sum total of African slaves in Jamaica had been only 1400, against four times the number of whites; in 1670 it had swelled to 8000; twenty years later it exceeded 40,000, and at the close of the last

century had attained the enormous reckoning of 256,000.

This multiplication of negro slaves was correlative with the increase of sugar cultivation, of which indeed it was at once the effect and the cause. The cane, that blessing and curse of the West Indies, a blessing in itself, a curse in the folly of those to whom it was given, existed, and, was cultivated in Jamaica prior to British occupation; but the improvement in its quality by the introduction of choice varieties brought over first from Barbadoes and afterwards from Bourbon, gave the plant tenfold value and importance. Its cultivation requires hard labour and prolonged endurance of heat, but comparatively little science or skill; nor did the extraction of the juice and the separation of the sugar, after the fashion in which these processes were for more than a century carried on throughout the 'estates,' tax so much the intelligence as the muscles and the constitution of those employed. Later improvements, and the introduction of steam power and complicated machinery, have considerably modified all this. But for a long, too long, a period, the cane-field and the sugar-factory were as much at the level of negro labour and intellect, as negro labour and intellect were of theirs. Each seemed made for the other. Meanwhile the West-African slave-trade was alike easy and remunerative; nor in 1750 were there many Englishmen outside the precincts of Strawberry Hill who shared the humane, we had almost said the human, sentiments expressed that very year by Horace Walpole, in a letter to Sir H. Mann, on that ghastly traffic.

With everything to encourage, nothing to thwart it, what wonder if sugar cultivation in short space almost monopolized the soil, annihilated most rival productions, dwarfed others into insignificance, inundated Jamaica with negroes, and transformed the European colonists from farmers into 'estate-owners,' from cultivators into taskmasters for the century and a half of its triumph? Meantime, under the fostering wing of high protective duties, and with no competition worth mentioning in the trade market, for the supply from other quarters of the globe was proportionately insignificant, or was fettered by incidents of war and custom-house regulations, while beetroot, the enemy of the future, was as yet a mere harmless esculent, the cane proved a veritable gold-mine, and something more, to Jamaica. The yearly exports of the island, among which sugar and rum figured for at least three-fourths of the total value, reckoned at less than half a million sterling on the opening of the eigh-

teenth century, had long before its close risen to a million and a half; ultimately they reached, and for several years maintained, an average exceeding three millions. If the New World in general was an Eldorado, Jamaica realized for its white owners Sir Guyon's Garden of Proserpina and Bower of Bliss in one. But prosperity has its price; and the price in this instance was one that made the bargain over-dear, indeed well-nigh fatal, to the purchasers. It was in fact none other than the deterioration, moral and intellectual alike, of standard among the planters, and the mismanagement, followed by the almost unexampled ruin, of the estates themselves.

Paradoxical though it may seem, experience proves that it is not the upper class of a population which in the long-run imparts its tone and characteristics to the lower, but the lower to the upper. From the lower classes, where caste limitations do not prohibitively interfere, the upper ranks are gradually and healthily recruited; while, where the barriers interposed by custom or race between the two orders are insurmountable, the ever-deepening degradation of the inferior layer reacts by inducing first stagnation and then positive degeneration and debasement of the higher. Very early the operation of this social law made itself felt in Jamaica—surrounded by an atmosphere of slaves, that is of men and women who, after leading a life of savages in their own country, had been violently dragged thence, to be plunged on arriving at their new home into a yet lower depth of existence, that namely of brute beasts and chattels, for whom morality was illegal and the exercise of intelligence or will a crime that could not be too jealously repressed nor too severely punished. Honourable exceptions there were, we know; estates where negroes were governed like human beings, and Europeans acted 'as ever in the Great Taskmaster's eye;' but these bright cases were few and far between. It could not be but that many of the masters, of the mistresses even, became gradually, unconsciously, irresistibly fashioned, heart and mind, manner and ways, into the image and likeness of those they despised, and became themselves worthy of the slaves over whom they ruled.

A second evil, not less than the first, and its natural consequence, was that a large proportion among the estate-owners, those whose nobler feelings and better-nurtured minds instinctively revolted against the scenes around and beneath them of negroes treated like brutes by Europeans, and Europeans brutalised by their treatment of ne-

groes, abandoned the island, left their magnificent estates to the doubtful mercies of 'attorneys' and overseers, of book-keepers and drivers, crossed the seas, and remained as absentees at home, enforcedly content with the curtailed remittances of some agent, careless, the most often, of his employer's interests, and not rarely disloyal to them. Now, indeed, in our own time, when the past is past, when Jamaican society is in every respect a reproduction of English, only without its formality, Jamaican life English without its monotony, and Jamaican pursuits English, but without their feverish urgency, absenteeism is not inexcusable merely, it is incomprehensible. He who has once visited this loveliest spot of God's fair earth, this paradise of beauty, this island worthy to be queen among those of the blest, may well stand amazed that anyone owning were it but a single acre of its soil could consent, whatever the motive, to dwell elsewhere, to leave it though only for a season. Yet so it was, and we may gather some idea of the magnitude rot of the evil only, but of the yet greater evils that caused it, when we remember that throughout the wealthier classes, and especially the landowners of the island, (precisely those, in a word, the best qualified by position, education, and social accomplishments to have remedied, or at least mitigated, the evils of the time,) absenteeism was for a century and more the rule, residence the rare exception.

Hope, however, remained in the high character and English virtues of not a few among the colonists, and especially among the descendants of the seventeenth-century settlers, the men who had done battle where small quarter was asked or given with Dutchmen and buccaniers, with French and Spaniards; they, too, who had resisted to the face the would-be despots of Stuart patronage, the Carlises of Charles II. and the Albemarles of his foolish successor. '*Quo semel est imbuta recens,*' says Horace; we all know the rest and its application. Some of the best, the most generous blood of England had been poured into Jamaica from the first, and had perpetuated itself by descent and by influence to later times. Nor was the custom, a laudable one, and which we trust will never be given up, of sending out for Governors of the island men decorated with the highest rank and belonging to the noblest families in the mother country, without its effect both on the quality of fresh immigrants or on the tone and *status* of those already there. No British colony perhaps, no West Indian certainly, has ever numbered more and truer gentlemen among

its planters and landowners than Jamaica; none assuredly numbers more in our own day; none more worthily deserves the best that England can lend of her coronets to represent her Crown. Yet the system itself of the colony was bad, the superstructure vicious, and the dry-rot of slavery ate slowly but surely into every timber till the hour of collapse came, when crash on crash the building fell, and great was the fall thereof.

After the gallant struggles, already alluded to, of 1680 and 1688 for constitutional and religious freedom and self-government, followed long, and, but for the reflected splendours of Rodney and Nelson, inglorious years, during which the officers of Council, the Assembly, and even the Governors themselves gradually sank deeper and deeper into a bottomless slough of jobbery and sinecures. Law had little to do where the immense majority of the population was, theoretically in most things and practically in all, without the pale, as the small European minority was, in nine cases out of ten, above the reach of the law, and the office of Government chiefly resolved itself into repressing Maroon depredations and putting down servile revolts.\*

And thus, as matters went on, the habit of self-government, Parliamentary tact, and legislative discretion, the honourable heirlooms of the early colonists, all were lost; and when in 1823 the first serious intimations of the anti-slavery movement, already powerful at home, reached Jamaica, they drew forth from the representatives of the ruling island caste a series of resolutions and acts, the injustice of which was only equalled by their imbecility. Fortunately for the Jamaicans themselves, their skill at self-organisation had pretty well disappeared along with their legislative intelligence; and menaces of separation and revolt remained empty monuments of folly rather than crime. Among the blacks, however, who were dimly aware of the struggle and of its cause, the counter-exasperation thus excited was more pernicious, because more enduring, and furnished but a sorry preparation

\* Not less than twenty-seven of these are recorded in a century and a half of Jamaican history, being an average of rather more than one in every six years. The expense of putting down one alone of these, that of 1760, was 100,000*l.*; the rising of 1832 was represented at a cost of 161,596*l.*, exclusive of the value of property destroyed, estimated at 1,154,583*l.*; besides a loan of 500,000*l.*, granted by the Imperial Parliament to assist the almost ruined planters. It is difficult to reconcile these facts with the theories, still occasionally advanced by some, regarding the contentment of negroes in a servile condition; or again, that slave-labour is, from an economical point of view, preferable to free.

for coming liberty and the exercise of civil rights.

Followed emancipation, begun in 1833, completed in 1838; and with it brought a complication of difficulties hardly conceivable, as certainly not conceived at the time, by the home statesmen who enforced it. A population outnumbering by twenty to one their former, and, as they not unnaturally deemed, their vanquished masters—a population but one degree removed from savagery, grossly ignorant, blind, and led by the blind fanatics of agitation and dissent—a labouring population for whom the very name of labour was associated with degradation, injustice, and cruelty—an impulsive population, and trained from generation to no impulses but those of the brute—now found themselves lords of the position, able to dictate their own terms, follow their own pleasure, and enforce their own will. More yet, between them and the whites stood numerous and comparatively wealthy, the so-called ‘coloured’ class, a class now the most hope-giving of the island, but then turbulent and untrained, powerless to cement and construct, powerful to disintegrate and pull down. Individual exceptions there were; but such are ever of little help in the evil day. Impoverished, disheartened, almost despairing, the white colonists were unable to devise remedies for the ills present and impending, yet obstinately refused those suggested at home. It was a dark hour for Jamaica, to be followed by a darker still.

The questionable merit of having precipitated the inevitable crisis belongs to Mr. Bright and the ministry of 1846. Every student of history, Lord Macaulay’s school-boy included, knows how much the financial difficulties of France in the latter part of the eighteenth century contributed to the revolutionary convulsion at its close; and the equalisation of sugar duties in 1846, and those who carried it, are in no small measure responsible for Morant Bay and the events of 1865. The triumph of free-trade, —a triumph which, in this instance, we do not hesitate to say, was gained over our own subjects, over our own best interests, nay over justice and common sense themselves, —followed, it should be remembered, on a long period of false security, of extravagance, of absenteeism, of mismanagement, of indebtedness among the estate-owners themselves. A cry of ruin, unhappily too real, arose on every side; the backbone of the island was broken; and all colours, all classes, from the highest to the lowest, were involved, more or less directly, in the common distress. Like the drowning crew of the ill-fated ‘Medusa,’ each one turned on

his neighbour; and the Spanish Town Assembly, never over-orderly in its proceedings, became by its daily scenes of faction, recrimination, and confusion, not a remedy but an aggravation of the evils outside. Agitators, democrats, fanatics, all the vile things that have their element in troubled waters, now came forth to the surface; the folly of the well-intentioned, that worst of follies, seconded their endeavours, and when the outbreak of 1865 brought matters to a climax, the wonder was not that the mischief came, but that it had not come sooner; not that the conflagration burst forth, but that it did not spread wider over the land.

With the history of the Morant Bay riots, with the conduct of Governor Eyre, or Major-General O’Connor, with the guilt and punishment of Gordon, with all the lamentable accessories of the revolt and its suppression, we have nothing to do; except it be to endorse the well-grounded sentence passed by the Storks Commission, for approval or blame. Yet it is but justice to say that had some fortunate accident removed Governor Eyre from the scene at the end of the first week, or even the first ten days after the outbreak, his monument might have been inscribed, and justly so, with the proud title of him who had saved Jamaica, not indeed from “becoming a second Haiti,” —that was a catastrophe impossible under any circumstances, as whoever considers the antecedents of the two islands must be well aware,—but from infinite horrors, from pillage, murder, savage retaliation, and all the abominations of a servile though unsuccessful war. But the great lesson, *πλεῖον ἡμῶν παντός*,\* though uttered more than two thousand years ago, has yet been learnt by few; and of those few Governor Eyre was not one.

Scared at the confusion without, more scared it might well be at the consciousness of incapacity within, Assembly, Council, and executive Committee all spontaneously voted their own dissolution; and Jamaica, of her own accord, renounced the prerogatives of self-government, for which she had once so gallantly striven, so long exercised. The Imperial Government ratified the abdication; and in so doing assumed on itself the entire rule, and with it the entire responsibility of the island.

Was it well done? On the whole, and all the circumstances of the case considered, we think that the decision was on both sides a wise one. It was an extreme remedy, applied to an extreme evil. That it was also

\* ‘Half is more than the whole.’—Hesiod.

meant as a temporary remedy, and one subject to future revision and modification, is no less certain. No politician, indeed, possessed of the most ordinary common sense, would advocate popular elections, extended franchise, self-government in a word, for the Jamaica of our day. For though, to the credit of the island be it said, there are few West Indian Colonies where the prejudices of colour, and the barriers of caste, are less regarded, where merit, under whatever skin, is better appreciated, and education, whatever the descent, more readily claims and obtains the social privileges that are its due; yet much remains to be done, a road long, though open, to be traversed, before the political rights, which if exercised by one class must be exercised by all, can be wisely or even safely brought in to act. On the other hand, a large, an important, a noble, a rising colony, with no voice of its own in its taxation, expenditure, administration, or law, is an anomaly in British annals, an exception to our rule of empire. How this exception may gradually be eliminated, and the anomalous condition of things brought back to the normal, whether by judiciously strengthening the hands of the local magistracies, and decentralising in some measure the, now perhaps over-centralised, administration, or by some form of indirect local election, after the old Prussian system, thus introducing a more representative element among the non-official members of Council, or by other expedients, best suggested by experience and time, remains to be seen. For the present, the medical and the educational departments excepted, the former of which seems somewhat wanting in efficiency as the latter in direction, there is little to cavil at in the present order of things; much to praise.

'Nothing succeeds so well as success,' says the French proverb; and the success of the administration inaugurated in 1866 by Sir H. Storks, and carried out into permanence by Sir John Peter Grant, is not a problem for inquiry, but an evident and acknowledged fact. A colony of which the population has in ten years multiplied by nearly a sixth, while the financial balance-sheet shows the former yearly deficit of an average £48,000 replaced by an actual surplus of almost equal amount, cannot but be acknowledged as rising, if not yet at the actual height of its possible, or even of its historical, prosperity. Further statistics are not wanting to corroborate the advantageous change. During six years the imports of the island have augmented by a full half, the exports by more than a third; even sugar, though no longer the precious West Indian staple of old times, begins to reas-

sume importance; while the other scarce less valuable island products prove by their steady increase the progress of cultivation in every county and parish. The Savings-Bank deposits, sure tests of well-doing, stability, and public confidence among the poorer classes, only 56,740*l.* in the year 1866, numbered 142,240*l.* in 1872, and have since then gone on augmenting; while offences against property, the never-failing offspring of disorder and want, have, in spite of bad seasons and unusual drought, diminished year after year. Who desires further details, may advantageously consult the Colonial Blue Book, which, like those of the Foreign Office, contains a thousand full and trustworthy replies to endless questions daily asked at home, within Parliament and without; questions often left unanswered, or answered wrong, because so few care to look for information at its legitimate sources; and prefer the sweeping mis-statements of party, of interest, of prejudice, of downright ignorance itself, to the plain unvarnished tale of official impartiality. That ordinary individuals should fall into an error of this kind, is less strange; that public officers, nay even Government itself, should occasionally do the same, and consequently go astray on those very topics where everything lies ready mapped out for the mere trouble of looking at it, is 'strange, passing strange' indeed.

To the traveller, whether statistician or not, the signs of prosperity—all the more gratifying to behold because, though recent, it is well-based and evidently progressive—are apparent everywhere throughout the island, from St. Thomas in the south-east to furthest Hanover and north-west point. We will not linger about Kingston, once, if old accounts, Mr. Bigelow's included, be true, one of the slovenliest, dirtiest, unhealthiest towns in the West Indies, now on the contrary one of the best arranged, best cared for, most thriving among them. We leave to others the praises of the New Victoria Market, the just pride of Sir J. P. Grant, and the like of which we ourselves had not expected to see at a distance from France and her model '*Halles*;' of the handsome and costly landing-place, and quay; of the churches, theatres, and other buildings, creditable to the public spirit, if not always to the architectural good taste, of the inhabitants; of the spacious tree-shaded walks, and gardens gorgeous with clustering flowers; nor must we loiter among the crowded streets, the busy shops and stores, the noisy wharves, the harbour dense with boats and shipping, and whatever else betokens commercial activity, and prosperous business.

These things are, we should add, common in their proportionate measure and degree, to most other seaboard towns of Jamaica, to Falmouth, Montego Bay, Lucia, Black River, Old Harbour, and the rest. Nor will the traveller-guest, either in the capital or the provincial ports, fail to be welcomed by the same easy hospitality and social cheeriness that have always characterised the mercantile no less than the other classes of Jamaican society. These particular topics lie, however, somewhat beside of our actual scope. Great as is the commercial importance of Jamaica, brisk and rising its trade, yet agriculture rather than manufacture, produce more than traffic, are and will always be the main props of her wealth; nor is it so much among the town populations as in the rural districts that the solution of her many problems must ultimately be found. Nor, when all is said, are we quite sure that the recent transfer of the centre of Government from Spanish Town to Kingston, that is from an atmosphere of estates, plantations, and 'penns,' to one of stores and counting-houses, was exactly a wise one, or, in every respect, a gain. Not even the convenient proximity of mail steamers on the one side, and of the cool St. Catherine heights on the other, can, to our mind, make up for the park-like slopes, the green hills and dales, the spreading groves, and the Rhine-like scenery of Rio Cobre and St. Thomas in the vale. Nor, truth compels us to say, can the mixed and busy character of a port like Kingston, however favourable to intelligence and smartness, quite admit of the dignified 'repose that stamps the caste' of the landed proprietor and old-established resident, or the quiet, composed, and courteous refinement that,—with no disparagement to others be it said,—even yet preeminently grace the society and the beauty of Spanish Town. Had the gallant Rodney been still alive on the 15th February, 1873, we much question whether the removal of his person from the neighbourhood of the Spanish Town ball-room might not have been harder to effect than that of his statue. But we are treading on dangerous ground, '*ignes suppositos cineri doloso*;' and we hasten accordingly from 'the glare and revelry of streets,' to 'the boundless contiguity of shade,' enough to have realised Cowper's every wish, beyond; and the calmer, yet not less useful tenour of the country life beneath its ever-green shelter.

A narrow, but solidly-constructed, carriage-road leads us along, sometimes winding as we go between the abrupt, cone-shaped, thicket-topped hills so frequent in Jamaica; sometimes among waist-deep pas-

tures of luxuriant guinea-grass, the sight of which might rouse pleasurable emotion even in the broad breast of a Herefordshire grazier; then by brimming pools set in emerald-green meadows and sparkling streams rushing down the slopes; then we pass along the rocky ledge of a precipitous torrent-gully, overarched high in air by interlacing foliage, where the transparent green of the cotton-tree is variegated by the denser leaves of cedar and sandbox, and the graceful stems and feathery tufts of palm, coconut, or palmetto pierce an opening amid the horizontal boughs and blackish tints of the lofty umbrella-tree; till we emerge on an expanse of open ground, long since cleared of bush and underwood, and where tufted acres upon acres of vigorous cane-growth announce the 'estate.' For in Jamaica sugar-growing properties alone claim this title; all others are 'plantations' or 'penns,' as the case may be. We pass through the outer gate; the very negligence that has left it half open and swinging tells of security without suspicion and plenty above jealousy of pilferers. Next a long avenue of trees, varied in kind, but all ornamental, American, Indian, African, or Japanese even, marks our approach to what is and has been for generations past the abode of English habits, English taste, and English comfort. The large, irregular, verandah-girt dwelling itself, often not a quarter of a mile distant from the sugar-factory, with all its hamlet-like adjuncts of trash-houses, stables, back-yards, sheds, negro cottages, and the like, shows indeed now-a-days few tokens of the rollicking, lavish, too frequently spend-thrift profusion of bygone times; nor need the visitant of our generation hope or fear to witness beneath its high-pitched roof anything resembling the uproarious orgies, Bacchic or other, of which Tom Cringle supplies so many a spirited description, or perhaps a caricature. But in the well-kept, 'smooth shaven-green' of the lawn outside, in the patterned colours of the flower-beds, in the jet of the little garden fountain, in the flower-entwined verandah, no less than in the polished massive woodwork, dark cedar alternating with yellow fustic, of floor and ceiling, in the panelled walls, in the plate-garnished sideboard, in the solid but handsome furniture, in every detail of the accessories of domestic life, we read prosperity allied with sobriety, wealth with taste. It is English life, adapted, indeed, to the tropics, but English still, and that pleasantest of all, county English. English, too, in the best sense of the adjective, is the activity without, in the sugar-works and distilleries, where the improvements of more efficacious

and more economical machinery, superseding the unintelligent clumsiness of slaves and the supercilious wastefulness of slave-owners, have diminished the number of hands employed, while increasing the quantity of and improving the quality of the work done. Ride out among the fields through the yellowing cane, watch the heavily-piled waggons that bring it into the mill; survey the planting and the cutting, the newly-set 'piece,' like green stars ranged in rows on the marly soil, and that other dense mass of stalk and leaf which negro cutlasses are already busy at cutting down, and you will see plenty of good argument for satisfaction both of master and men; while you look, if so disposed, but look in vain, for evidence of the indolence and discontent with which the free negro task-labourer is so often credited, for the best of all reasons, that of indolence there is really little, and of discontent none at all. And if from secular habit, and in an exceptionally dry season, the 'groans of the planter' first uttered, or at any rate published in 1670, may still be heard rising amid the estates of two centuries later, you will soon discover that, like the groans of Cowper's farmer at tithing-time, they are chiefly uttered in vindication of the Briton's privilege to grumble, then often most despairingly when he is really best off. And in fact nearly thirty-seven thousand hogsheads of sugar and twenty thousand puncheons of rum annually exported from the island sufficiently prove that, in spite of reduced prices and raised wages, of competition and free-trade, the cane is yet, and rightly so, a favourite, and even a principal article of Jamaican cultivation. That it is no longer an exclusive one need not arouse regret.

Canon Kingsley, whose 'At Last,' amid much that is one-sided, sensational, and erroneous, contains a great deal of interesting information, and occasionally of sound reflection, rightly ascribes a large share in the financial decline of the West Indies, the decline that began with the pacification of Europe in 1815, and was brought to a climax by the meddlesome rashness of Lord John Russell and Earl Grey in 1846, to the almost exclusive attention paid by the planters to the production of sugar; and in this judgment he is right. He is in great measure right, too, when he lays at the same door the gradual deterioration of tone among the upper classes, and of labour among the lower; nor is he wholly wrong when he accuses the cane-field of having kept back from its due increase the European element in these regions. And certainly Jamaica was no more meant—we ask Professor Tyndall and

Co.'s pardon for the teleological expression—to bring forth cane alone, than England corn, or France vines. This was the fatal error of the eighteenth century planters, who, to an especial facility of production, and a high market value at the time, sacrificed all else—soil, labour, intelligence, skill—all that made up the real and abiding capital of the island, for one immediate, but insecure gain—put, in common parlance, all their eggs in one basket; and when that basket was as ruinously upset as ever was Alnaschar's sat down bewildered and helpless, because untrained themselves to anything else, and surrounded by the untrained of their own making, Alnaschar like, to wring their hands and cry.

It is otherwise now; and a wider wisdom has taught, or is fast teaching, the West Indian colonist to resume, but with the modifications suggested by fuller experience and exacter knowledge, the work of his first fathers, and to seek in variety of produce a sure guarantee against failure or stagnation; while by the same act he keeps in exercise both his own wits and those of his labourers; and thus lays the foundation of enduring prosperity for himself and them on the two firm corner-stones of nature and intelligence, not on the shifting sands of artificial regulations and price-tariffs.

Look up now at those rapid slopes, rising thousands of feet in height, crossed by rocky ledges tier above tier, once abandoned as unfit for cane-growth, or compelled, it might be, to render a scanty and precarious, because an unsuitable crop. Bear in mind that certain soils, certain altitudes, certain levels, are essential to the full success of the cane, while mountain sides rarely furnish the quality or the depth of earth required, nor, above a moderate altitude, the proper temperature; and remember that Jamaica, however wide its well-watered plains and noble savannahs, especially near the sea-coast, is essentially and to its own great good fortune a mountainous island. But look again: far up among the slopes stretch broad irregular patches of dark green bush, studded in spring time with white star-like flowers, thick sprinkled in summer with red-brown berries, amid the glistening leaves, there large-boughed trees, planted up and down as if at random, or rather, where the rocky soil permits, shelter the unripe coffee-berry from the too rapid heat of the sun, particularly in the low-lying plantations nearer the plain; higher up no shade beyond that supplied by the plant itself is needed for the fruit. Introduced in 1728, coffee has been ever since a favourite article of Jamaican cultivation, and one of the few

that even the tyrant sugar did not temporarily banish from the island; subsequently it managed to hold its own through the worst times of depression, and now the bush scarcely yields precedence to the cane itself. It has the advantage, too, of being less absolutely dependent on a favourable season. Again, fewer hands, lighter labour, and much less outlay of expense are required in the coffee plantations, on the drying flats, and in the cleaning sheds than are demanded by the cane-field and the sugar-factory; and hence this variety of agriculture is better adapted than the other to small proprietors and limited means. Seldom, indeed, does the abode of the coffee-planter rival the 'estate' in size or comfort, yet the small houses perched among the hills have their own peculiar beauty, as their climatic advantages; and though the production of coffee alone will hardly make a man wealthy, yet, taken in conjunction with other crops, it is a valuable and trustworthy auxiliary.

Passing on, we come next to a hilly patch of broken ground, and a soil comparatively poor; and here aromatic groves of pimento trees, requiring of their owner little labour except that of gathering and drying the fruit, supply a profitable, though a somewhat uncertain crop. Of much greater intrinsic value, and in the early times of Jamaica so highly esteemed that its plantations amounted in 1670 to forty-seven—a large number, if the comparatively narrow extent of soil then cultivated in the island be taken into account—the cacao-bush is beginning to reassert its place among the rest, and will undoubtedly one day assume a distinguished rank among Jamaican products. Indigo, too, once not unsuccessfully grown, will probably reappear; it might, indeed, advantageously occupy many a spot now covered by useless and unhealthy swamp. Nor is the time, we may reasonably hope, far distant when cloves and cinnamon, spice and nutmeg, will prove on a large scale, as they have proved already on a small, that Jamaica is not inferior in spice-bearing capabilities to Ceylon, Malacca, or any island of the Pacific Sea. For the introduction of these growths, as well as that of many another vegetable treasure, we may thank Castleton Gardens, that little paradise of nature and science, and its creator, Dr. Hooker, whose claims to the gratitude of the island have been worthily stated, yet not over-stated, by its late Governor. A more valuable gift than any yet mentioned has within the last few years been conferred on Jamaica by the cinchona-plant, 200 acres of which now flourish among the glorious scenery of the Blue

Mountains. Lastly—for though at the sacrifice of omitting much, space compels us to contract our catalogue—tobacco, like indigo, an early, like it, subsequently an unjustly-neglected favourite, is now rapidly extending its green carpet over miles of valley; the quality is said to rival that of Cuba itself. But—we speak under correction—in some details of its cultivation, and particularly in what regards re-plantation and manure, we cannot but think that the Cubans themselves, of whom there are here many industrious immigrants, and Jamaicans too, might take a few useful lessons in the Syrian tobacco-fields of Latakiah and Jibei.

Want of space compels us also to pass over almost in silence another mine of Jamaican wealth, the pasture lands, and in particular those of Cornwall, loveliest of all lovely districts, the kine of Knockalva, and the grazing farms of St. James. Nor must we linger in print, as who would not gladly do in reality? amid the pleasant life and sociable hospitality of the 'Pens' or 'Penns,' similar in all essential respects to those of the 'Estates,' but with the additional advantages of upland situation, cool breezes, and a scenery that exceeds in beauty the fairest landscapes of Upper Tuscany itself. We turn from them with regret, though the objects to which we now set our face are pleasant too, and have in them much, not of present well-being only, but of large and justly-grounded hope.

For, as quitting Estates and Penns, we drive rapidly along the smooth-kept road by hill and dale, stream and forest, little white-washed cottages, wattled huts, and plank-built shanties peep out on either side from beneath the emerald cotton-tree shade, and the dense clusters of creaking bamboo. Each stands in its garden, some small, others of considerable extent, planted in most admired confusion with yams, sweet-potatoes, bananas, plantains, maize, coffee-bushes, and the hundred other green things, pleasant to the sight and good for food, that Canon Kingsley loves to enumerate. Not rarely, a small cane-piece, an acre of ginger, or an orchard of guava-trees, indicates the enterprise of the black proprietor; for though he and his family are so far supplied with life's necessities from the ground they own as to leave them hardly anything except clothing to seek from outside, the main portion of the produce finds its way to the Saturday market of the nearest town or village, while not a little reaches the more ambitious stores of Kingston and the seaboard, and swells the yearly-increasing export list of the island. Enter the cottage—

open untidy without, it is neat and comfortable within—and if the respectful yet cheerful welcome you are sure to find cannot enable you to put up for half an hour with a little crowding and its consequences, remember that it is not in Jamaica alone that the abodes of the labouring classes are ill adapted for hypercritical and fastidious, not to say prejudiced, visitors; for the negro working man or woman may, for tidiness of dwelling and cleanliness of person and belongings, stand a not disadvantageous comparison with their brothers or sisters of the like class in any quarter of the globe, say the contrary who will; while in agriculture and its adjuncts the black is a born expert, capable, with moderate training and education, of rivalling most field-labourers or gardeners, and excelling many.

But the civilising influences of good government are too recent a boon to have yet produced their full effect on our Jamaican Cudjoe; and his education is imperfect and awry, because in the hands of those who, in right understanding, should of all others be most carefully excluded from the week-day training and school. And here we cannot but remark, though parenthetically, that it is neither of the catechist nor the Greek professor, neither of the denominational school-bench nor the expensive collegiate sinecure, that Jamaica stands in need. Good middle-class schools—schools to form the workman and the artisan, schools where industry is learnt by exercise, skill by practice, and honesty and duty by right knowledge of the world we live in, and the authentic lessons of history and nations, not read through sectarian spectacles, but in the plain light of human fact—these are what Jamaica urgently requires, but unfortunately has not obtained as yet. We shall recur to this topic farther on; meanwhile, for what regards direct religious teaching as such among the black inhabitants of Jamaica and elsewhere, excess is much more to be apprehended than defect in this matter. We neglect, as undeserving of serious remark, the vague gossip of some writers about the prevalence of Obeah, the revival of heathen practices, and the like; sensational accusations, with even less foundation in fact than such can generally claim. Heterodox Jamaica exists, no doubt, as does heterodox London, and the anomalous monstrosities of Free Love and the like are not confined to the United States; but no right-judging mind would form an opinion of Cockneys or Americans at large from the pages of Mr. Hepworth Dixon or the Rev. C. M. Davies either. In a word, pathology is not physiology; it is by the normal, not the abnormal,

the average, not the exceptional, elements, that the true character of society, black, white, or brown, is determined. The negro of West Indian reality is in truth—and no very great encomium perhaps—as good and as believing a Christian as the ordinary European; and his most pressing need is that of sound training to the duties and work of this world, training and duties that have little or nothing in common with dogmatic speculations, denominational bias, and the unhealthy enthusiasms of emotional practices and beliefs.

But we have wandered far, and it is time for us to return to the wayside and the black population scattered along it throughout the hill country and upland districts of Jamaica. An indefinable mixture of slovenliness and arrangement, of carelessness and comfort, marks the negro cottage, garden, and ground; just as their owner himself is a composition in tolerably equal parts, of imagination, impulsiveness, and cool common sense, of shrewdness and childishness, of quick perception and unreflecting negligence, of energetic diligence one hour and mere indolence the next; of that profitable vice, acquisitiveness; and that unprofitable virtue, content. Meanwhile he thrives and multiplies, replenishes the island, and, if an increase of 46,333 souls on a population of 346,374 during a single decade of years, be correct evidence, promises soon to fill it: much to the advantage, not of himself only, but of his white employers, who now too often find themselves short of hands for the necessary work of their plantations and estates.

The handsome, shapely figures,—we can hardly say as much for the typical faces, though they, too, are the most part pleasing in expression, if not in feature,—of negro girls, each one with a pail of brimming water balanced on her head, or it may be a heavy bundle of firewood carried in the same fashion, as jauntily as if it were the merest feather-weight, pass us with many a 'good morning' on their way; the broad faces of little fat blackies grin through the openings of the cactus fence; the men are at work in the fields, or absent on hire, or, not seldom, enjoying the African's own paradise of sun, a pipe, and nothing to do. Nor does this last condition, if not habitual, necessarily imply laziness; for work, of whatever description, under the tropics must needs be moderate if meant to be enduring, even for the children of the tropics; a law that extends more or less over all races and all colours inhabiting these regions, but not always remembered or understood by hasty critics from colder climes.

These 'small-spade' plots of land and gardens, the free negro's development of the old 'provision ground' of the apprentice or slave, are already an important feature, and as years go on will become more and more so, of Jamaica. Whole estates, the cultivation of which had been despairingly abandoned by their proprietors during the first financial embarrassment towards the close of the eighteenth century, or the more perplexing difficulties that followed on mismanaged emancipation in 1838, or the yet worse crisis of 1846, and the evil days succeeding, summed up in the winter of 1865, have now been divided out into small but remunerative land-plots such as these, freehold or tenant; and encroach every year farther and farther on the unreclaimed soil or 'bush.' For the negro, left to follow his natural bent, is, in truth and act, what the Irishman is in agitation and blarney, a lover of the soil; and his ambition to acquire for himself an acre of ground, with his tenacity to retain it, render him for the matter of that a very Ahab and Naboth in one. 'Squatters!' the prejudiced or misinformed visitor-critic will contemptuously exclaim. No more squatters, my dear sir, than yourself, if you have the good fortune of being a landed proprietor at home; no more squatters than the most respectable squire, farmer, or tenant in Norfolk or Dorset. That black cultivator you thus hastily designate by the nickname you have learnt by rote, has, if a freeholder, paid in full the just price of the land he occupies; if a tenant, he pays the rent; he pays his regular taxes, too; contributes, with excessive liberality very likely, to this Baptist school, that Sectarian chapel; they for him represent religion, public spirit, and public good; and if his ideas are not of the correctest in these particulars, the fault is not so much his as that of his teachers, and of those also who had the opportunity but neglected to teach him. His style of field-labour is, we admit, none of the trimmest, nor his system of cultivation the most economical; but such as they are, they redeem the soil from inutility, and open the way for ulterior improvement. 'By doing smith's work one becomes a smith,' says the old Latin proverb: and the skill that the slave-gang and whip were inapt to teach, cannot fail of being gradually and progressively acquired by those who now till the land after their own fashion, however rude, and on their own score.

Now carry back the mind,—it is no over-distant stretch of imagination and thought,—to the time when nine-tenths, or rather nineteen-twentieths, of cultivated England were nothing else but an aggregate of small

estates or farms, mostly the former. Even in the latter half of the seventeenth century 'not less than a hundred and sixty thousand proprietors,' says Lord Macaulay, 'who, with their families, must have made up more than a seventh of the whole population, derived their substance from little freehold estates,' and little indeed the dimensions of those estates must have been, since 'the average income of these small landholders,' continues that prince of historians, 'was estimated at between sixty and seventy pounds a year.' Yet it was in those very days of small, we had well-nigh said microscopical, freeholds, that our ancestors laid the foundations of our great land-owning interest, of the gigantic estates, the noble properties that by their stability, by the wealth they give, by the influence, social and political, that they confer, constitute with us at home a firm, if not the firmest, prop and mainstay of English conservatism and English order, to the despair of the restless empiric, the disguised communist, and the splenetic agitator. For it was by the gradual coalition of these same lesser freeholds, fostered, though not forced on, by judicious legislation, and brought about by the natural laws that govern the distribution of wealth, that the greater, and from them again the greatest, properties were built up. And even so it is in the small negro ground-plots, the five-acre, two-acre, one-acre pieces, scattered among the green hills and forests, or clustering together into wood-embosomed hamlets, that Jamaica possesses; so wisdom continue to guide her legislation, and firm government guarantee the security of order, the true germs of rich manor-lands and wide estates, the pledges of prosperity and sure progress to those who own and to those who cultivate them. This is true welfare; the more enduring because founded, not on the artificial basis of forced labour and high tariffs, but on the gradual operation of natural causes, of social development and intellectual advance. And in this course of things the greater landowner will of necessity gradually overshadow and absorb the lesser, the stronger the weaker; capital will attract capital; industry and skill gather to themselves what falls from the hands of incompetence and sloth; till Jamaica becomes in its measure what the agricultural districts of England are now; and the wealth of the West-Indian eighteenth century without its insecurity, returns again, not to pass away.

Yet here, even in this garden culture, these small freeholds, this varied produce, in the frequency of newly constructed huts and cottages, in the groups of children, healthy and boisterous, that play around them,

we see what is for the moment one of the greatest difficulties of Jamaica; and what also will, at no distant date, if unforeseen misadventure or strange mismanagement interfere no, be itself the solution of that very difficulty. All know the stereotyped complaint, the 'groans' echoed in more than one periodical, from more than one platform, set to music—sometimes in the modulated falsetto of Kingsley, sometimes in the howling barytone of Carlyle. That the negro is a lazy, pumpkin-eating, good-for-nothing rascal; that he will not work for hire, will not work for himself, will not work at all; that, with the option between labour with wages on the one hand, and poverty with pilfering on the other, he invariably chooses the latter and rejects the former; that the 'secure possession of land'—we quote from print—'only develops him into a lazy, reckless, naked savage,' or at best, 'a mere grower of food for himself;' that his vices, for a correct exposé of which we are referred to 'clergymen and policemen,' are such as will in a short time lead to his absolute extinction; in fine, that ever since emancipation, say some of our declamators, since acquired ease, say others, he has been retroceding, degenerating, dwindling; every year more lazy, more vicious, more ragged, more useless, more bestial; all this has been said, and is believed. Hence, to continue, the canes remain uncut, the coffee-berries unpicked, the fields uncleared; unless with the author of 'At Last' for supporter on the right hand, and him of 'Ginx's Baby' on the left, the great Hindoo Avatar, the Coolie, appear to save the West Indies from utter wreck; perhaps the Chinaman.

With a vast proportion of misrepresentation and prejudice, these complaints do yet contain a certain amount of truth. Doubtless the negro, like most other human beings, prefers working for himself on his own ground, to working on another's ground and for another; and where interests compete will often prefer a fancied one in his own name to a more real, but less manifestly personal advantage in that of another. Doubtless, too, the sudden multiplication, creation rather, of small estates has withdrawn, and still withdraws, scores and scores of labourers from the cultivation of large ones, and that too often in the most inconvenient manner; since the black owner of an acre or two of cane, however ready to earn an extra shilling at other times by day-labour, will in crop season turn a deaf ear to the offers of hire, and retreat to his own little plot of ground and the few dozen of, allowing plants he calls his own; justifying thus,

in many instances, if not necessitating, that costliest of all costly supplements, the vicarious Coolie. Doubtless, too, the sudden acquirement not of personal freedom only, but of personal property, large in proportion to his ideas or requirements, has in many, too many, instances tended to divert the negro from useful labour, and has encouraged him in selfish, and, by its consequences, suicidal indolence. Collateral influences also, the perilous self-esteem inspired by the flattering declamations of foolish or interested teachers; the traditional hatred of toil, and of the cane-field above all, intimately connected in his mind, if not absolutely identified, with slavery and degradation; the very recoil of nature that follows on the abrupt cessation of a long and hated task: all these have combined to urge the emancipated black in the wrong direction; and our astonishment should be not that he has strayed so much, but that on the whole he has strayed so little. Yet we have been ourselves assured by many of the largest estate owners, men of long experience, and deservedly esteemed, not for their wealth and position only, but for their practical tact, solid judgment, and high public character, that they, for their own part, had never found negro hands fail them when required; never been compelled to apply for coolie help in cane-piece or factory. Nay, more, they have not hesitated, though with no personal allusion, to affirm that, in Jamaica at least, a contrary state of things, where it occurs, must oftenest be ascribed to the fault of the employers or their subordinates, to an irregular or deficient scale of wages-payment, to arbitrary fines, harsh treatment, and the like local or individual, not general, causes.

Yet all allowances made, it is positive that negro labour at the present day not only barely meets, or falls somewhat short of the exigencies of existing cultivation, but is absolutely inadequate to the one, and, but for this, practicable enlargement of its limits. Certain, too, that the number of large estates and plantations might, the capabilities of the island considered, be advantageously doubled, trebled even; and no less certain that the sudden and excessive multiplication of small freeholds is a very serious retarding cause, if not indeed the principal one. But what does all this, rightly understood, indicate, except that Jamaica is, in this respect, passing through a necessary, though a transitory stage, one through which England herself has already passed, and during which her own landed interest, and with it her noblest institutions, her most precious prerogatives, laid the deep foundations and solid underwork of present

prosperity and greatness? Hence we, for our part, unhesitatingly subscribe to the opinion expressed by one well competent to pronounce on these subjects, Mr. Herbert Ussher, Vice-Governor of Tobago, who in a report, embodied by Governor Rawson in the same Blue Book the title of which heads this article, says that he 'observes with satisfaction,' in the colony of his charge, 'a small but increasing class of independent negro householders, living in good tenements, and cultivating provision grounds;' and, in spite of their 'great laziness produced by their present easy mode of life,' hopes 'that this class will continue to increase,' as certain to 'contribute sensibly to the agricultural prosperity of the island;' in a word, looks confidently forward to the progressive diminution of the accidental evils, and the ultimate permanence of the real benefits arising from this state of things.

No prophet indeed is needed to predict the result. However fertile Jamaica may be, Cuba alone excepted no West Indian island more so, however great the extent of its tilled and of its yet untilled soil, it is after all an island; nor, when allowance has been made for the inaccessible heights of the Blue Mountains, the rocky waste lands of the Pedro and some other districts to the centre and north, and the coast-swamps, occasionally reaching up for several miles to the interior on the south and west, can the most liberal computation assign, out of the four millions of acres that make up the Jamaican total, more than a million at most to the still unredeemed possibilities of agricultural improvement. Already the prices of land, twenty years ago almost nominal, are rising fast; and the negroes, eager purchasers in this market, tend by their ever-increasing enclosures to narrow the limits of what remains, and to raise the standard of its value. Year by year competition will grow keener, and in the struggle ensuing the poorer will, sooner or later, be bought out by the richer; the idle and the unsteady ousted by the diligent and persevering; property will coalesce, and capital, European or creole, cement into masses the now countless subdivisions of atomic freeholds. Meanwhile, as the '*petite culture*' diminishes by absorption, the lacklands of the colony will go on increasing; necessity will drive them to seek in wages and hire the subsistence they can no longer find in property of their own; and thus the number of day-labourers will be multiplied and filled up by the very same cause that had at first reduced and drained it.

Add to this that the negro, here synonymous with the labouring population, which

in slavery-times could only be kept from extinction by constant fresh importations, averaging 5000 Africans a year, so fearfully did the death-rate exceed that of birth, is now, the census assures us, advancing at an annual increase of almost as many negro-creole, or island-born children, and has already attained a total of 400,000 souls. Nor should we omit from our consideration the constant stream of emigrants flowing into Jamaica from Haiti, from Cuba, and even from the more distant regions of the Caribbean Archipelago and the adjoining main; a tide that cannot fail to rise in proportion with the rising fortunes of the island, and the growing demand for labour. In fine, let but matters hold on their actual course, and we need not doubt ourselves to see the day when Jamaica will be hardly less crowded than Barbadoes is now, and when she will have busier gangs to show in her cane-fields, and readier hands at her sugar-works than ever were seen in the palmiest days of forced labour and negro slavery.

It is a remarkable fact, that while the imaginative author of '*At Last*,' and others of his fashion, fill whole pages with pathetic declamations about the decrease and dying out of the creole-negro race in the West Indies, the unimpassioned statistics of the Blue Book now before us, pp. 67, 97, 105, 111, 119, and elsewhere, exhibit on the contrary a rapid increase of the identical black creole population, not in Jamaica alone, but for almost every one of our West Indian possessions; while the only apparent exceptions, two in number, Barbadoes to wit, and the Leeward Islands, are readily explained by an unusual amount of adult emigration, occasioned by two consecutive years of disastrous drought.

Much in the same way the vaguely allusive calumnies, for they are nothing else, by which the emancipated negro is charged with a growing and almost preternatural propensity to every kind of vice and crime, the worst the most, meet a conclusive refutation from the same impartial authority already cited. One island report after another, the criminal statistics have scarce anything on their lists, except cases of petty larceny, that is, the stealing of a few bananas, or the unlawful abstraction of a barn-door fowl; and we would heartily wish that many not manufacturing only, but agricultural districts nearer home, furnished materials for no worse verdict on the white labouring classes than the official pages before us do on the black.

There is—and on this point we cannot insist too strongly—no need of special or protective, still less of class legislation to

foster or compel labour in Jamaica. The problem is already working itself out by itself, and interference of the kind implied can only complicate and retard, perhaps altogether vitiate its solution. Forced labour, under whatever name disguised, apprenticeship or other, always odious, becomes doubly so when applied to a special caste or race of men; and the attempt, so rashly counselled by some to introduce it, would only by the reaction of certain failure involve the colony in hopeless ruin. Scarce less odious, less foolish, are the laws by which the terms and duration of agreement between workmen and their employers are fixed and limited beforehand; above all, where differences of blood and colour tend inevitably to render irritating the very semblance of constraint, and exaggerate every difficulty of class and position. And hence the injudicious interference of artificial regulations, however seemingly well intentioned, and, to use the cant phrase, 'paternal,' like those yet existing, the remnants of a best-forgotten past, in some West Indian colonies, the Danish for example, can only, as the result has already proved in those same Danish islands, blight instead of fostering, stunt, not promote development; besides giving rise to deep ill-feeling, mistrust, and eventual resistance; the sure consequences of class legislation, whatever its pretext.

Something, however, remains to be done before the multitude of Jamaican negroes apply themselves to work 'with a will,' as honest men, who understand their own advantage and that of others should; and the sooner it is done in the interests of agriculture and of public morality alike, the better. And very simple that 'something' is. Good, sound, practical education to direct; just, and not over-expensive law to control; with strict enforcement of the facts already existing against vagrancy and squatting; this and nothing more is needed. Acting in conjunction with the normal tendencies of human society, and the general laws that govern the distribution of labour and wealth, these measures will amply suffice to keep the surplus population, black, white, or coloured, from stagnating in idleness or running over into crime, and effectually compel it into the fertilising channels of day labour and well-earned wages. All this is already in the power of the Jamaican Government to do; and if to put it in full practice requires energy, resolution, and somewhat of the rare courage that can disregard alike the clamour of fools and, it may be, the coldness of friends, what then? the prize is worth the effort.

Coolies are, in the long run, too expensive, and not seldom too troublesome for importation on anything like a sufficient scale. The coolie, if indeed he be as his rapt admirer Canon Kingsley affirms, 'nature's gentleman'—in which case nature must be, we would venture to suggest, still at her 'prentice hand' with a vengeance—has for certain at any rate the gentlemanlike quality of being a very costly article, and is, like some other gentlemen, better to look at than to deal with. That his class 'does not give much more trouble to Government than other classes do,' is the highest commendation that Sir J. P. Grant, a discreet and by no means an unfavourable judge in this cause, can bestow on him; while to his presence the numerous cases of cutting and wounding, an offence rare in those West Indian islands where coolies are not in vogue, but of frequent mention in the Jamaican criminal registers, must in great measure be ascribed. The introduction of the Chinese element is, for more reasons than one, a very questionable expedient; while European labour, German, Irish, Scotch, or English, has proved, and always must prove in the tropics, even though amid the wooded heights and the fresh cool breezes of Jamaica, a disheartening failure. In freedom now, as once in bondage; as a fellow-citizen and subject no less than when a slave, the negro is and must continue to be the main prop of outdoor labour in Jamaica; nor will his masters and employers, if moderately judicious themselves find him, we warrant, either averse from or insufficient to the task.

Enough for the present of the negro. We have risked prolixity on his account, partly because in him must foremost be sought the solution of the Jamaica riddle, the great labour problem; partly also because he in particular, of all members of the human race, seems the most rarely privileged to have the plain unvarnished truth said or written about him. By some bedaubed with excessive praise, by others bespattered with no less excessive abuse, it were difficult to decide at whose hands he fares the worst, of his unwise flatterers or his prejudiced revilers, of an Exeter Hall platform, or an Eyre-defence committee. Dear old Monk Lewis, for to him we must revert once more, was much nearer the truth than either of these, when he laughed a good-natured laugh alternately with and at his black friend; admitted him to be a perplexing creature, improvident, versatile, childish, negligent, by fits lazy too; yet did justice to his willingness, gratitude, docility, quickness, endurance, and the other good qualities abundant in the race. What

negro-employer indeed will not confirm the judgment passed by the typical Cubana's master! when he says, 'Naturalists and physicians, philosophers and philanthropists, may argue and decide as they please; but certainly, as far as mere observation admits of my judging, there does seem to be a very great difference between the brain of a black person and a white one. I should think that Voltaire would call a negro's reason, *une raison très-particulière*. Somehow or other they never can manage to do anything *quite* as it should be done,' and so forth; with illustrations to which any West Indian resident's journal might offer any number of parallels at the present day. And what estate-proprietor, of tolerable tact and conduct, but will also readily add with the Cornwall planter, 'To do the negroes mere justice, I must say that I could not have wished to find a more tractable set of people on almost every occasion. Some lazy and obstinate persons, of course, there must inevitably be in so great a number, but in general I found them excellently disposed,' with more to the same effect?

'What other negroes may be, I will not pretend to guess; but I am certain that there cannot be more tractable or better disposed persons, take them for all in all, than my negroes of Cornwall.' The planter of our own day, of years to come, need, we are well assured, so he himself duly fulfil his own duties as master and employer, pronounce no dissimilar verdict on his own negroes, whether in Cornwall, in Middlesex, or in Surrey; and will find in the comfort and satisfaction ensuing an additional motive of fondness for his Jamaican estate. More fortunate too than Monk Lewis implies himself always to have been, he will, if his own conduct be not unworthy, 'meet in his dealings with white persons in Jamaica'—we speak of planters and proprietors as they are now, not 'half,' but as full, or certainly a fuller measure of 'gratitude, affection, and goodwill,' and in their society will learn that the title of a Jamaican landowner is not merely an advantageous, but an honourable, a justly proud one too.

But though estates may flourish, cultivation extend, and field labour abound, there remains another and an important constituent of solid prosperity, the absence of which is already felt in Jamaica, and will be felt much more severely before long—we mean mechanical skill. That almost every article of the most ordinary mechanism is imported into, not made in, the island; that when the simplest every-day contrivance, a carriage-spring, for instance, a wheel, a lathe, an engine-rod gets out of order, it is next to im-

possible, often absolutely so, to have it properly repaired on the spot, or even in Kingston; that the machinery long general throughout the sugar factories and rum distilleries, and still employed in many, is of the simplest, clumsiest, and consequently of the least economical description; these are facts, and many more might be added to the list known, complained of, and admitted by all. The reason of this deficiency is simple enough—field work and trade, the plantation and the counting-house, have drawn to themselves all the energy of the colony, and have left no surplus for supplementary, though scarce less indispensable, pursuits.

This is a serious evil. The advantages of improved machinery, daily better appreciated by planters and others, are also daily enlarging the circle of its employment: central sugar factories, a form of enterprise attended with many difficulties, but under proper management, with more than counterbalancing advantages, cannot fail to follow before long; railroads will run, not as at present, from Kingston to Spanish Town or Old Harbour only, but will extend their network over the entire length and breadth of the island; manufactures of various kinds, mines even, demanding much and complicated working apparatus, have already begun, though somewhat spasmodically, to give sign of development; irrigation works, bridges, canals, roads, public constructions of every kind make daily progress, and by inevitable consequence mechanics, artisans, skilled workmen, practical engineers—the whole progeny, as Dean Goulburn would say, of Tubal-cain—will speedily be at the highest premium of urgent demand.

Whence, then, are they to be supplied? Not from England, Germany, or any land of the 'pale faces;' this the tropical climate, in the long run at least, forbids. Hard daily toil, even though carried on under shelter in these latitudes, soon deprives the transplanted European workman of the energy and promptitude requisite to the successful completion of his task, or drives him to the fatal supplement of drink. Nor is it, as a rule, from among the negroes that the artisan class need expect its recruits; the cane-field, the plantation, the provision-ground, and the pasture-land, not the workshop or the engine-room are the African's heritage. It is to the coloured population that Jamaica must mainly, if not exclusively, turn for the skilled workman of her future, and in this class she will find every aptitude, physical and intellectual alike, every needful quality for the task in hand. Less physically adapted than the negro to rough and

out-of-doors work, the coloured man, thanks to the tropical admixture in his blood, endures in-doors manual labour to a degree impossible for the pure-blooded European, while the intelligence and perseverance that he derives from his white parentage supplies a fortunate corrective to the irreflective carelessness and habitual negligence of his light-hearted, but often light-headed, negritian ancestors. Already the best carpenters, smiths, joiners, painters, in a word, artisans generally of the West Indies are furnished by the coloured population, and, untutored yet, give sufficient evidence in their style of work of the perfection they might, with proper training and encouragement, speedily attain. Nor is there any reason why mechanicians and engineers should not be added to the list. Superior in neatness of hand to his European half-brother, the coloured man is not rarely his equal in intelligence, and his present inferiority is the result not of natural but of educational deficiencies. For him in particular, even more than for the negro, should be supplied those means of learning, that training which have been so long overlooked or mis-directed in Jamaica; those industrial schools of which the Orphanage of Stone Edge now alone offers a faint and ill-drawn outline, for him, above all, should be established the middle-class places of instruction, the mechanics' institutes, the national schools that might so advantageously replace the many unprofitable denominational and sectarian institutions now spread broadcast over the island. True, this is not the work of vestries, ministers, and clergy, but neither is education their proper province; nor while churches, meeting-houses, and Sunday schools—all excellent things in their way—subsist, need it be feared lest religious instruction should be the worse off because confined within these, its proper limits. For the present the scholars in the educational field are indeed plentiful, but the masters are less than few.

We had heard it so often, and so confidently asserted by men of science and men without, that the coloured classes are unprolific, that their numbers are diminishing, that they must soon die out, and so forth, that we had almost come ourselves to take it for an established fact, and were in consequence agreeably astonished to discover that the Jamaican census of 1871 compared with that of 1861 gives for this very identical class of population an even greater proportional increase than it does for the black. We then turned to the statistics of other West Indian colonies, to see whether this state of things was not a peculiarity of Jamaica, and due to special or local causes,

but found it on the contrary normal and progressive everywhere. But to restrict ourselves to our present subject, Jamaica, all will allow that an increase from eighty to a hundred thousand during a single decade of years, is a remarkable no less than a satisfactory fact. It is one, too, that to a thinking mind confirms, and even exaggerates the importance of what has just been stated about the urgent necessity of a sound and popular education for the rising generation of the mixed race. For though we do not ourselves, except in a very modified sense, share the opinion of those who allot the future destinies of Jamaica, or mayhap of the West Indies in general to the supremacy of a coloured caste, still it is certain beyond controversy that this class will form a very important element in the growing prosperity of the island, and will ultimately exercise no inconsiderable influence both on its society and administration.

Already partly owing to their own individual merit, partly to the liberal spirit which has always, except in unfortunate moments of extreme excitement, distinguished Jamaica, furnishing an honourable contrast to the narrow-mindedness too common in some other West Indian colonies, the Danish for example,\* many coloured men hold important offices, many coloured women claim the fullest social recognition in the best society of the island. Year by year the numbers of such will increase, and for those who have the means in their hands to neglect any longer that which is the chief requisite for qualifying the members of this class worthily to fill the stations open before them, would be not only ungenerous but unwise. That requisite is, we repeat it, well grounded, well directed, and not over-expensive education.

That the recently founded Spanish Town College was a mistake, and a costly one too, all already admit. The education which it was intended to, but does not, supply, can be far more thoroughly, and hardly, if at all, more expensively procured in England; nor ought the hardihood of body and the enlargement of mind best ensured by a few

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\* Whoever has witnessed the narrow-minded arrogance and unsympathising hauteur of the generality of Danes towards all who are not of their own race, and more especially towards their own black or coloured fellow-citizens in their West Indian colonies, will have no difficulty in understanding the causes of the intense unpopularity that has so greatly contributed to Danish expulsion from Sweden, Norway, the Baltic provinces, Schleswig-Holstein; and has rendered precarious their hold even on Iceland. A matter not unworthy of remark for English politicians at the present day.

years spent in an English public school under an English sky, to be omitted from the calculations of those who desire that their children should emulate or excel their British forefathers in the West. Indeed both boys and girls of white, and even where means and constitution allow, of coloured parentage, will, in nine cases out of ten, be more advantaged by a course of English schooling and surroundings than they would be by superior tuition, were such attainable, in the island of their birth, and they will be all the better Jamaican men and women for having been for a season English school-boys and school-girls. But for those, and they are the large majority, whose household circumstances or bodily health do not allow a temporary transplantation to our northern climate, Jamaica may and ought, in her own best interest, to provide education amply sufficient for the middle class to which they belong, as also for the lower.

It is a matter of regret rather than of wonder that during a decade which has witnessed so notable an increase of the black and the mixed races, the number of white residents should have actually decreased. But indeed what Englishman would have cared to forego the advantages of home in order to put himself under a mis-government like that which by the testimony of all parties, all colours, all classes, preceded the outbreak of 1865? or who, surfeited with the real or reported horrors of that unhappy winter, and sick alike of the very names of Underhill and O'Connor, of Gordon and Governor Eyre, would have chosen to cast his lot in an island of which the very name seemed identified with misrule, confusion, and massacre? Who, indeed, having the means of leaving it would not in that dark hour have hastened to do so?

Excusable, but erroneous. The devastating storm was in truth but a passing, nay, a beneficial shower; the pangs were not those of death, but of birth. Tenacious of vitality, the old, the noble colony revived, and reviving, entered on a new phase of higher and more vigorous life. Yet great indeed, greater perhaps than public opinion has awarded, at least outside Jamaica, is the credit due to the wisdom and tact of Sir J. P. Grant's administration, by which tranquillity was so completely and so speedily restored, confidence re-established, and prosperity begun. Not a bare decade but a whole century of years seems already to separate the Jamaica of 1865 from that of 1875.

Repelled for a short time from the shores of Jamaica, the tide of English immigration has already begun to flow towards them again, and in its quality even more than in

its quantity bears with it the assurance of better days than for a century past the island has known. Not a rush of mere adventurers, drawn hither by hope of gain or licence from among the roughs and Bohemians, the dubious or unsettled of home society; but colonists belonging to a very different class, and one specially adapted to confer on the institutions of their new abode the stability so much needed, so seldom found in the regions of the tropical west. Young men of good family name, themselves the pupils of our best foundation schools, not a few students whose names have honourably figured on the muster-rolls of our great universities, are now to be frequently met with among the book-keepers and overseers of plantations and estates, bringing with them not only the tutored intelligence so needful to the right management of labourers and land, but also the yet more valuable qualifications of liberal feelings united with conservative principles, the proper characteristics of English landlords and English gentlemen. In these, and such as these, our best colonial hopes are founded. Whatever form of administration may, as the suns go on, ultimately be established in Jamaica, whether the Colonial Office permanently retain the reins of power that it has now gathered up so absolutely into its own hands, or whether it allow local, and in some degree representative management to assume, or at least to share the responsibility of government, thus much is certain, that for long years to come the English colonists not only must be, but ought to be, the supreme leaders in Jamaica; equal indeed before the law to those around them, but holding the superiority and headship in everything else. This, however, they can only do by fulfilling the true conditions of superior merit; and those conditions, abroad as at home, are rarely found except as the heirloom of good birth, or the result of a liberal and comprehensive education, or both. With the decrepit misrule of Cuba on one side, and the restless instability of Haiti on the other, with democratic propagandism rampant on the northern main, and republican anarchy festering on the south, common sense forbids that the tranquillity, that is the prosperity, of Jamaica should be entrusted to any hands but conservative, to any guardianship except the English. As co-operators in the work, the coloured and negro classes cannot be prized too highly; but neither of them, their warmest advocates must allow, have as yet attained the steadiness and foresight indispensable for those confided with the chief management of affairs; nor is the attain-

ment of such qualities the work of a few years or of a superficial, often an erroneous, training. What may be a century hence we leave to theoretic enthusiasts and platform prophets, of whom there is no lack on either side of the Atlantic, to predict as fancy or party-bias may dictate; or observations only pretend to the ordinary range of mortal vision, and within that range we think them correct enough.

Here we must pause. Much has, our reader will easily understand, been left wholly unsaid in the short limits of an article like this—much, too, but imperfectly said or merely hinted at regarding the past or present, the changing fortunes and the actual condition of this truly interesting island. Gladly would we have told at worthier length the efforts and improvements of the last ten years, the public works already completed, and those near in progress to completion; the measures by which law and justice have been brought within easy reach of the poorest and remotest inhabitants of the colony; the diminution of discontent and crime, and the increase of comfort, wealth, and prosperity. Much also remains to be said regarding the infinitely varied products of the soil; much of trade; much of novel and inchoate industries; much of financial resources, surplus budgets, reduced taxes, and augmented revenue. But for these and their kindred topics we must refer our readers to the sources already cited or alluded to; among which, for picturesque fidelity Monk Lewis, for diffuse copiousness Mr. Gardner, and for statistical precision the official statements, as is natural, bear the palm. Prejudice and party bias apart, the conclusion is not difficult to arrive at; and it is a conclusion at which the great English soul of him who, two centuries and more bygone, added this exquisite gem to the world-clasping circle of England's imperial Crown, might worthily rejoice.

But for the unrivalled loveliness of this Paradise of the west, its magic scenery, its forests, its mountains, its rivers, its green meadows, its fruit-bearing fields and groves, its gay gardens, its unnumbered beauties, he who desires to know them aright must consult, not written description, but actual reality—not reports, but presence. So, too, for him who would learn the good things of the land, the advantages and the profits, the pleasures and the gains of a Jamaican estate, its courtesies and amusements, the simplicity and refinement, the heartiness and healthiness, of its ways and life. For these, too, the shortcomings of description must be made up by experience and experience alone. An English landown-

er is the envy of Europe; he need not be envied by his brother planter on the hillsides and amid the cane-fields of Jamaica.

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ART. III.—*Virgilio nel Medio Evo.* Per Domenico Comparetti, Professore nella R. Università di Pisa. 1872.

'Thou hast a devil!' was the exclamation with which the physician Harvey—probably one of the most devoted students of Virgil that ever lived—was wont, on closing his favourite volume, to express the boundless fascination it never failed to exercise over him. The qualities which charmed our great medical discoverer form, indeed, no part of Signor Comparetti's theme. But his readers will often be reminded of the whimsical phrase we have quoted as they recognise the indestructible vitality of Virgil's literary character among the vicissitudes of the Roman decadence, or survey the still more extraordinary phases of his later mediæval reputation. The history of both forms, in truth, a phenomenon perhaps unique in the history of literature. Most of the ancient writers have been preserved to our own times on the strength of merits as to the nature of which there was never any difference of opinion. But it has been the singular fortune of Virgil to owe the vastness of his fame at various periods to qualities entirely unlike those for which he was admired either by his contemporaries or by ourselves. The height of the pedestal assigned to him by each generation varied little, but each composed it of different materials. A popular expositor of the national religion\* and history, a poet of style, taste; and feeling, a text-writer for schools, a grammarian, a rhetorician, a pagan seer, a prophet of the new religion, a philosopher of universal culture, the guide of the great Christian poet through the realms of his spiritual travel—such were the characters with which he was successively invested by the educated class. But great as were these alterations in their point of view, greater still was the change which his personal history underwent among the vulgar. By these his literary genius was wholly lost sight of, and a character took his place as completely alien from the original as any metamorphosis in Ovid. Like an ancient statue converted

\* The aspect of the 'Æneid' as a religious poem has been carefully traced by M. Boissier in his recent work, 'La Religion Romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins.' Paris, 1874.

into a medieval saint, and loaded with *ex-voto* offerings, through the uncouth acknowledgments of miraculous power he had suffered obliteration of all that beauty which had given the original impulse to veneration.

This remarkable series of transmutations has been traced by Signor Comparetti with a fulness of research which leaves nothing to be desired either from the literary or the legendary point of view. In respect to the former, indeed, to which his first volume is devoted, he goes far beyond the apparent limits of his title, and has followed out the history of Virgil's reputation as a writer, from the very date of the publication of the '*Æneid*' down to the twelfth century. On this portion of his work he is inclined to lay great stress, partly as a portion of literary history never previously executed, and partly as containing the materials necessary for any complete explanation of the peculiar position occupied by Virgil in the '*Divina Commedia*' of Dante. His second volume is wholly taken up with the Virgilian Legends. As regards the comparative novelty of the two sections of the work, it is no doubt the fact that the legendary matter has been touched upon by Bayle in his article on the poet, and more carefully treated both by Dunlop, in his '*History of Fiction*,' and in several French and German monographs; but it is equally true that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find elsewhere as complete and lucid a survey of the history of the chief grammarians, rhetoricians and commentators of the first five centuries as Signor Comparetti has put together. All scholars will certainly appreciate the interest with which he has invested a naturally dry and tedious subject; and we should have been glad, if possible, to devote to this part of the book a space in our article corresponding with its evident importance in its author's eyes, and, we may add, with the interest it has aroused in ourselves. But our limits forbid our attempting to represent it except by such a bare and repulsive abridgment as would, we fear, defeat its own purpose, and we have accordingly decided to try and awake the sympathy of our readers in Signor Comparetti's work by dwelling on that portion of it which we think likely to prove most generally attractive. We shall only think ourselves bound to refer to the earlier chapters in the first place, so far as may be necessary to elucidate the position of Virgil in regard to Dante; and next to trace, so far as is now possible, the roots of that popular belief which ultimately blossomed out into the rank undergrowth of the Virgilian Legends.

There are many reasons why Virgil

should have been chosen as the guide of Dante, the most obvious of which is, of course, that he had written the sixth book of the '*Æneid*.' Homer, indeed, might have been thought entitled to a similar position, for a similar reason; but independently of the sympathy felt by Dante for the poetry of Virgil, and the doubt whether he knew Greek enough for an equal appreciation of Homer, the degree to which Virgil entered into the question of rewards and punishments, and the deeply religious colouring which pervades this portion of his poem, would be enough to determine Dante's choice in favour of the Augustan poet, even were there not many other reasons to which separate weight must be attached. Besides Virgil's own religious character as a religious pagan, great stress must be laid upon the tendency to associate him with the faith of Christendom, which took its rise in his authorship of the famous Fourth Eclogue, and of which many interesting proofs are to be gathered from various sources, reaching from the Augustan era almost to the close of the Middle Ages. To the Christians who thought that Virgil and the Sibyl had been permitted by Providence to have some indistinct foreshadowings of the coming Messiah, they must have appeared in some such light as the wise men of the East appear to an ordinary literal reader of the New Testament at the present day, as standing in an exceptional position, neither wholly heathen nor wholly Christian, but forming links between the Gentile world and the new dispensation. There was a legend which first appears in a Byzantine writer of the eighth century, that the Sibyl, when consulted by Augustus about the divine honours decreed to him by the senate, showed him the heavens opening above their heads, and a vision of the enthroned Virgin, with the Saviour in her arms; and it is said that the Church of *Ara Coeli*, in the Roman Capitol, was founded to commemorate this miraculous appearance. Those who believed such a story would find no difficulty in supposing that any occult information possessed by the Sibyl would be the property of Virgil also; and there is no doubt that both were credited with a knowledge of the miraculous star.

Nor did Virgil's authorship of the fourth Eclogue fail to increase in his case that feeling of compassion for the misfortune of having been, as it were, born too soon, which was aroused for many ancient writers, whose moral merits would have drawn them within the circle of the new religion, had they flourished at a more propitious epoch. It was believed at a very early period that St. Paul

had visited Virgil's tomb at Naples; and the following lines, embodying the feeling just referred to, were sung in the mass of the Apostle's church at Mantua down to the end of the fifteenth century:—

'Ad Maronis mausoleum  
Ductus, fundit super eum:  
Pæ rorem lacrymæ:  
Quem te, inquit, reddidisse,  
Si te vivum invenissem,  
Poetarum maxime!'

The reputation of Virgil had been linked to Christianity on its literary side, in the fourth and fifth centuries, through the fashion of composing centos from his works on Biblical themes—albeit all the really distinctive points of our religion were in these unavoidably omitted. These fruits of a misdirected ingenuity—which appear to have employed the same class of minds as now distinguish themselves in acrostics—are deservedly forgotten, but were at one time so popular that Pope Gelasius was obliged to warn the faithful that they had no canonical authority.

The fourth Eclogue was variously treated, but always continued to occupy the attention of Christendom. It was embodied in a Greek translation in the discourse of Constantine *Ad Sanctos*. Whether the Emperor really spoke it in Greek or not, the fact of the story, and the alterations which were made in the translation with the manifest object of bringing it into still greater harmony with Biblical ideas, testify to the general adhesion of the Christians of that day to this belief.

Lactantius agreed that the Eclogue had a Christian signification, but considered it as referring to the millennium. St. Augustine admitted it as a genuine prophecy, dwelling particularly on the remission of sins apparently predicted in the thirteenth and fourteenth lines. St. Jerome ridiculed the entire notion; but it flourished nevertheless, for St. Paul had referred to heathen poets, and though the supposed Sibylline books were forgeries after the facts, this could not be said of the Eclogue, the date of which was unchallenged. Hence the story took its place, not only in popular credence, but among preachers and learned men, and Virgil henceforth is also among the prophets. Verses of the Eclogue were said to have converted Statius and others; nor was art behindhand in giving currency to the legend. Mr. Street found Virgil sculptured in the stalls of the Cathedral of Zamora among the worthies of the Old Testament; he may be seen in a picture by Vasari at Rimini; a line from the Eclogue is placed over the head of the Cumæan Si-

byls in Raffaello's picture in the church of S. M. della Pace at Rome; and we learn from Mrs. Jameson\* that there is an early picture of the Nativity in which David and the Prophets are singing and dancing round, and Virgil leads the concert with a fiddle. Christian poets, Sedulius for example, imitate and sometimes copy the inscriptions of Virgil in painting Hell or Paradise; and his verses are to be found in the burial-places of the catacombs along with the cross and monogram of Christ.†

In the poem 'L'Intelligenza,' attributed to Dino Compagni, and probably written about 1282, in the description of the 'Palazzo di Madonna,' a certain painting is mentioned as representing the Sibyl Femonœ, 'who repeated the responses of Apollo:—

'Che delle dieu sibille fu quella  
E Virgilio il su dir versificollo  
Di Cristo disse la prima novella  
E del die di giudicio, e profetollo.'

And Sannazarius, in his poem 'De Partu Virginis,' does not hesitate to put the whole of the fourth Eclogue into the mouth of the shepherds at the Nativity.

To pass from these general considerations, which might have operated upon any writer who had conceived the idea of such a poem as the 'Divina Commedia,' we may advert to others which were peculiarly calculated to influence such a mind as a study of Dante's other works reveals to us. In three chapters which form a valuable contribution to general literary history, but which we have no space minutely to analyse, Signor Comparetti sketches some of the more striking characteristics of the period immediately preceding Dante. No one, we think, who reads them will fail to gain clearer notions than he ever had before of the peculiar light in which Virgil must have appeared to the great Florentine, and of the reasons which we may almost say necessitated the position of the former in the 'Divina Commedia.' It will be seen that this resulted from no mere individual preference of a favourite author, but was dictated by a variety of reasons, arising out of the precedent conditions of thought, education, and general culture surrounding the writer of that great poem. The renown of Virgil as the prophet of the Saviour, as the describer of another world of reward and punishment, as the unquestioned authority on all the departments of scholastic education, as the bard of that empire the renewal of which

\* 'History of Our Lord,' vol. i. p. 251. Place and painter not mentioned.

† See Boissier, 'La Religion Romaine,' vol. i. p. 352.

was the dream of his disciple,—made him altogether the most conspicuous figure that could fill the vision of a literary genius, whether for imitation or rivalry. On the other hand, a mind like that of Dante, which had really absorbed into itself all the science and philosophy with which Virgil had been credited, and was conscious of the vast powers which were destined to revolutionise the literature of Italy, must have felt that no prosecution of its grand scheme was open to it of which Virgil should not form an integral part. That he should be passed over as one whose day was gone by and whom it was time to supersede was impossible; but he might be associated with the work of a younger generation in thought, literature, and politics, and in the spiritual sphere might look over the borders of that paradise which it had not been given to him to enter.

This conception was executed partly with the freedom of Dante's individual genius, partly under the limitations imposed by the conditions of his age and country. In many respects he was a pure medievalist, looking upon universal history, for instance, exclusively from the Jewish standpoint as regarded ancient, from the Christian as regarded modern times; Jerusalem was the centre of one world, Rome of the other, and the history of both met in one point, the birth of Christ. We lay stress on the fact that the supposed foundation of Rome was contemporary with the reign of David.\* Dante believed to a great extent in the theological, allegorical, and scholastic value of the ancient writers, and though his knowledge was more extensive it was essentially of the same kind as that of his day. His scholarship is not first-rate in Latin, and it is difficult to believe that he knew Greek, though the fact of his having obtained a theological degree at Paris has sometimes been supposed to prove this. But, though he had not emancipated himself from all the prejudices with which a man of the thirteenth century took up an author like Virgil, he had realised one great fact which had in his time come to be almost forgotten, viz., that Virgil, Statius, Lucan, and others were *poets*. Casting off the common prejudices against their paganism, he felt their power and sweetness as he might have done at the present day. Where he uses ancient facts or traditions, it is in no spirit of servile imitation, but as one who

has completely assimilated his material, and can deal with it like its original owners, even to the extent of enlarging its mythological phraseology.

It is in accordance with this mastery of the ancient writers that in his mind Italy is but the continuation of Rome, not the new and distinct nation we have in modern times been educated to consider it. His view of the ancient Latin world was not an abstract and literary, but a practical one, as of a power which was not dead, but as alive as when 'Euryalus and Nisus and Turnus, and the virgin Camilla died in its behalf.' His sympathy with Virgil was fellow-feeling for one who was not so much an ancient author as his own countryman, the poet of the empire whose centre of gravity was still in Rome. Roman, Latin, and Italian were to him all one, and he does honour to the poet whom all honour, who 'showed' what 'our tongue could do,' and who taught him the 'beautiful style' which has gained him honour from others. Dante's Virgil, therefore, is not the real Virgil of the Augustan age, but the ideal Virgil of the thirteenth century. Still Dante's conception of him is no mere repetition of medieval notions, nor does it appear to be indebted either to any of the old allegorists like Fulgentius, or to any of the biographers, except, perhaps, to Donatus, and to him only for facts. Whatever conception was in Dante's mind, it was clearly seized and consistently followed out. A poet of less judgment would not so firmly have distinguished the provinces which are respectively assigned to Dante, to Statius, and to Beatrice, but would probably have softened off the summary return of Virgil to Limbo which is now implied. All through, however, we feel that keen sympathy of the poet for the poet, which makes Dante linger longest in such company, and with his master yield, in the Purgatorio, to the fascination of Casella's song. This sympathy, combined with Virgil's Italian origin, may answer a question sometimes asked, why Dante should not have chosen as a guide 'il gran maestro di color che sanno?'—surely the supreme representative of medieval and every other learning. It is enough to say that the master alluded to was a philosopher, and not a poet.

The Dantesque Virgil is, as Signor Comparetti remarks, a measure of the degree to which Dante adhered to or deserted the ideas of his age. He does not, indeed, restore the exact type of the Augustan poet, but consciously ennobles and completes it. That some of the singular legends of which we shall have to speak were then current is

\* 'E tutto questo fu in uno temporale che David nacque e nacque Roma: cioè che Enea venne di Troia in Italia che fu origine della nobilissima città romana, come testimoniano le scritture.'—*Convito*, vol. iv. p. 5.

manifest from a curious legend in a poem by his friend Cino da Pistoia.\* But these he must designedly have passed by, for if he had believed Virgil to be a magician he would, instead of adopting him as a guide, have been obliged to place him in the fourth Bolgia, where, in fact, he does place the mythic foundress of Virgil's own city—the sorceress Manto. And the imputation of epicureanism which was made against Virgil in his own time, and is not extinct even at the present day,† he either did not know or wished to discountenance, for the only allusion he makes to the Epicureans is that they denied the existence of a future state.

There is a curious and obscure passage in the ninth book of the 'Inferno,' which, if we are to take it in its obvious meaning as a record through Dante of one of Virgil's spiritual experiences, would undoubtedly furnish strong reason for the choice of the latter as a guide. We refer to the lines in which, in answer to Dante's inquiry whether souls from Limbo are ever permitted to descend into the lower circles, Virgil reassures him by declaring that he has once already visited the circle of Judas, in obedience to the spells of Erichtho.

Signor Comparetti quotes this passage, but only for the purpose of warning us against the commentators who have seen in it a reference to Virgil's necromantic reputation. In this he may be right. But it is noteworthy that Virgil says nothing of any obstacles on his previous journey, whereas when he is in Dante's company the Furies offer a resistance so fierce that the interposition of an angel is required to clear the way. In other words, he would appear to have been unopposed when obeying the commands of a Pagan sorceress, but violently withstood when acting under the orders of a Christian saint. The reference made by some commentators to the passage in Lucan, where Erichtho conjures up the spirit of a dead soldier to predict the event of the war, introduces a needless difficulty into the passage; for at the period Lucan refers to, Virgil must have been still alive, whereas it is clear that at the time, whenever it was, that Dante refers to, he was dead. There is no occasion to mix up the two events. If Dante had really meant

to connect Virgil with the story narrated by Lucan, he would not have failed to make clear so interesting an historical reference; or if, as we think is the case, he had no such intention, there is no difficulty in supposing that Erichtho outlived Virgil, and exercised her arts upon his spirit in the usual way.

The absence of any reference by Dante to the obvious discrepancy between the spiritual worlds of Virgil and of himself is mentioned by Signor Comparetti as if it were an instance of discreet silence upon an inconsistency which could not be satisfactorily got over. We think that the difficulty, if any, disappears when we remember that Virgil's previous theory as to a future life must be considered as having merged after death in the corrected view, implied by his function in Dante's poem. Nor is there anything inconsistent with this enlargement of vision in the fact that many of his dicta as to particular persons are implicitly received by Dante, such, for instance, as the position of Ripheus in Paradise, and of Cato as a venerated judge, instead of a punished suicide. Dante might be content to take Virgil's word as to ancient personages, about whom the latter had the best means of knowing without accepting it as to matters on which only a Christian would be well informed. In accordance with this idea, the Christianity of Virgil is in the 'Divina Commedia' much more developed than the common medieval belief, though it still came far short of that which is ascribed to Statius. The latter was believed to have owed his conversion to the fourth Eclogue, and is thus a sort of 'emanation' of Virgil; nevertheless, he takes his place on arriving at the entrance of Paradise. Granting the assumptions which must be made by any writer who uses a celebrated personage under conditions so singular as those which govern the employment of Virgil, in the 'Divina Commedia,' there is nothing in the conception contradictory to what is known of him from his works, or from the scanty particulars of his life. The extent of knowledge attributed to him, though it is an idea doubtless derived from medieval sources, will scarcely be thought out of keeping by anyone who has been led to appreciate 'per il lungo studio e il grande amore' the stores of learning which are woven into the texture of the 'Æneid.' And the personal character of the poet is touched by Dante with a fineness of discrimination and a plenitude of shading which have charmed all readers, and form a striking contrast to the barrenness or perverseness of most of the attempts which have been made to bring

\* 'O sommo vate, quanto mal facesti  
A venir qui: non t'era me' morire  
A Piettoia colà dove nascesti?  
Quando la mosca per l'altre fuggire  
In tal loco ponesti,  
Ove ogni vespa doverria venire  
A pungere quei che su ne' boschi stanno.'

† See Teuffel's 'Roman Literature,' section on Virgil.

real and important people upon a fictitious scene.

Such was the fortune of the Virgilian tradition when it fell into the hands of genius. How it fared when taken up by a man of mere literary talent may be judged from another work of the thirteenth century, in which we emerge from the scholastic and educational atmosphere into the regions of popular fiction. This is the poem, called 'Dolopathos,' written in Latin, by John, a monk of the abbey of Attasilva or Haute-seille, in Lorraine, and afterwards turned into French verse by a certain Herbers, the latter being the only version now extant. The story is briefly as follows :—

Dolopathos, King of Sicily in the time of Augustus, has a son, Lucinianus, whom he sends to Rome to be instructed by Virgil. The wife of Dolopathos dying, he marries again, and soon after recalls his son. Virgil, by astrology, discovers that the youth is menaced with a great misfortune, only to be averted by his keeping entire silence till his tutor tells him he may speak. On arriving in Sicily he seems incurably dumb, but the new queen is, at her own request, allowed to attempt a cure. She at once makes love to the youth who behaves with the reserve to be expected from a pupil of Virgil; while the lady, fearing he may reveal her conduct accuses him to the King of a similar offence. Lucinianus is on the point of being condemned to death when a wise man appears and by telling a story obtains a day's delay. Other sages follow, till, on the seventh day, Virgil arrives, tells a story in like manner, and then orders the prince to speak. He reveals all, and the queen is burnt alive.

In this story we recognise the framework of the tale of the Seven Wise Men, the relationships of which to Oriental as well as to other European stories form an interesting, though complicated, chapter in the history of fiction. They are traced in the works of Ellis and Dunlop, and more recently Signor Comparetti has devoted to them a monograph, 'Researches on the Book of Sindibad.' But the 'Dolopathos,' though manifestly derived from the same origin, is distinguished by the introduction of Virgil as the protagonist of the story, and this not in the light of a magician (which would have transferred it from the category of literary to that of popular tradition), but of a sage of profound though still human wisdom.

Jean de Haute-seille, far from being a mere retailer of popular legends, is acquainted with Virgil's works, and takes pains to place his narrative in an appropriate setting. The wife whom Augustus gives to Dolopathos is the daughter of Agrippa; Dolo-

pathos himself is, like so many other distinguished people, 'of Trojan origin.' The author quotes St. Augustine, and winds up his story in a religious fashion. On the other hand, the geography and chronology of Jean are somewhat confused; while he talks of bishops, monks, and abbots, in pagan times, he makes Augustus Emperor of Romagna and King of Lombardy, and Dolopathos a feudal prince. Moreover, Virgil himself is of a romantic type, an exaggerated copy of the portrait with which we are already familiar. He is the most learned of all 'clerks,' and greatest of all men in poetry. Kings and emperors bow before him. He wears a sleeveless furred mantle, and a fur cap, and is seated on a chair, while his pupils, the children 'of many a high baron,' sit on the ground. These he instructs in the seven arts, which he has reduced into the compass of a little book, which may be held in the closed hand. The author, though he mentions astrological divination, believes in it only as a thing permitted by God, in accordance with which view the fourth Eclogue is used to convert Licinianus to Christianity after his father's death.

Before passing from the 'Dolopathos' to the purely popular legends about Virgil, we may mention some works or passages in medieval literature, which Signor Comparetti either omits or notices too briefly. To the latter category belongs the 'Æneid' of Heinrich Von Veldeke, written towards the end of the twelfth century, and adapted not directly from Virgil, but from 'Le Roman d'Énée,' a French poem existing in the Paris library, but as yet unedited. Its deviations from the original are considerable. In mentioning the siege of Troy, the death of Hector is scarcely noticed; the parting with Andromache is curtly told, but there is a long description of the furniture of Dido's chamber, and the love-scenes generally take up far more space than they do in Virgil. It was a celebrated poem in its day, but its publication was delayed to the Horatian limit in a manner quite unintended by its author, from whom, immediately on its completion, it was borrowed by the Count Von Schwartzburg, and only returned, after nine years, through the influence of Hermann, Landgrave of Thuringia.

The celebrity of the 'Æneid' is reflected in some of our old English ballads, notably the one 'In Praise of Inconstancy,' sung at a certain 'Feast of Brougham Castle;' to the composer of this the conduct of Æneas did not appear in the heinous light that it has done to modern critics :—

'Dido wept, but what of this?  
The gods would have itt soe;  
Aeneas nothing did amisse  
Ffor he was fforcte to go.'

But a less cynical view is expressed in the ballad of 'The Wanderynge Prince of Troy,' which follows Virgil up to Dido's death, after which we hear of the faithless Trojan at 'an isle in Grecia,' where he receives a letter from her sister describing the tragic scene. Then comes Dido's ghost, pale and reproachful, to warn him of his approaching doom. He sues for mercy, but suffers the punishment provided for heroes who love and sail away:—

'And thus as one being in a trance  
A multitude of ugly ffeinds  
About this woful prince did dance;—  
He had no help of any ffreinds:—  
His body then they tooke away  
And no man knew his dying day.\*'

We are tempted to quote a passage or two from the 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum,' to show the vestiges of the feeling against the classical authors as profane which continued to exist in the sixteenth century:—

'Afterwards at Mantua we heard firing, because the army then lay before Brescia. And my fellow traveller said, "Virgil was born here." I answered, "What do I care for that heathen? We want to go to the Carmelites and see Baptista of Mantua who is twice as good as Virgil, as I have heard ten times from Ortwin, and have said to him, you have censured Donatus once for all when he says Virgil is the most learned of all poets, and you said, "I wish Donatus was here, I should like to tell him to his face that he lies, for Baptista the Mantuan is above Virgil." And when he came to the Carmelite convent we were told that Baptista of Mantua was dead; then, said I, "May he rest in peace."'

Ortwin, however, had himself lectured on Virgil, as we learn from the letter of 'Antoninus N., Licentiate in medicine;' with what intelligence, may be gathered from the fact that the pupil, to illustrate the words 'intentique ora tenebant,' and as he says 'to keep the peace,' had painted on the margin of his copy a man with a padlock on his mouth. That the study of Virgil must at this time have declined may be gathered from other passages in the letters:—

'I understand,' writes Magister Unkenbunck to Ortwin, 'that you have few hearers, and that you complain that Buschius and Cæsarius (two professors of the reformed learning) draw away your scholars, though they do not know how to interpret the poets allegorically, as you do, and to adduce Holy Scripture. I believe the devil is in these poets (i.e., the reforming professors), they are de-

stroying the universities . . . Freshmen want now to hear Virgil and Pliny, and other new authors . . . Once it was an out of the way thing to study poetry. And when a student stated in confession that he had secretly been lectured on Virgil by a graduate, the priest imposed on him a great penance, to fast every sixth holiday, or say the seven penitential psalms daily.'

Though Signor Comparetti is technically right in placing 'Dolopathos' in the category of literature rather than of popular fiction, we at once feel that we have descended a long way below the level of Dante; nor do the extracts we have just given reveal a state of intellect to which even coarser food would be unpalatable. We are thus brought to the VIRGILIAN LEGENDS, which exhibit the poet in a light that will be new to many even of those who can read him in the original, unless they happen to be students of old romances. We have in the 'Dolopathos' already travelled far from our usual ideas of the Augustan poet; how, then, are we to recognise him in an enchanter who creates talismans at pleasure, sails through the air in magic ships, whisks princesses from Rome to Babylon in a flash of lightning, sends a familiar spirit to rob an emperor of his supper? Horace describes to us his unaffected astonishment at the poet 'who, like a magician, can take him at will to Thebes or Athens,' but it would have surprised him to learn that his friend Virgil would one day be credited with such a power in literal truth. Nevertheless, there are one or two points in the real Virgil which, we have no doubt, had their influence in determining his subsequent legendary character. There was the Eclogue called the 'Pharmacentria,' which, judging from Virgil's usual care in details, would naturally be believed to be written with as intimate a knowledge of the subject as is shown by Goethe in the passage on the technicalities of alchemy in 'Faust'; there was the prophetic Eclogue, on which enough has been said; and there was the dying wish of the poet that his books should be burnt, an injunction which those who know the habits of wizards are aware is a no uncommon incident in their last communications with the world. A posthumous reputation for magical powers is, of course, common enough in all countries and ages. Not to mention well-known instances—such as that of Petrarch—Warton\* tells us that Horace in the neighbourhood of Palestrina was in his time still regarded as a wizard. And the peasants near Cerbaldo

\* 'Percy Ballads,' vol. iii.

\* 'Hist. Eng. Poetry,' vol. iii. p. 62, note.

still consider Boccaccio as a magician, and tell various stories about his spirit.\* There is, therefore, nothing to cause wonder if a yet more celebrated name should have gathered round it some such accretions. The tomb of Virgil long continued to be one of the *mirabilia* of Naples. Statius used to pay it divine honours; it was doubtless a place of pilgrimage long after all authentic particulars about its tenant had died away; but these the curiosity of visitors would not cease to demand, nor would the race of *custodes* leave such curiosity ungratified. Such stories might well be passed over by educated inhabitants of the city who had no interest in causing them to be believed or in reducing them to a written form. But a medieval traveller would seize on them with avidity. His narrative in an age like that of the thirteenth century would be greedily received. Succeeding travellers would be on the watch for these marvels. The trade of all who could minister to such a pursuit would doubtless be a profitable one. And thus would be laid the foundations of many stories requiring nothing but recognition by accredited writers to take a firm hold on popular imagination, not only within the limits of their birth-place, but in foreign countries.

Signor Comparetti places the starting-point of Virgil's legendary reputation wholly among these obscure Neapolitan superstitions. Perhaps he hardly allows weight enough to that aspect of Virgil's character, to which we have attempted to draw attention in introducing his relation to Dante—that of a transitional personage, like the Sibyls and the Magi, between Paganism and Christianity. It required no great strain to view the poet also as a *magus* who exercised his powers for a good end. And we may observe that it is for good ends exclusively that the earlier Neapolitan legends represent him to have used his gifts. Nor would the skill in astrological science implied in the foreknowledge of the miraculous star and in the general character of a *magus* be without its influence in preparing the ground for that dissemination of supernatural attributes which forms the hotbed of the popular legend.

Signor Comparetti's arrangement of his materials is partly geographical, partly dependent on the various characters in which the poet appears in each cycle of legends. This method enables him doubtless to compare with more scientific precision the affinities of each story in other times and countries; but, in aiming at this object, he

has been led not only into some repetition, but into too great a sacrifice of chronological order. We think he might have found means of reconciling the claims of both methods; for ourselves we shall take the liberty of presenting such points as we have gathered from him in an order somewhat different from his own, and of adhering more closely to the sequence of time. We shall thus be enabled to trace the growth of the legend of Virgil as a magician from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the sixteenth century, and to note the elements brought into it from various sources, whether from the Neapolitan populace, Oriental tales, the productions of *trouvères*, or the old biographies. We shall see how the legend itself, after burying the real Virgil under a mass of foreign matter, ran through a career of its own, at the end of which its own identity was as completely lost as that of its original hero had been, without preserving any elements which in that age of the world could give it a fresh lease of existence.

The first writer who mentions the subject is John of Salisbury, the most learned writer of his age, a pupil of Abelard and other schoolmen at Paris, secretary to Thomas-à-Becket, whose fate he is said to have narrowly escaped, a frequent traveller in Italy, and ultimately Bishop of Chartres; he, in his '*Polycricon de Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum*,' a prose work written in 1156 to expose the follies of the age and recommend the cultivation of sound philosophy, tells the following story:—While Marcellus was chasing birds, Virgil asked him whether he would prefer to have a bird which would enable him to capture all other birds, or a fly that would destroy all other flies. After advising with Augustus, Marcellus chose the latter, and accordingly became possessed of a fly having the desired efficacy. What this fly was made of John of Salisbury does not tell us, but we learn it from the author of the '*Apocalypse Goliæ Episcopi*,' who says, 'I see Virgil making brazen flies.' Whether Virgil's little poem of the 'Gnat' had any share in suggesting this legend we will not undertake to say; nothing, perhaps, is too absurd for such a purpose: on the other hand, the motives of the legend and that of the poem are essentially different from each other, and such talismans are found to occur in the fictions of other countries.

A decided growth of the legend is exhibited in the letters of Conrad of Querfurt, Chancellor of the Emperor Henry VI of Germany, his representative at Naples and in Sicily, and afterwards Bishop of

\* Giusti, '*Proverbi Toscani*,' p. 418.

Hildesheim; in fact, this writer may be said to have developed it into a serious literary shape. In truth, no fitter person could have been found for the purpose. He may not have been equal to the invention of a myth, but his condition of mind during his Italian journey enables us to understand how myths are propagated. He believed himself to have seen in Southern Italy Olympus, Parnassus, and the fountain of Hippocrene, besides Scylla and Charybdis, and the labyrinth of the Minotaur, for which last no doubt he mistook the remains of the Greek theatre at Taormina. Part of his business at Naples was to dismantle the walls of the town, which he supposed had been founded by Virgil, and he says he found within them the very talisman which Virgil had made to prevent such work as he was then engaged in. This was a model of the city enclosed in a narrow-necked bottle, supposed to be a palladium guaranteeing the place against all enemies; and though its inefficacy was thus singularly demonstrated, its failure was accounted for by a slight crack then found in it. He mentions other wonders made by Virgil; a bronze horse which kept live horses from going lame; a market where meat always remained fresh; a vault under Nola gate where all the serpents were imprisoned; a statue of an archer pointing an arrow at Vesuvius which restrained that mountain from committing eruptions, but which, owing to a mischievous person having shot off the arrow, lost its efficacy; and a set of baths at Pozzuoli bearing inscriptions of all the maladies they would cure. He describes the bones of Virgil as placed in a castle of the sea, and says that, if exposed to the air, they caused a storm; 'and this,' he says, 'I have seen and tried.'

Many of these stories are repeated by Alexander Neckam, foster-brother of Richard Cœur de Lion, in his treatise '*De Naturis Rerum*,' and it was once thought that he had learned them at Naples, an idea which Signor Comparetti, in common with Mr. Wright, is inclined to disbelieve. It is certainly the fact that Neckam adds some fresh features to the legends, whence derived is perhaps of little consequence. From him we first hear of an impenetrable wall of air which surrounded the garden at Monte Vergine; and of a golden leech, by throwing which into a well Virgil cleared Naples of a plague of leeches. These homœopathic talismans are also recounted by the monk Elinandus, the author of a Latin chronicle which comes down to 1204, in which he also describes a bell-tower built

by Virgil which rocked in time to the bells when they were rung. Elinandus had been a *trouvère* before his retirement to the cloister, and we may be assured that the theme of Virgil as a wizard lost nothing when it came into his hands. In the '*Parcival*' of Wolfram von Eschenbach, written in 1203-1215, and founded on Arthurian legends, in imitation of the French *trouvères* of the period, Virgil is mentioned as the ancestor of the magician Klinschor, who, in spite of his name, 'was said to have been born in the Terra di Lavoro—an idea repeated by many other German poets of the thirteenth century.'

The abundant references to comparative fiction supplied by Signor Comparetti point at the real origin of most of these tales. Their application to Virgil may have been first made in Naples, but the close parallels to them which are found elsewhere, particularly in the East, and which can be proved to be of much older date, show that this is only another case of that *endosmosis* of romantic fiction which has been going on all over the world for many ages. Of such stories one class has been shown to be usually attached to some actual monument or relic, the existence of which is matter of history. Thus at Constantinople there were monuments to which Apollonius of Tyana was supposed to have given enchanted virtues. The bronze tripod in the Hippodrome there was long regarded as a talisman. The city had once been visited by a plague of serpents, which Apollonius drove away by the figure of an eagle with a serpent in its claws erected on a column. On the destruction of this effigy the legend was transferred to the remains of the tripod. There were also Byzantine legends of bronze flies, gnats, scorpions, &c., which had the power to exorcise their living representatives, as was the case at Naples; and Signor Comparetti has found an instance of a similar legend at Paris.

Virgil's magical benefits to Naples are more fully narrated in the farrago of stories, called '*Otia Imperialia*,' written by Gervase of Tilbury, to amuse Otho IV. This author tells us that on each side of the Nola gate of Naples was a stone head, one with a laughing, the other with a crying face. The former brought good, the latter ill luck to those who passed under each respectively. Gervase, with whom travelling matters had gone more smoothly than usual on his arrival at Naples, was persuaded by his host to believe that this was owing to his having been forced by an accidental circumstance to enter on the lucky side. There are some

other trifling differences in the legend which it would be hardly worth while to enumerate.

In reference to Virgil's tomb, Gervase tells a story which seems to show that that laughing-stock of the continent, the eccentric English traveller, is a personage of very respectable antiquity. One of our countrymen, he says, of vast literary and scientific attainments, asked and obtained from King Roger of Sicily permission to possess himself of the bones of Virgil. The Neapolitans, thinking him engaged in a wild goose chase, offered no opposition, till he found in the centre of the mountain the poet's sepulchre, with the body entire, and beneath the head a book, entitled, 'Aes Notoria.' He took away the volume, but the populace would not allow him to have the bones; they placed them in a sack and removed them to the Castel di Mare, where they were shown behind an iron grating. These facts Gervase of Tilbury says he learnt from the Cardinal Giovanni of Naples, and that he himself had tried some of the receipts from Virgil's book.

Many of the Neapolitan legends are described afresh in the 'Image du Monde,' an encyclopædic French poem, written in 1245. The marvels attributed to Virgil are not worth repeating, with the exception of the brazen head he is said to have made, which, by its ambiguous response, caused his death. The advice given by it 'to take care of his head,' was referred by him to the mechanical and not to the living head, until the sunstroke, which proved fatal to him, showed that his oracular contrivance was but a 'juggling fiend.' St. Paul is clumsily mixed up in this version of the legend. He visits the tomb of Virgil, which is in a castle by the sea, and, after expressing his regret that he had not had the opportunity of converting him, makes the most of the situation by attempting to appropriate his books of sorcery, but is prevented by statues with steel clubs, and an archer with a bow always bent, who break the magic lamps and reduce the tomb to darkness.

Signor Comparetti remarks that all heroes of mediæval legends were sure sooner or later to be connected with love adventures, whether there was any reason in their history or not, and Virgil is no exception to the rule. The 'Image du Monde' contains the first specimen of this tendency, and how purely adventitious it is, is shown by the fact, that only the latter half of the story is there given to us, while for the former portion, which is necessary to make it intelligible, we have to consult a subsequent work of a different country. It is in the 'Welt-

buch' or 'Universal Chronicle' of Jaus Enenkel of Vienna, a rhyming poem in High German, written in 1250, that we find both the Roman and Neapolitan exploits of Virgil interwoven into one history. According to this, Virgil, while digging in his garden, found a glass bottle containing the devil, whom he releases on his promising to teach him magical art. This promise is kept, and the first use Virgil makes of his powers is to form a figure of a woman which can in no respect whatever be distinguished from life. Not content with this Pygmalion-like performance, he makes unlawful love to a married lady of Rome, who, at the suggestions of her husband, entraps him by a pretended assignation, and, having drawn him half-way up to her window in a basket, exposes him there to the derision of the public. In revenge for this trick he extinguishes all the fires in the town, and on being implored by the starving inhabitants to rekindle them, declares that this shall only be done by the lady herself, who must stand unclothed in public for the purpose,—a condition to which the husband, who suffers not less than his fellow citizens, compels her to submit. The remainder of this story, which takes Virgil to Naples, has been anticipated.

Now that we have the tale of Virgil and the lady in a complete form, the difference of character in the two parts of the story becomes tolerably evident. In the first Virgil's character is not that of a magician, but only of a wise man, who against the wiles of women is, like the rest of his sex, no conjuror. Hippocrates in the French Fabliaux suffers the same fate, and Aristotle is similarly persuaded by Alexander's mistress to let her ride on his back round the garden, and is seen in that predicament by his pupils. As to the second story, it occurs separately both in the 'Image du Monde,' as we have seen, and in a poem by the *trouvère* Giraud de Calanson of about the same period. There is no doubt that it is of Eastern origin, and it has been traced to a narrative of the Mongol Khans of Turkestan.

Virgil in his ridiculous situation was one of the most favourite stories in the Middle Ages, but we must refer to Signor Comparetti for a tolerably long list of writers who mention it. Among other proofs of its popularity was a festival at Metz, where among the illustrious personages who figure in the procession was Virgil hanging in the basket; and it is even found carved among the stall-work in churches. Curiously enough, it has been mixed up with the topography of Rome, for the 'Mirabilia Urbis

Romæ,' the pilgrim's guide-book of the thirteenth century, derives *Viminal* from the words *Vado ad Napulum*, adding, that 'this is the spot whence Virgil when taken by the Romans invisibly escaped to Naples.' This, no doubt, is the sequel of the basket adventure, and points to the imprisonment of Virgil by the Emperor for his reprisals on the lady. The manner of Virgil's escape is variously told. In another text of the 'Mirabilia,' also of the thirteenth century, it is effected by his disappearance through a basin of water; in later legends by his drawing a ship either on the wall or on the ground, in which he places himself, and which rises through the air. In the German version of the 'Mirabilia,' the Torre dei Frangipani, once built upon the Arch of Titus, is supposed to be the lady's house, and is called the Torre di Virgilio. Inhabitants of Rome to this day, though ignorant of the Torre di Frangipani, are well acquainted with its other name. In 1587, probably in consequence of the demolition of the medieval tower, the name of Virgil was transferred to the Meta Sudana.

In the 'Roman de Cleomadés,' written by Adenés li Rois in 1261 or 1290, the Neapolitan legend is amplified into two castles in the sea, each founded on an egg; one, says the poet, was destroyed, but the other is standing. In this romance we find a new point as to the baths of Pozzuoli and their inscriptions, which are said to have been defaced by some local physicians as bad for trade. Here also is the first mention of the mirror made by Virgil at Rome, which showed if treason to the state was brewing in any quarter; also of a public fire, with the copper statue of an archer who, owing to some mischievous person's interference, shot off his arrow and put it out; and four statues of the seasons, who tossed a ball from hand to hand to show what time of year it was.

We must return to Naples to notice a phase of the legend which makes its first appearance in literature at the period at which we have now arrived. Padre Giordano, the abbot of the monastery of Monte Vergine, in the 'Life' he compiled from much older sources of San Guglielmo of Vercelli, founder of that congregation, says that the mountain was so called from its containing the magic garden of Virgil. This belongs to an abode at which he had established himself in order to consult the oracle of Cybele there about the interpretation of the Sibylline verses, a study he soon abandoned, and having removed to Naples, spent the rest of his life in composing the 'Æneid.' The magic character of the garden seems to have continued up to the time

of Padre Giordano, for the monks sometimes came upon it in their walks, but never could succeed in gathering any plants there, nor could discover by what path they arrived there or left it. There can be little doubt that this story is really of much older date than the end of the thirteenth century, and probably was current at least as early as 1132. At that time flourished a certain Giovanni Nusco, the original author of that 'Life of San Guglielmo' which was used by Padre Giordano, and in which Monte Vergine is called *Monte Virgiliano*. There was nothing surprising in the pagan being altered into the Christian title: still the former is retained in a bull of Pope Celestine III. of 1197, where the place is called 'Monasterium Sacrosanctæ Virginis Mariæ de Monte Virgilio.' Signor Comparetti very fairly agrees that there is nothing at all unlikely in Virgil's having had some property in this neighbourhood, and cites the old story told by Gellius, that Georgic II. 225, the poet changed *Nola* into *Ora*, because the people of the former town refused to supply him with water. Some other Virgilian stories, as we have seen, are associated with the Nola gate of Naples, and it is not far from Nola, that is, near Avella on the slope of Monte Vergine, that the magic garden is placed. The whole myth is probably referable to some herb-garden of the Middle Ages. We find in the thirteenth century a curious proof of Virgil's reputation in the existence of a Latin treatise called 'The Philosophy of Virgil of Cordova.' It contains nothing of Virgil but the name, and has no relation to any of the legends we have noticed. But it is full of claims to abstruse Arabic science 'which some people,' says the author, 'call negromancy, but we call refulgency;' and he pretends to have been taught by spirits summoned for the purpose. Here also we have, with some slight augmentation, the tale of the spirits shut up in a bottle; and a strange jumble to the effect that when Alexander the Great came to Jerusalem, his master, Aristotle, found out where the books of Solomon were concealed, and thence learned all his wisdom.

A further development of the original legend is found in a poem hitherto unpublished, but which Signor Comparetti prints entire from a MS. in the Turin Library. It is composed out of two others already known, 'Vespasian; or, the Vengeance of Jesus against the Hebrews,' and the 'Gesta dei Lorenesi,' joined together by a third, on the 'Acts of San Severino,' and preceded by an introduction containing the whole of the 'Old Testament History.' Its connection

with Virgil is through a bad emperor of uncertain date, called *Noïrous li Arabis*, probably suggested by Nero, but here described as a devil-worshipper and a Mahometan, who having built himself a splendid palace, asks Virgil how long it will last. 'Till a virgin has a child,' answered Virgil. 'Then it will never fall, for what you speak of will never happen.' 'Yes it will.' Thirty years after Christ is born, and the palace falls to pieces. 'Why did you not tell me that a virgin would have a child? You knew it,' says Noïrous. Virgil, upon this, begins to expound the Christian faith, and the result is a challenge to a dispute with the Emperor, the loser to have his head cut off. Virgil accepts, but desires first to see 'Hippocrates' and other learned friends. From these he learns everything concerning the advent of Christ, and returns fully armed for the dispute. Noïrous submits at once, and confesses that he is one of the rebel angels changed into a demon, and suffered to assume an earthly form. Virgil begins to tell in many hundred verses the whole Scripture history from the creation. The issue of the challenge is lost sight of, but there is a final scene in Hell from which it is to be gathered that Noïrous was worsted in the dispute.

Two German poems, also written in the beginning of the fourteenth century, illustrate the legendary relation of Virgil to Christianity combined with the notion of him as a magician. These are 'Reinfrit von Braunschweig,' and the 'Wartburg krieg, or Poetical Contest of the Wartburg.' On the Magnetic Mountain, which is mentioned in other medieval legends, lives a Babylonish prince, necromancer and astrologer, who knew of the advent of Christ 2000 years before it took place, and wishes to prevent it. Virgil hearing of this takes ship and sails for the mountain, where, thanks to a spirit shut up in the form of a fly within a ruby ring, he gains possession of the necromancer's books and treasures; meanwhile the 2000 years are accomplished, and Christ is born.

The French romance of the 'Renard Countrefait,' written about 1319, still unpublished, but described in the *Mélanges Littéraires* of Du Ménil, as well as by Signor Comparetti, after recounting the Neapolitan and Roman stories without any material variation from the versions we have given, describes some underground conduits at Naples by which Virgil sent Greek wine to Rome. His amatory mishap is said to have been occasioned—

'Tout par défaut de bien gloser  
Combien qu'il fut de grans sens duits.'

Heinrich von Müglin, who lived about 1350, tells the compact of Virgil with the devil in a manner recalling that of the Reinfrid of 1311, but with few particulars of interest. It is chiefly remarkable for the first introduction of the name of Venice into the legend. From that city 'many noble gentlemen set out to seek their fortune, and take with them Virgil as a secretary, and two griffins apparently to help to draw the ship.' After travelling a year and a day in search of the Agelstein (loadstone) they discover it, but their griffins having escaped, they are detained by the attraction of the mountain. In this perplexity Virgil manages to discover the devil's servant (Knecht) shut up in a glass vessel, who, on condition of release, enables him to find some one with a letter in his nose and a book under his arm. During the hour of the siesta he takes both and brings them to the devil. On the letter being read aloud the book swells, bursts open, and lets loose 80,000 devils. They demand a task, and Virgil tells them to make a road through the wood. This they do, and the poet, returning to his masters, is promised a rich reward, and conducts them back safely to Venice; what additional power he has gained for doing this the narrative does not make clear to us.

A German writer, whose name appears to be unknown, describes the legend as it is connected with the marble mask, now known as the *Bocca della Verità*. He says Virgil made a stone image to test women suspected of infidelity to their husbands, who were obliged to place two fingers in its mouth, which bit them if the suspicion was well founded. An empress of Rome had illicit relations with a certain knight, in consequence of which a horn grows out of the emperor's forehead. The emperor is advised by a wise man to try the empress by means of the stone head. She agrees to the test, but arranges with her lover that he shall dress himself like an idiot, and at the spot shall roughly embrace her before her husband. This plan is carried out, and she swears she has never been in the arms of any man except her lawful spouse and the madman whose conduct all have witnessed. She places her hand in the mouth of the image and withdraws it unhurt, upon which the statue breaks of itself into a thousand pieces.

Signor Comparetti points out that many of the Virgilian legends make their first appearance outside Italy, and the reader may have remarked that almost all the writers we have hitherto enumerated have been French, English, Spanish, or German. The story of the basket, though it was repeated to satiate

ty by the medieval romancers, is not found in any native author (hitherto known) till the epoch at which we have now arrived—the end of the fourteenth century—when it occurs in a novel by Sercambi, whose works remained in MS. until only a few years since. Similarly the earliest attempts at weaving all the legends into a connected narrative are, as we have seen, of foreign origin, and the ‘Cronica di Partenope,’ written in prose by Bartolommeo Caracciolo in 1382, is the first Italian work of this class. He mentions the Neapolitan legends with which we are already familiar with various additions, for instance, that the magic garden on Monte Vergine could be easily found by those who sought it for medicinal purposes, but concealed itself from any one whose object was pilage or destruction; that Virgil had carved in stone the figure of a fish, which caused the ‘mare senza pesce’ (still one of the proverbial *opprobria* of Naples) to teem with fish; that the unlucky head on the Nola gate was that of a woman; that the doctors of Salerno who defaced the baths were consequently drowned; that the Englishman who desired Virgil’s bones had intended to distil them and drink the water, in order to acquire ‘lo ingegno et sapere di Virgilio;’ and he gives also the incantation of the egg whence the Castel dell’ Ovo took its name. In the latter story Caracciolo, who is very careful to tell only what he considers true, says nothing about the town being balanced on an egg, but only of the consecration of one as a talisman; he adds, however, that it was a hen’s first egg. Another of his additions is that of the invention attributed to Virgil of the ‘joco ad carbonara,’ a kind of military game played with so much energy that the performers had to be defended by vizors and leathern helmets. The author says it continued to be played down to 1380, at which time the missiles employed were certainly not of a strictly military character. He also tells us of four heads ‘of people dead long ago,’ which gave reports of all that was going on in the four quarters of the world, doubtless a loan from the Roman story. Virgil is also stated to have acquired his science by having repaired in company with a pupil, named Philomelo, to a grotto in Monte Barbaro, which contained the tomb of Chiron, ‘a philosopher,’ under whose head he found a book which instructed him in necromancy and other sciences.

We have already referred to the ‘History of the Seven Wise Men,’ in speaking of the ‘Dolopathos.’

In the ‘Process of the Seven Sages,’ written in 1330, the English form of the ‘History,’ the ninth tale, ‘Cræsus the Riche

Man,’ is devoted to the ‘nigramancie’ of Virgil at Rome. Here we have the story of the statue, which on being meddled with, shoots at and extinguishes the fire; the two images that play at ball; the image with the mirror; and the trick by which Cræsus is induced to connive at its destruction.

The same story, more circumstantially told, forms the twenty-seventh tale of the ‘Gesta Romanorum,’ the original Latin version of which was written probably about 1340. It is almost identical with the tale told by William of Malmesbury two centuries earlier, to illustrate the ingenuity and occasional ill-success of Gerbert or Sylvester II, Pope in 1003, in the discovery of treasures. But neither William of Malmesbury nor Berchorius (if he was the author of the ‘Gesta’) mention Virgil in this place. The story, therefore, was current before any writer now extant thought of connecting it with Virgil. Gower, who lived before the ‘Gesta’ were written, and also long after, follows intermediate writers in joining Cræsus and Virgil.

‘When Rome stood in noble plite,  
Virgile which was the parfite,  
A mirror made of his clergie,  
And set it in the townes eie,’ &c.

Signor Comparetti has not of course neglected the ‘Gesta Romanorum,’ but appears to have discovered in it no direct reference to his subject, except in the story of another mirror, whereby Virgil reveals to a husband at a distance the infidelity of his wife, and the witchcraft she is employing for his destruction. There is, however, in the English MSS. of the Latin ‘Gesta’ another story possibly not existing in the continental editions which we think he would have referred to had he seen it. It shows Virgil in a decidedly magical aspect, and is, moreover, interesting as forming part of the tale, which is one of the sources of the ‘Merchant of Venice.’ A cavalier in love with a lady buys with half his possessions one night’s admission to her chamber. On his arrival, he falls fast asleep, and does not wake till the following morning, when he is straightway dismissed. Seeking to repair his disappointment, an equal bribe procures a second assignation with a similar result. By travelling to a foreign country, where also lives the ‘philosopher Virgilius,’ he obtains from a merchant a fresh supply of money on condition of having his flesh cut from his bones if payment is not made by the stipulated day. Feeling his last stake is now played, he consults Virgil both as to the validity of his bargain and the success of his love affair. As to the former the philosopher cannot help him, the law of that country being

stringent as to the performance of voluntary contracts. As to the latter, he informs him that the lady has a talisman concealed in her chamber, which must be removed if he wishes to prevail. The lover has no need to regret having sought Virgil's advice, but in his successful love forgets the fatal day. His creditor is inexorable, but his mistress plays the part of Shakespeare's Portia, and all ends happily, and with a reputable marriage.\*

At the beginning of the fifteenth century appeared a poem in Italian *terzine*, by Buonamente Aliprando, of Mantua, which after carrying Virgil's adventures down to his escape in the magic ship, introduces a new chapter of some interest. The voyagers in the ship are set down somewhere in the country. Virgil loses his way, and begs at a cottage for food and shelter. Of the former there is none, but Virgil with some unripe grapes and a cask of water produces a quantity of wine. He then sends a spirit to fetch a supply of meat from the Emperor's supper-table at Rome. Its disappearance astonishes the servants there, but Augustus only remarks that this is one of Virgil's tricks. Meanwhile Virgil with his hosts sups royally, and the next day leaving with them the cask which will always produce wine as long as they abstain from looking inside it, takes his departure for Naples. Here being asked to leave some memorial of his powers, he sends his pupil Milino (*i. e.* Merlin) to Rome for his book of magic, telling him to take care and not read it, a command which of course is disobeyed. A multitude of spirits instantly appear, who ask Milino what he wants. In mortal fear he bids them pave the road from Rome to Naples. Virgil on obtaining his book builds the Castel dell' Ovo, makes a perpetual fountain of oil, and to drive away the flies encloses one in glass, besides producing many other works 'of great novelty.' Here the chronicler returns to authentic history, whither we need not follow him.

An old Neapolitan writer, Scoppa, who wrote in 1507, speaks of having seen the heads on the gate of Nola, though he gives an entirely different origin to the legend. He speaks also of the bronze horse, which, however, the farriers had spoilt, because it injured their trade; of the bronze head, and of the statue which was supposed to keep the wind away from the city. He had seen

and touched the model of Naples within a glass bottle, for which a later form of the legend substituted an egg similarly enclosed and placed in an iron case. The castle itself formerly called 'Castel di Mare' has been known since the beginning of the fourteenth century as the Castel dell' Uovo. In the Statutes of the Order of the Holy Spirit, founded in 1352, it is called *Castellum Ovi Incantati*.

The latest phases of the Virgilian legend show the tendency already exemplified by the 'Cronaca di Partenope' to compile a complete biography out of all the scattered materials which had been deposited round Virgil's character in the course of centuries, and to fill up the gaps by connecting links, such as an age of romance would find no difficulty in devising. This is especially remarkable in a poem called 'Le Myreur des Histoires,' written at Liège by Jean d'Outremeuse in the fourteenth century. The author, while arranging his work on a chronological basis so as to give it an air of being a true narrative, has, so far as Virgil is concerned, carefully avoided any indebtedness to the biography by Donatus, or to any other history, and has confined himself to purely legendary sources of information. Virgil is not disconnected with Italy, but is described as the son of a King Gorgilius in Libya, and as an accomplished magician whose entertainments are enlivened by supernatural tricks.

As a lover he no longer takes the initiative, but is wooed by Febilla, the daughter of Julius Cæsar, who frankly offers herself to him upon his own terms. After their intrigue has lasted some time she tries to induce him to marry her. On his steady refusal, she pretends that her father has discovered everything; and on Virgil laughing this plot to scorn, she attempts the trick of the basket. This he sees through, but pretends to fall in with it, and sends in his place a phantom, which on Cæsar drawing his sword to kill the supposed Virgil, vanishes in a thick smoke. He then leaves Rome, taking all the fire with him, but restores it at the supplication of the people. He induces all the women to assemble in a temple, where by magic he causes them to tell their secrets. On Cæsar's death they try to put both him and Octavius to death, but only succeed in killing two dogs. Then he leaves Rome for ever, again extinguishing the fires, which this time can only be rekindled as described in the older legends. Febilla performs her part, but dies of grief and shame.

Virgil's character as a prophet of Christ is worked up by Jean d'Outremeuse into

\* See Wright's 'Latin Stories,' Halliwell's 'Shakespeare.' The Latin text is to be found in Harl. MS. 2270, cap. 48, and 5259; the English in Harl. MS. 7333. We believe neither of these versions has ever been printed entire.

that of a kind of missionary who explains all the articles of the creed, and makes numerous conversions. When the brazen head predicts his death, he dismisses all his necromantic familiars, and, seated on a chair on which his own hands have carved the whole New Testament history, makes an end like any chrisom child. His body remains with all the semblance of life till the visit of the Apostle Paul, at whose touch it crumbles into dust.

The narrative of Jean d'Outremeuse had little, if any, effect on the further development of the legend. Buried in a voluminous chronicle of no great popularity, its influence produced no imitations, and no one adopted its innovations on the established story. Far different was the fortune of the 'Lyfe of Virgilius,'\* a book (for its date is believed to be little, if at all earlier than the invention of printing) which, originating probably in France, speedily attained a wide circulation in Dutch, German, and English translations. Of the old editions of the English version only one copy is known to exist, and the reprint of 1812 is also scarce; but it has since been reproduced in Thoms's 'Early English Prose Romances,' Signor Comparetti gives the French version in his appendix.

Here Virgil is described as the son of a knight of the Ardennes not long after the foundation of Rome. While studying at Toledo he finds that his mother has been deprived of her property, and uses his magical arts to force restitution from the emperor. The adventure of the basket and its consequences are told in its original form. But in the 'Faicts Merveilleux' Virgil has a wife, and makes a statue, the sight of which ensures the virtue of all women. At the request of the other women of Rome, his wife makes repeated attempts to destroy this statue, disgusted at which he retires from the struggle against feminine vice. Hearing of the Sultan of Babylon's beautiful daughter, he travels to her by magic, and brings her to Rome as often as he wishes. A soporific being administered to him while in her chamber at Babylon, he is captured and condemned to be burnt alive. By magic he causes the Soldan and all present to believe themselves in the midst of an inundation, and to go through the movements of swimming to save themselves. Before their eyes he escapes with the lady, and founds

Naples as part of her dowry. His new city excites the cupidity of the emperor, who besieges it, but is beaten off by Virgil's magical devices, and partly also by the help of a Spaniard, who afterwards becomes the lady's husband. In Naples, Virgil established a school of necromancy, and continued to work other marvels up to the close of his life. His death, in the French version, takes place by his disappearance while sailing in the bay in a violent storm. But the English, Dutch, and German versions, finish his career in a much more impressive manner. Feeling himself grow old, he orders his body to be cut in pieces, placed in a vessel, and salted. This is done, and the process of restoration begins to take place. But the emperor, who had missed Virgil, comes to inquire for him, and by entering the room unwittingly breaks the spell. Then is seen the phantom of a naked infant, which runs three times round the vessel crying, 'Cursed be the hour that ye came hither.' It disappears, and Virgil does not revive.

The very last appearance of the legend is in Spain, and bears the name of the 'Romance of Virgilius.'\* It was probably written about 1550. Signor Comparetti thinks it derived from the one just described. We cannot agree with him, for there is not a trace of resemblance, and but for the occurrence of the name of Virgil no one would think of connecting the Spanish story with any other cycle of legends. Virgil has been imprisoned by the King for offering violence to a certain Donna Isabella, a lady of the court, and is kept seven years in durance. One day at dinner the King inquires for him, and is reminded of his present plight. They go to him in prison and ask him what he is doing. 'I comb my hair and beard,' he says, 'and here they will grow white.' The King ends by taking him back to dinner, giving him new clothes, and bestowing on him the hand of the not unwilling Donna Isabella. They are married by an archbishop, and 'walk away hand in hand into a garden'—perhaps to meditate on a fifth Georgic.†

\* See Depping's 'Romances Antiguos,' vol. i. *ad fin.*

† Signor Comparetti has not noticed the resemblance which exists between one point in this story and one of the Rabbinical legends of Moses. When Moses went to Midian, Jethro, fearing he might prove an inconvenient guest, threw him into prison, where he remained for seven years. 'One day Zipporah went before her father, and reminded him of the man whom he had cast into a dungeon so many years before; Jethro was amazed, and he said, 'I had forgotten him these seven years; he must be dead; he has had no food.' But on the prison being opened Mo-

\* This Boke treateth of the Lyfe of Virgilius, and of his Deth, and many Marvayles that he dyd in hys Lyfe Tyme by Whychcrafte and Nygramancie thorough the Helpe of the Devils of Hell. Anwarpe by me Johun Doesborcke. N. d. [1510], 4to. black letter.

After this respectable, though unrecognisable, euthanasia, the legend of Virgil undergoes no further modification. Signor Comparetti has collected some allusions from subsequent writers, amongst whom Paracelsus is the most celebrated, which show the later reputation of the poet to have depended on his supposed astrological accomplishments. Here and there were preserved magic mirrors believed to have belonged to him. One such was at Florence in the seventeenth century; Evelyn mentions having seen another at Paris, which perhaps was the one afterwards broken by Maillon.

What amount, if any, of oral tradition may have continued on this subject at Naples since the time of Scoppa, no writer has recorded. That some traces of the kind were remaining at the beginning of the present century is shown by a passage which Signor Comparetti quotes from a German traveller, to whom an old fisherman, while seated on the ruins called the 'Scuola di Virgilio,' narrated many of the well-known legends, and described Virgil as fond of being abroad in a storm with the lightning playing round his head. To the last his influence was believed to have been of a protecting and beneficent character. A recent search for Virgilian traditions produced no noticeable result, except a love song from a contadina near Lecce, in which the lover wishes he had 'the art of Virgil,' that he might bring the sea to the door of his mistress, and take the form of a little fish to be caught in her net, or of a goldfinch, to make his nest in her bosom, and repose at midday in the shadow of her hair.

ART. IV.—1. *Description des Expériences de la Machine Aérostatique de MM. de Montgolfier.* Par M. Faujas de St. Fond. Paris, 1783.

2. *Aeronautica.* By Monck Mason, Esq. London, 1838.

3. *Les Ballons et les Voyages Aériens.* Par F. Marion. Paris, 1867. (The same in an English edition.)

4. *Voyages Aériens.* Par T. Glaisher; Camille Flammarion; W. de Fonvielle; et Gaston Tissandier. Illustrés d'après les croquis d'Albert Tissandier. Paris, 1870.

ses was alive. 'Then he brought him forth, and cut his hair, and pared his nails, and gave him a change of raiment, and set him in his garden, and placed meat before him.'—'Targum of Palestine,' quoted by S. Baring-Gould, *Legends of Old Testament Characters*, vol. i p. 83.

(The same in an English edition, edited by T. Glaisher. London, 1871.)

5. *En Ballon, pendant le Siège de Paris.* Par Gaston Tissandier. Paris, 1871.

6. *Les Ballons dirigeables.* Par Gaston Tissandier. Paris, 1872.

7. *Reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.* London, 1862 to 1866.

8. *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Sciences.* Paris, 1870 and 1872.

It is an interesting speculation whether man, the creature of the earth, can ever attain to the empire of the air, as he has already attained to the empire of the sea. There is nothing unreasonable in the expectation. As a matter of science the laws that govern the motion of heavy bodies in the atmosphere are sufficiently well known, and as a matter of experience and analogy nothing can be more to the purpose than the example of the birds. Hence there has long been a common belief that we may, some time, be able to transport ourselves at pleasure through the air as we now do on the water. The author of the 'Botanic Garden,' writing in 1791, when the steam-engine was beginning to develop its wondrous powers, but long before it had been applied to locomotion of any kind, uttered the well-known prediction—

'Soon shall thy arm, UNCONQUERED STEAM,  
afar

Drag the slow barge, or drive the rapid car;  
Or on wide-waving wings, expanded, bear  
The flying chariot through the fields of air!'

Two-thirds of the prophecy have been fulfilled; he would be a bold man who would pronounce the fulfilment of the remainder impossible.

In aerial travelling there are two distinct conditions to be fulfilled. First, there must be a command of *vertical* motion; the force of gravity must be for the time counteracted, and the heavy body must have a capability of floating or rising, or falling at pleasure. Secondly, there must, in addition to this, be a power of *horizontal* translation through the air.

Both these effects are well produced by a bird, through the mechanical action of its wings; and hence the most natural attempt at aerial locomotion has been by trying to imitate the bird, or to *fly*. There is much to be said in favour of this attempt, for although there is little hope that a human being can ever take to himself wings, yet the possibility of constructing a flying machine, if a very light motive power can be obtained, is hardly to be doubted. Hitherto, however, no attempts of this kind have given

even a prospect of success; and as our object now is rather to show what has been done than to speculate on what is possible, we will turn to another mode by which aerial locomotion has been more successfully aimed at, namely, by means of the *balloon*. We propose to trace the history of this ingenious invention—to describe its present condition—to dwell on some important purposes it has served—and finally to investigate what promise it offers of increased utility.

It is not clear when the idea first arose that it would be possible to make a body ascend from the earth by giving it a less specific gravity than the air. One Francis Lana,\* in 1670, proposed to exhaust spheres of thin copper for this purpose, but he never attempted to carry out his proposal. The discovery of hydrogen rendered the idea more practicable. Cavendish, in 1766,† showed that the gas known as ‘inflammable air’ had a specific gravity much less than that of the atmosphere; and Dr. Black, lecturing in 1767 or 1768, explained that, as an obvious consequence of Cavendish’s discovery, if a very light bladder were filled with his gas, it would ascend. Tiberius Cavallo attempted the experiment; he could not find any envelope sufficiently light and impermeable, but he succeeded in blowing hydrogen soap-bubbles, which mounted vigorously aloft; and these, the first balloons, were described fully by him in a paper read before the Royal Society, 20th June, 1782.‡

It was not, however, in this way that the balloon came practically into existence; its inventors proceeded on a different principle. Instead of using a new fluid lighter than air, they hit upon the idea of altering the density of the air itself by the action of heat. These ingenious men, Joseph and Etienne Montgolfier, whose names are indissolubly connected with aerostation, were the sons of a rich paper maker at Annonay, in the province of the Vivarais. It seems they were fond of physical investigations: Joseph particularly had studied the constitution of vapour and clouds, and he saw that temperature had much to do with these phenomena. He had convinced himself by experiment that the application of heat would rarefy air so as to reduce its specific gravity considerably, and it occurred to him to try whether, by enclosing such heated air in a

suitable envelope, he could make a kind of *artificial cloud* which would float in the atmosphere. In November 1782, when staying at Avignon, he made the experiment with a light bag of thin silk, which to his great gratification rose to the ceiling.

On his return home, the brothers worked together; and after another successful trial they made a public exhibition of their invention, at a meeting of the *Etats particuliers* of the province, on the 5th of June, 1783. Etienne has left on record a description of this first large balloon; it was about thirty-five feet diameter, and had a large ascending power; it rose some thousands of feet, and travelled a mile and a half horizontally.

The news of this experiment soon spread to the capital, exciting great wonder and enthusiasm, and the Academy named a Commission to inquire into the facts. But in the meantime attention had become attracted to the other mode of giving levity by hydrogen gas. A young man, named Charles, favourably known as a professor of physics in Paris, had been experimenting with this substance in his laboratory, and conceiving it to have advantages over Montgolfier’s heated air, he proposed to substitute it in balloons. He called to his aid two practical mechanics, the brothers Robert, and constructed a silk balloon of twelve feet diameter. After some difficulty in procuring a sufficient quantity of gas (the manufacture of which, on any large scale, was quite new) it was filled, and transported to the Champ de Mars, where the ascent took place on the 27th of August, 1783.

After rising to a great height and travelling many miles, the expansion of the gas caused a small leak in the balloon, and it came down near a village. The inhabitants were frightened beyond measure, particularly when they were told by two monks that it must be some demon from another world. Formal religious exorcisms were recited, but no one dared approach the monster, for the bounds it gave when blown by the wind, the noise of the escaping gas, and its fetid odour, kept up the dread illusion. At length it was fired at, and further wounded, and when it had become empty and still, the mob rushed upon it with staves and forks and tore it to atoms.

The Montgolfiers, however, had not been idle. The Academy had reported favourably of their invention, and the brothers were called on to exhibit an ascent before Louis XVI. at Versailles. This came off with great pomp and ceremony on the 19th of September.

As the power of balloons had now been

\* *Prodromo, o saggio di alcune invenzioni nuove*, &c. Brescia, 1670.

† *Phil. Trans.* vol. lvi. p. 152.

‡ *The History and Practice of Aerostation*. By Tiberius Cavallo, F.R.S. London, 1785.

fully established, it was proposed that some person should make an ascent, if any one could be found bold enough to face a voyage that required more of the *æs triplex* than the first expedition on the merciless ocean. A volunteer appeared in the person of a young man of good position, named Pilâtre des Roziers, who after making some tentative ascents with the balloon tied to the ground, offered to undertake the journey. It involved some danger: a fall, fire, cold, unknown perils amongst the clouds, and the difficulties of descending, were all matters of grave apprehension; and the King, after consideration, forbade M. de Rozier's ascent, and proposed, instead, that two condemned criminals should take their places in the car. Pilâtre was indignant at the idea of 'such an honour being conferred on vile malefactors,' and he remonstrated so energetically that the King gave way; and on the 21st of November,\* 1783, the daring volunteer, accompanied by the Marquis d'Arlandes, left the earth on the first aerial voyage ever undertaken by a human being. A full account of the journey is on record in two documents—one a formal *procès-verbal*, drawn up by eight members of the Academy, the other a letter by the Marquis. The balloon was seventy feet high, and forty-six feet in diameter; it rose to a height of three thousand feet, remained in the air nearly half an hour, and descended in the environs of Paris, without the aeronauts having experienced the slightest inconvenience. Among the signatures to the *procès-verbal* was that of Benjamin Franklin, then on a mission to France; and it is reported that when he was asked his opinion of the invention, he replied, 'C'est l'enfant qui vient de naître.'

Thus the Montgolfiers not only made the first balloon, but, as was their due, they had the honour of sending up the first aeronaut. The genius and enterprise, however, of their rival young Charles, soon made themselves apparent by his announcing a personal ascent on his hydrogen principle; and as this principle ultimately became established to the exclusion of the other, Charles's experiments possess the interest of being the more accurate type of our modern aeronautic system. Associating himself again with the Messrs. Robert, he prepared a balloon thirty feet diameter, introducing many important arrangements of detail, which, from their perfection of design and ingenuity of con-

struction, have remained almost unaltered to the present time. The balloon was to ascend on the 1st of December, 1783, from the great basin in front of the Tuileries, and Charles made up his mind to occupy the car; but while the balloon was filling, it was announced that the King again opposed the proceeding. Charles went to the Minister and protested, declaring that, though his Sovereign might be master of his life, he was not master of his honour, and that he could not break a solemn promise made to the nation. The King yielded to this bold argument, and the prohibition was withdrawn. Shortly afterwards another difficulty arose by a hostile demonstration on the part of the Montgolfierists—for the public had split up into two rival factions, the partisans of heated air and gas respectively. Charles, seeing this, stepped up to Etienne Montgolfier, and presented him with a small pilot balloon, saying, 'C'est à vous, Monsieur, qu'il appartient de nous montrer la route des cieux.' The good taste and delicacy of this proceeding were testified to by shouts of applause, and the rivalry was at once at an end. The day was set apart as a great fête, and it was said that three-fourths of the inhabitants of Paris were present. Charles took with him the younger Robert, but dropped him near l'Ile Adam, and reascended alone, when he gained a height of nearly 10,000 feet; and after making many interesting scientific observations, he descended safely near the wood of La Tour du Lay.

The enthusiasm created by the aeronautic experiments of 1783 was immense. To quote M. Marion's excellent little work: \*

'Nobles and artisans, scientific men and *badards* great and small, were moved with one universal impulse. In the streets the praises of the balloon were sung; in the libraries models of it abounded; and in the salons the one universal topic was the great machine. In anticipation the poet delighted himself with bird's-eye views of the scenery of strange countries; the prisoner mused on what might be a new way of escape; the physicist visited the laboratory in which the lightning and the meteors were manufactured; the geometrician beheld the plans of cities and the outlines of kingdoms; the general discovered the position of the enemy, or rained shell on the besieged town; the police beheld a new mode in which to carry on the secret service; Hope heralded a new conquest from the domain of Nature, and the historian registered a new chapter in the annals of human knowledge. 'It was not merely the blue sky above us, not merely the terrestrial atmosphere, but the vast

\* The Marquis's letter says 21st October; but it is dated 28th November, it has every appearance of having been written soon after the ascent, and as the *procès-verbal* gives November, the word October is probably a clerical error.

\* The English translation of this requires correction, the rendering of the French measures being in many cases wrong.

spaces through which the worlds move, that were to become the domain of man. The gates of the Infinite seemed to be swinging back before his advancing step. The moon, the mysterious dwelling-place of men unknown, would no longer be inaccessible. The planets that revolve round the sun, the flying comets, the most distant stars, these formed the field which was to lie open to investigation.'

It was not to be expected that a volatile nation like the French would allow such a subject to become popular without making it the theme of endless jokes and witticisms. Some of these are worth recording.

In one ascent, snow fell on the balloon; and the wits wrote,—

'Fiers assésgeants du séjour du tonnerre,  
Calmez votre colère !  
Eh ! ne voyez-vous pas que Jupiter tremblant  
Vous demande la paix par son pavillon blanc ?'

Appropos of an unsuccessful attempt at Lyons with a balloon called 'Le Globe'—

'Vous venez de Lyon ; parlez-vous sans mystère ?  
Le Globe est-il parti ? Le fait est-il certain ?  
Je l'ai vu. Dites nous, allait-il grand train ?  
S'il allait—Oh, monsieur, il allait ventre à terre !'

Of an aeronaut who had cheated the public:—

'Si par son vol il peut escalader la lune,  
Il fera comme un autre, *en volant*, sa fortune !'

A large number of caricatures appeared, some very witty, and some very coarse, exhibiting, as an author says, 'la vraie saveur u bon sel français.' In one, a ludicrous mode was shown of filling a balloon with mephitic gas, by the aid of a large number of people, the title being 'La fortune des gens venteux !' In another, alluding to abortive attempts, a 'Moyen infaillible d'enlèvement des ballons' was exhibited in the shape of ropes and pulleys. One of these failures was by a person named l'Abbé Miodan, at the Luxembourg; the crowd, after waiting some hours, rushed in and destroyed the balloon; when the witty Parisians found out that the anagram of the Abbé's name was *ballon abîmé*.

In one of Gay-Lussac's ascents, being desirous of rising very high, he threw out many superfluous things, and among them a common deal chair, which fell into a field where a peasant girl was at work; the balloon was invisible, and the only explanation possible, was that the chair had fallen from heaven. Much surprise was expressed at the uncomfortable accommodation provided for the angels and archangels, but the miracle was ultimately explained.

Many objections were raised to the new invention, which was denounced as an impious attempt to improve on the work of the Creator: it was urged that female

honour and virtue would be in continual peril if access could be got by balloons at all hours to the windows of the houses; and politicians objected that if the path of air were to be made free, all limits of property and frontiers of nations would be destroyed; a sentiment which was countenanced by a serious proposal to invade England with an army descending from the skies.

The English were somewhat backward in their notice of balloons, and it was said of them,

'Les Anglais, nation trop fière,  
S'arrogent l'empire des mers ;  
Les Français, nation légère,  
S'emparent de celui des airs.'

A short excursion was made at Edinburgh, in a Montgolfier, by a Mr. Tytler, on the 27th of August, 1784; \* but the earliest ascent in Great Britain which attracted attention was a voyage in a gas balloon, on the 15th of the following month, by Vincenzo Lunardi, secretary to the Neapolitan Ambassador. He ascended from Finsbury, in the presence of a large concourse of spectators, among whom was the Prince of Wales, and came down safely on a spot of rising ground about four miles north of Ware.†

\* 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. liv. part ii. p. 709.

† A rough stone, erected to mark the place, may still be seen in a field at Standon Green End, on the estate of Mr. A. G. Puller. It bears a small triangular brass plate, engraved with two views of the balloon, and with the following curious inscription:—

Let Posterity Know  
And Knowing be Astonished,  
That

On the 15 Day of September, 1784,  
Vincent Lunardi of Lucca in Tuscany,  
The First Aerial Traveller in Britain,  
Mounting from the Artillery Ground  
in London,

And  
Traversing the Regions of the Air  
For Two Hours and Fifteen Minutes  
In This Spot

Revisited the Earth.  
On this Rude Monument  
For Ages be Recorded  
That Wonderful Enterprise  
Successfully Achieved  
By the Powers of Chemistry  
And the Fortitude of Man :  
That Improvement in Science  
Which

The Great Author of all Knowledge,  
Patronizing by his Providence  
The Invention of Mankind,  
Hath Graciously Permitted  
To Their Benefit  
And His Own Eternal Glory.

Traditions of the event are preserved in the neighbourhood; one of the rude fathers of the hamlet, who showed us the stone, boasted of having known a woman who helped to hold

Three circumstances related by Lunardi \* will show the public excitement produced. A gentlewoman who saw some article drop from the car, supposed it was the aeronaut, and died of the fright. A jury were considering the verdict to be given on a criminal, indicted for a capital offence, when the balloon being in sight, the Court adjourned to look at it, and the jury to save time acquitted the prisoner; the judges afterwards remarking to Lunardi, that though he had caused the loss of one life, he had saved another. A Cabinet Council also broke up in order that the King, with Mr. Pitt and other ministers, might watch the balloon through telescopes prepared for that purpose; the King remarking, "we may resume our deliberations at pleasure, but we may never see poor Lunardi again."

Shortly after this, an experienced French aeronaut, Blanchard, brought a balloon to England, and on the 7th of January, 1785, he performed the hazardous feat of crossing the Channel. He was accompanied by Dr. Jeffries, an American, who afterwards published an account of the voyage.† They started from Dover heights at about mid-day, with a light north-westerly wind. During the passage, by loss of gas, the balloon descended several times nearly to the water level, and to keep themselves from drowning they threw out first their ballast, and then every other loose article, including all their provisions, a great part of their clothes, and their anchors. At last they reached the shore, and landed safely in the forest of Guines, near Calais. Blanchard gained much honour by this expedition, but he did not escape the wit of the Parisians, who nicknamed him "*Don Quichotte de la Manche*."

The French were jealous of the crossing having been first effected from the cliffs of perfidious Albion, and the enterprising Pilâtre des Roziers determined to attempt the passage from the French shore. The story is a romantic and melancholy one. He had many difficulties and discouragements, but he had fallen in love with an English girl at Boulogne, and as she urged him to

make the experiment, he did so, in spite of the warnings of his friends. He ascended on the 15th of June, 1785, with a companion, and they were carried at first over the strait; but the wind changing, they were brought back to the land. They were hanging within sight of Boulogne when the balloon took fire, and the unhappy aeronauts falling to the earth, were both killed. The young lady who had contributed to the catastrophe, and who was probably a witness of it, fell into horrible convulsions, and died a few days after her lover.

Many other aeronauts have fallen victims to their hazardous occupation; among them was Madame Blanchard. At a Parisian fête on the 6th July, 1819, she had attached to her car a large mass of fireworks, which she set light to when at a great height. When these were extinguished, a bright flame shot up into the air; the spectators at first thought it was part of the entertainment, but it was soon discovered that the gas of the balloon was ignited. As she descended she called for help, and, as she retained her presence of mind, she might have been saved, but the car, in dragging, caught a chimney, which threw her down to the pavement below and killed her on the spot.

We also read of a narrow escape from a madman (an Englishman, of course), who, when at a great height, took out a knife and began to cut the cords that held the car, saying he should like to try the sensation of a fall. The aeronaut opened the valve with all his might, and contrived to delay the experiment till they touched the ground.

It was not uncommon for persons of rank to take seats in the car, either as managers or passengers. The future Charles X., the Comte d'Artois, and Philippe Egalité, were among this number, and the latter nearly lost his life by the trial of some new apparatus. There were many jokes at his expense, and it was said, '*Il avait voulu se mettre au-dessus de ses affaires.*'

The English aeronauts have not been behind their Continental brethren for skill and enterprise. The Sadlers, father and son, were renowned for their courage. James, the father, made an ascent from Oxford as early as 1784; and on the 1st of October, 1812, he attempted to cross the Irish Channel from Dublin to Liverpool. But he met with adverse winds, and after much buffeting about, he was obliged to drop into the sea, and was picked up by a boat that fortunately was near, the captain being obliged to run his bowsprit through the balloon to free him. His son, Windham Sadler, accomplished the passage from Dublin to Holyhead on the 22nd of July,

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down the balloon, and pointed out the tree to which it was secured. The plate is in very bad condition, and if Lunardi's wish is to be fulfilled, we commend his '*rude monument*' to the care of the landowner.

\* '*An Account of the First Aerial Voyage in England.*' In a series of Letters. By Vincent Lunardi, Esq. London, 1784.

† '*A Narrative of the Two Aerial Voyages of Doctor Jeffries with Mona. Blanchard.*' By John Jeffries, M.D. Presented to the Royal Society, and read before them, January 1786. London, 1786.

1817. On one of his ascents the net broke and the car began to slip away, when he saved himself by tying the neck of the balloon round his body. He was unhappily killed on the 29th of September, 1824, while descending in a gale, by striking against a house near Blackburn, in Lancashire.

Mr. Green, another of our most celebrated aeronauts, was born the year after the invention of balloons, and died only a few years ago. He made nearly 1400 ascents; he crossed the sea three times, and twice fell into it. He took up 700 persons, among whom were 120 ladies, and many persons of high rank. On one occasion he ascended sitting on a favourite pony, suspended to the hoop in the place of the car; the animal, who had been trained at Astley's, did not manifest the least uneasiness, but ate freely during the excursion some beans given him by his rider.

A voyage made by Mr. Green to the centre of Germany is one of the most memorable on record. The balloon was 50 feet diameter, containing 85,000 cubic feet of gas, and the party consisted of Mr. Green, Mr. Monck Mason (who, in his 'Aeronautica,' has given a full account of the voyage), and Mr. Robert Holland, who provided the funds. They ascended from Vauxhall Gardens on the 7th of November, 1836, at half-past one P.M., and crossing the Channel, passed to the eastward during the night, and the next morning saw large tracts of snow, which they thought might be the boundless plains of Poland or the inhospitable steppes of Russia. This determined them to descend, when they found themselves near Weilburg, in the Duchy of Nassau, having travelled about 500 miles in 18 hours. The balloon afterwards took the name of the Nassau balloon. Mr. Green's principal object in this expedition was the trial of his newly-invented guide-rope (described hereafter), and he considered the success of the experiment as complete.

A large balloon constructed by M. Nadar, and named the *Géant*, contained above 200,000 cubic feet, equivalent to about 74 feet diameter; the car was a house of two stories, weighing, when full, above three tons. M. Nadar, a man of considerable ability, had adopted the fancy that it was impossible to control the direction of balloons, on account of their lightness and large surface, and he considered he had discovered an important scientific principle, that 'pour lutter contre l'air il faut être plus lourd que l'air.' He instituted a Society to introduce flying machines on this principle, and he proposed to provide it with funds

by the excursions of this monster balloon. He ascended at 5.45 P.M., on the 18th October, 1868, from the Champ de Mars, with eight passengers, among whom was a young Montgolfier, the grandson of one of the men of Annonay. At 9 the next morning they descended between Bremen and Hanover. The wind was blowing a hurricane, the two anchors parted, the aeronauts lost control of the valve, and there ensued a violent dragging for many miles, until the balloon tore itself open on the trees of a wood. The passengers were much hurt, and barely escaped with their lives.\* The balloon was afterwards repaired, and exhibited in London and elsewhere, and it made a few more short excursions, but it did not much help the 'plus lourd que l'air' Society.

On the evening of the 31st August, 1874, M. Jules Duruof, a courageous young Frenchman, ascended with his wife from Calais, intending to cross to England. The balloon was, however, carried over the German Ocean, and the aeronauts were rescued the next morning by a Grimsby smack, that happened to be fishing on the Dogger bank, 170 miles off the mouth of the Humber.

The bursting of a balloon in the air, terrible as it is to think of, does not seem necessarily to involve fatal consequences to the aeronauts. In 1808 a balloon, carrying two Italians, burst at a great height; and in 1835 Mr. Wise, an American aeronaut of great experience and enterprise,† met with a similar accident in Pennsylvania; but in both cases the balloon, from its great resisting surface exposed to the air, brought the aeronauts gently down. Mr. Wise, reflecting on these accidents, became so convinced of the efficacy of the resistance, that he afterwards, on several occasions, burst his balloon purposely when high in the air. In 1847 an accident of this kind happened on an ascent from Vauxhall, when Mr. Coxwell and the late Albert Smith were of the party, but no one was seriously hurt. Mr. Glaisher supports Mr. Wise's explanation by facts occurring in his own experience; but he justly remarks that 'it is not a situation to be coveted.'

To provide against cases of this kind, Blanchard introduced the *parachute*, a sort of large umbrella, suspended between the balloon and the car. In ordinary circumstances it was closed, but on falling fast it opened of itself, and by its resistance checked the velocity so materially as to

\* 'Mémoires du Géant,' par Nadar. Paris, 1865. The most readable and entertaining book we have met with on the subject of ballooning.

† 'A System of Aeronautics.' By John Wise. Philadelphia, 1850.

allow of the descent being effected safely. Blanchard tried the first experiment on his dog, and this was so successful, that parachutes were frequently afterwards used by the aeronauts themselves. Garnerin, in October, 1797, dropped safely from a height of 2240 feet; and his wife was so skilful in their management, that she once laid a wager she would make one descent on a given spot, which she accomplished with tolerable precision.

On the 24th July, 1837, an enthusiast named Cocking insisted on dropping himself from Mr. Green's balloon, when at a height of 5000 feet above London, in a parachute of his own contrivance, which utterly failed, and the poor fellow was dashed to pieces.

But our readers may wish to form some more definite idea what a 'balloon is, and what sort of operations are involved in a balloon voyage.

First, as to the source of the ascending power. For a long time Montgolfier's system of heated air and Charles's system of light gas were in rivalry. The former was much the simpler; but the hydrogen was difficult and costly to prepare, and the filling of a balloon with it took many days. About 1814 coal gas came into use for lighting towns, and this settled the question by providing an excellent filling material, always to be had at gasworks at a moderate charge. Although six or seven times heavier than pure hydrogen, it was still less than half the weight of air, and therefore would give, with moderate-sized balloons, a fair ascending power; moreover, being less subtle, it was less liable to leak through the stuff of the envelope. Mr. Green was the first to take advantage of this gas, and it has since been almost universally used. The Montgolfier system is quite abandoned, and pure hydrogen is only resorted to in special cases where great power is required.

The ascending force is determined, according to well-known hydrostatic laws, by the difference in weight between the gas and an equal volume of air. An example will make this clear. The standard balloon used in the siege of Paris (of which we shall speak hereafter) was about 50 feet diameter, containing 70,600 cubic feet. The weight of this volume of air would be about 5000 lbs., and the weight of the gas (assuming a sp. gr. of 0.40) would be 2000 lbs. Hence the gross ascending force would be 3000 lbs. The weight of the balloon, net, and car was about 1000 lbs., thus leaving 2000 lbs. available for passengers, dispatches, ballast, and anchoring apparatus. If the same balloon

were filled with hydrogen, the weight of the gas would be only 350 lbs., and the disposable ascending force would be 3650 lbs.

The shape is generally spherical, as giving the largest content with the least weight, and the available power of the balloon increases with its size. The bottom of the balloon is not closed, but tapers to form a pipe. This serves for the inflation, and it is left open during the ascent to allow of the escape of the gas as it expands; if it were not for this precaution, the balloon would burst from the increased pressure. At the top of the balloon is fixed the *escape valve*, which consists of two doors or flaps opening inwards, and kept closed by springs. To these doors cords are attached, which pass down the centre of the balloon and through the 'open pipe into the car. The aeronaut has only to pull these cords to open the valves, which allow the gas to escape.

The balloon is covered with a network of fine, strong cord, which, passing down the sides, terminates in a wooden hoop at the bottom. To this hoop the car is suspended by ropes, and thus, by means of the net, the weight is transferred to the top of the balloon, on which the ascending force acts. The car is simply an oblong basket of wicker-work, combining lightness with strength to resist strains or blows.

The balloon has to be provided with several appurtenances necessary for the aerial manœuvres. The most important is *ballast*, which consists of fine sand carried in small sacks; this material when thrown out distributes itself in the air, and so does no damage in falling. Another provision is an anchor or *grappling hook*, intended to catch hold of some object when the balloon approaches the earth, and so to arrest its course. This is attached to a coil of rope that hangs over the side of the car, ready to be disengaged at any moment by cutting a small binding string.

Another article of equipment, in large balloons, is a long rope called the *guide rope*, which is fastened to the hoop and allowed to hang down below the car. This has several important uses. In the first place, when the balloon is so low that the rope trails on the ground, the effect is to take off a portion of the weight, which is equivalent to the discharge of so much ballast, and as the lightening increases by the descent of the balloon, a most efficient self-acting check is thus offered to any rapid fall. Secondly, the trailing along the ground also checks more gently than the grapnel the horizontal drift by the wind. Thirdly, the position and angle of the rope, as seen immediately below the car, furnish indications both of the

course of the balloon, and its height above the ground, which are peculiarly valuable in darkness and fogs; and lastly, it affords the people on the ground something to lay hold of in order to help the aeronaut to descend. The guide rope is generally from 500 to 1000 feet long, and by means of a small windlass in the car, it may be lengthened or shortened at pleasure. It was invented by Mr. Green, and is the only new feature of importance added to the general design of the balloon as left by Charles in December, 1783.

We may now consider the operations of the voyage. The balloon being filled, the aeronaut carefully examines his ballast, his anchor attachments, and his valve lines, the three great provisions for his safety, and at his signal 'let go' the machine soars into the air. He will have taken in the greatest possible quantity of ballast; so as to leave but little ascending force, and to moderate the velocity of his rise; he can throw more out at any time, and thus can increase his upward speed as he desires. In proportion, however, as he rises, the conditions of the ascending force become changed. The air at higher levels has a reduced pressure, the consequence of which is a tendency of the gas to expand. Hence if the balloon was full at starting, an escape will take place by the tube at the bottom; but it is customary to leave a portion empty to provide for the expansion. Supposing now the ascent to continue, a point will soon be reached where, by the loss of gas, the ascending force will be reduced to an equilibrium with the weight, and at this point the balloon will float horizontally, neither rising nor falling.\*

There are other sources of variation in the ascending power. One is, change of temperature: a powerful sun will expand the gas, or, on the other hand, a shower of rain or a deposit of snow will contract it—either of these changes having a corresponding effect on the equilibrium. The alteration of weight, also, by moisture, and the loss of gas by leakage, or by exosmose, or by diffusion in the air through the neck, are all disturb-

ing influences that go on more or less during the voyage.

The aeronaut forms an idea of his height by the inspection of a barometer in the car; and he has it in his power to alter his level as he pleases. If he wishes to ascend, he throws out ballast; if to descend, he opens the valve and lets out gas. But he must be careful not to be too lavish of these means, seeing that his stores of gas and ballast are limited, and that it is absolutely necessary, for the safety of his life, that he should have a fair supply of both left at the time he wishes to regain the earth.

The descent is the most arduous task of the aeronaut, and during which he is most exposed to danger, particularly if the wind be high. Having brought himself tolerably low, he will look out for a favourable place ahead, where he may land easily, the best condition being a free open space, unencumbered by buildings or trees. On approaching this, he will throw out his grapnel, and, if it catches, it will bring him to a stand. He will probably receive a shock or two, but having now a hold on the ground, he may with a vigorous pull at the valve easily accomplish his descent, particularly if friendly helping hands are near. But his anchor may not catch, or may give way, and a strong wind may carry him on. His task is then a difficult one, requiring great nerve and presence of mind. He may see a building or a tree in his way, towards which he is being hurled with fatal force, when his only chance of salvation is instantly to throw out ballast to rise and escape it; after which he must renew his attempt. The swaying of the balloon by the wind when the grapnel has caught, the highly inclined position, requiring him to hold on to avoid being thrown out, the risk of dragging, and many other contingencies, make a descent in a high wind a thing only to be undertaken by very experienced hands.

In some cases balloons, after being inflated, are allowed only to rise a certain height under restraint, being secured to the earth by long cords. These are called *captive balloons*. They have at different periods been fashionable, as affording amusement to the public, and, in some cases, have been of real utility. Two large captive balloons have been made of late years, one at Paris, in 1867, the other in London, in 1868. The Paris one was placed in a building adjoining the Exhibition, and it carried twelve persons in the car to a height of about 800 feet. The London captive balloon, installed in Ashburnham Park, Chelsea, was much larger, 93 feet diameter, and containing about 425,000 cubic feet. It was filled with

\* As an approximate rule, omitting the disturbing influences of temperature, &c., the height in feet to which a balloon will rise, whose capacity in cubic feet = C, and weight in lbs. = W, will be =  $27,800 \log. \frac{C(1-s)}{14W}$ , where

s = sp. gr. of gas, air being unity. This formula will also show the effect of discharging ballast, by substituting a diminished value of W. It is said that the last thoughts of Euler were occupied by this problem, the calculations being found on his slate at the time of his death on the 7th Sept. 1783.—'Voyages Aériens' (French edition).

hydrogen gas, and took up thirty-two people at a time to a height of 2000 feet; a steam-engine of 200 horse-power being used to draw it down again. Both these fine balloons were made by M. Henri Giffard, of whom we shall have more to say by-and-by.

It may now be asked of what use are balloons? Almost all writers on the subject have concurred in lamenting that an invention of such high promise should have performed so little. The balloon has been a singular exception to the ordinary course of mechanical discoveries. The steam-engine, machinery, steam navigation, railways, the electric telegraph, photography, iron construction, have all, soon after their introduction, received rapid development; while this art of aerial locomotion, from which so much was expected, has remained just where it was in 1783. Franklin's child has never grown; he is an infant still. The balloon, instead of revolutionising the world, has settled down to the position of a huge toy, and has taken rank with fireworks and monster bands as an attraction to fêtes and holiday amusements, for the mere gratification of idle curiosity.

There have been, however, two purposes of special character to which the balloon has been seriously applied, and in which it has rendered good service, namely, the scientific investigation of atmospheric phenomena, and the art of war.

First, as to the scientific use of balloons. From the time of their invention philosophers have thought them applicable to aerial and meteorological researches, and many ascents have been planned at different times with this view. At the beginning of the present century an aeronaut named Robertson, who is spoken highly of by Arago, made such ascents at Hamburg and St. Petersburg, and about the same date Gay-Lussac and Biot undertook similar experiments at Paris, at the suggestion of Laplace. Messrs. Barral and Bixio, in 1850, and Mr. Welch, of Kew, in 1852, followed in the same track; but the most extensive series of investigations of the kind have been made within the last ten years, at the instance of the British Association, by Mr. Glaisher, of the Greenwich Observatory. He associated himself with our most experienced living aeronaut, Mr. Coxwell, and the ascents were made in a large balloon of 90,000 cubic feet capacity, constructed specially for the purpose. The objects were to make observations at high altitudes on the thermometric, hygrometric, electrical, and chemical condition of the air; on the magnetic force; on the spectrum and solar

influences; on clouds and vapours; on aerial currents; on sound; and on any other interesting phenomena that offered themselves. For Mr. Glaisher's results on these points we must refer to his very full official Reports; but he has given to the world a popular account of some of his voyages in the book mentioned on our first page. In the years 1862 to 1866 he made twenty-eight ascents, in one of which he rose to the great height of 37,000 feet, or *seven miles*. At this elevation he lost consciousness, and the cover of his book is ornamented with his picture as he hung over the edge of the car in this critical condition. The following extract, descriptive of 'The High Regions,' will give an idea of Mr. Glaisher's style:—

'Above the clouds the balloon occupies the centre of a vast hollow sphere, of which the lower portion is generally cut off by a horizontal plane. This section is in appearance a vast continent, often without intervals or breaks, and separating us completely from the earth. No isolated clouds hover above this plane. We seem to be citizens of the sky, separated from the earth by a barrier which seems impassable. We are free from all apprehension such as may exist when nothing separates us from the earth. We can suppose the laws of gravitation are for a time suspended, and in the upper world, to which we seem now to belong, the silence and quiet are so intense, that peace and calm seem to reign alone.

"Above our heads arises a noble roof—a vast dome of the deepest blue; in the east may perhaps be seen the tints of a rainbow on the point of vanishing; in the west the sun silencing the edges of broken clouds. Below these light vapours may rise a chain of mountains, the Alps of the sky, rearing themselves one above the other, mountain above mountain, till the highest peaks are coloured by the setting sun. Some of these compact masses look as if ravaged by avalanches, or rent by the irresistible movements of glaciers. Some clouds seem built up of quartz, or even diamonds; some, like immense cones, boldly rise upwards; others resemble pyramids, whose sides are in rough outline. These scenes are so varied and so beautiful, that we feel that we could remain for ever to wander above these boundless planes. . . . But we must quit these regions to approach the earth; our revolt against gravity has lasted long enough, we must now obey its laws again. As we descend, the summits of the silvery mountains approach us fast, and appear to ascend towards us; we are already entering deep valleys, which seem as if about to swallow us up, but mountains, valleys, and glaciers all flee upward. We enter the clouds and soon see the earth: we must make the descent, and in a few minutes the balloon lies helpless, and half empty, on the ground.'

In addition to Mr. Glaisher's accounts, the work also contains descriptions of balloon voyages by three eminent French aeronauts,

Messrs. Flammarion, De Fonvielle, and Gaston Tissandier. M. Tissandier deserves credit for having introduced a new feature into balloon descriptions, by taking up his brother, a practised artist, who has illustrated the balloon adventures and the scenery of the voyages with much skill.\*

The most recent scientific ascent was attended with a lamentable result. On the 15th April, 1875, M. Tissandier started from Paris, accompanied by M. Croce-Spinelli, an engineer, and M. Sivel, a naval officer, the object being to make certain observations at high altitudes. The records of the height do not show so great an elevation as that attained by Mr. Glaisher, but either from the effect of the rarefaction, or from the inhalation of gas, M. Tissandier's companions were both suffocated, and he himself narrowly escaped with his life. Is there enough to be learnt at these great elevations to justify the risk they entail?

The application of balloons to the art of war presents great interest, on account of the remarkable success with which they were used by the Parisians, in the late siege, to establish communication with the country in general, in defiance of a most vigorous blockade. We make no apology, therefore, for giving this part of our subject a more lengthy notice.

Soon after Montgolfier's and Charles's first trials the idea arose of using the aerostat, as the French have called it, for military purposes. At the siege of Condé, in 1793, an attempt was made to send news by a balloon across the investing lines; and about the same time, the celebrated Guyton de Morveau proposed to establish captive balloons as posts of observation in communication with the Republican armies. The idea was approved by the Committee of Public Safety, on the condition that sulphuric acid should not be used for the production of the hydrogen, all the sulphur obtainable being wanted for powder. Lavoisier got over the difficulty by his discovery of the decomposing action of red-hot iron on steam, and de Morveau's proposal was put in practice. A school of aerostatics was established at Meudon, and two companies of *aérostiers* were attached to the army. The Campaign of the Sambre and Meuse was just then beginning, and an ener-

getic young officer of the balloon corps, named Coutelle, was sent in all haste with two balloons to its aid. The General, who had received no notice of the step, at first treated the young man as a lunatic, and threatened to shoot him; but he was soon convinced of the importance of the invention, and adopted it without further hesitation. At the siege of Maubeuge and the battle of Fleurus, Coutelle rendered most important services in obtaining information as to the position and movements of the enemy, who afterwards made honourable testimony to the skill and ingenuity of the proceeding.

After this military aerostation seems to have died away. The first Napoleon took balloons into Egypt, but the English seized the filling apparatus: his nephew had one made for the Italian campaign, in 1859, and appointed Garnerin as his aeronaut; but it only arrived the day after Solferino. We also hear of successful aerostation in the American Civil War a few years later, the signals being communicated to the earth by telegraph wires.

At the breaking out of the Franco-German War in July 1870, there were in Paris many experienced aeronauts, including Tissandier, De Fonvielle, Nadar, Jules Durnof, and Eugène Godard, the latter of whom had made 800 ascents. The subject of military ballooning was mooted, and received some faint support from the Imperial Government; but before anything of use could be arranged the disaster of Sedan occurred, and was followed in a few days by the close investment of the Capital. The new Government at once addressed themselves to the aeronauts, with the view of opening aerial communications with the exterior. Six balloons were found, all in indifferent condition, the worst being the Solferino one, 'L'Impérial,' which, M. Tissandier is careful to tell us, 'on n'a jamais su réparer.' The first ascent was made by M. Durnof, on the 23rd September; he carried a large number of despatches, and landed safely in three hours near Evreux. He was followed on the 21st by M. Mangin; on the 29th, by Godard, jun.; and on the 30th by Gaston Tissandier, who has given an animated account of his voyage.

Encouraged by this success, the Government established the Balloon Post on a regular system, and took immediate steps for the manufacture of a large number of balloons, under specified conditions, and in the quickest possible time. It was easier, however, to make the vessels than to find captains for them, for experienced aeronauts were very few, and when they had once left

\* We must give a decided preference to the French edition of the work, not only because there are important omissions in the English copy, but because the style of the French authors, who are all practised writers, and express themselves forcibly and often eloquently, suffers much in translation.

Paris there was no returning. In this strait it was resolved to invite the help of sailors, a class of men whose training made them familiar with operations and dangers akin to those of ballooning. The appeal was well answered; many fine brave fellows offered themselves; they received such instruction as was possible, and a large number of ascents were conducted by them. 'Our topsail is high, Sir,' said a tar to his Admiral, who saw him ascend, 'and difficult to reef; but we can sail all the same, and, please God, we'll arrive.' The employment of some acrobats from the Hippodrome was less fortunate, as they made use of their skill, when in difficulty, to slip down the guide rope to the earth, leaving the passengers and despatches to take care of themselves.

The balloon service was on the whole conducted with remarkable success and precision. From September to January sixty-four balloons were sent off, and of these fifty-seven fulfilled their mission, the despatches reaching their destination. The total number of persons that left Paris was 155, the weight of despatches was 9 tons, and the number of letters 3,000,000. The speed of transit varied usually from about 7 to 40 or 45 miles an hour. In four cases a speed above fifty miles was attained, and in one instance about 80 miles; the high speeds being all with south-westerly winds.

We may mention some of the voyages which offer special interest. Gambetta left by the 'Armand Barbès' (every balloon had a name) on the 7th of October; being too low, he was fired on by the Prussians, and narrowly escaped being hit. On the 27th of October, the 'Bretagne' fell, by some bad management, into the hands of the Prussians near Verdun; on the 4th of November, the 'Galilee' had a similar fate near Chartres; and on the 12th the 'Daguerre' was shot at, brought down, and seized a few leagues from Paris. The loss of three balloons within a few days alarmed the Government; the vigilance of the enemy had been aroused, and whenever a balloon was seen, notices were telegraphed along its probable line of flight, and the swiftest Uhlans were put on the alert, with the hope of capturing it. Moreover, there was said to have arrived at Versailles a new rifled gun of enormous range, made by Krupp, to fire shell at the aerial messengers. On this account the Government determined that the future departures should take place at night. But the darkness added greatly to the difficulties of the voyage, and some of the ascents were attended with strange adventures.

On the 24th of November, near midnight, the 'Ville d'Orléans' left with an aeronaut and a passenger; the wind blew from the north, and it was hoped the balloon would fall near Tours; but before long the voyagers heard a sound below them which they recognised but too well as the lashing of breakers on the shore. They were in a thick mist, and when at daybreak this cleared away they found themselves over the sea, out of sight of land. They saw several vessels, and made signals for help, but were not answered, and one vessel fired on them. They were scudding rapidly to the north, and had given themselves up for lost, when they came in sight of land to the eastward. But they were descending from loss of gas, and their ballast was gone; in despair they threw out a bag of despatches, and this saved them, for the balloon rose, and encountered a westerly current, which carried them to the shore. They had no idea what part of the world they were in; the ground was covered with snow, they saw no inhabitants, and being overcome by fatigue and hunger, they both fainted on getting out of the car. On recovering, they walked through the snow, with great exertion, and the first living creatures they saw were three wolves, who, however, did not molest them. After a painful walk of several hours, they found a shed where they sheltered for the night, and the next morning, continuing their march, they came upon another hovel with traces of fire, which showed them the country was inhabited. Soon after two woodmen came in, but neither party could understand the other, and it was only by one of the peasants pulling out a box of matches marked 'Christiania,' that the Frenchmen could guess where they were. They had fallen in Norway. They were well received, and though the balloon had escaped when they fainted, it was ultimately recovered, with all the contents of the car, and the despatches reached their destination. The 'Archimède,' which started an hour after the 'Ville d'Orléans,' landed in Holland, after a voyage of seven hours.

The 30th November was a memorable day for the balloons. The 'Jacquard' ascended at 11 P.M., managed by a sailor named Prince, who cried out with enthusiasm as he rose, 'Je veux faire un immense voyage; on parlera de mon ascension.' He was driven by a south-easterly wind, over the English Channel. He was seen by English vessels, and passing near the Lizard he dropped his despatches, some of which were afterwards picked up on the rocks; but the balloon, thus lightened, soared high

over the wide Atlantic and was never heard of more.

The 'Jules Favre' started at half-past eleven the same night with two passengers, and only escaped almost by a miracle the fate of the 'Jacquard.' The wind blew from the north, and the aeronauts thought they were going to Lyons; they were long enveloped in fog, and on emerging at day-break they saw under them an island which they supposed to be in a river, but which proved to be Hoedic in the Atlantic! They were driving furiously out to sea; but in front of them lay, as a forlorn hope, the larger island of Belleisle. They saw they should pass one end of it where it was very narrow, and that they must either land on this strip of land or be lost. They tore the valve open with all their might, brought the balloon down some thousand feet in a few minutes, and fortunately succeeded in striking the land. But the shock was terrific; the balloon bounded three times, and at last caught against a wall, throwing both passengers out of the car. They were much hurt, but were hospitably received, singularly enough, in the house of the father of General Trochu.

On the 15th December the 'Ville de Paris' fell at Wertzlar in Prussia; and on the 20th, the 'General Chanzy' got also into captivity at Rothenberg, in Bavaria.

On the morning of the 28th January, the 'Richard Wallace,' which left Paris the night before, was seen at La Rochelle approaching the sea, and almost touching the ground. The people called to the aeronaut to descend, instead of which he threw out a sack of ballast, rose to a great height, and soon disappeared in the western horizon. No doubt the poor fellow had lost his wits on seeing the danger before him. This was the last ascent but one; that on the next day carried to the provinces the news of the armistice.

The balloons had solved the problem of communication from Paris outwards, but there was another, not less important, namely, how to obtain a return communication inwards from the exterior. This was a much more difficult matter; any wind would blow a balloon away from the city, but to get one back again required a particular direction of current, with very little margin. M. Tissandier devised some ingenious schemes, and himself made several attempts to get back, but failed, and the return of balloons was given up as impracticable.

Failing these, other modes were thought of, and the Government appealed energetically to men of science and inventors to

help them in their difficulty. Numberless projects were offered, and a committee sat *en permanence* to examine them, but the great majority were wild and visionary.

A few trusty foot messengers succeeded in penetrating the Prussian lines, and many cunning devices were invented for concealing about them short despatches in cypher; hollow coins, keys, and other articles of unsuspecting appearance were skilfully prepared; occasionally a despatch was inserted in an incision under the skin, and one of the contrivances most successful, till an indiscreet journal let out the secret, was an artificial hollow tooth. One balloon took out some trained dogs, which it was hoped would find their way back again, but they never reappeared. A daring attempt was made, by some electricians, to connect the broken ends of the telegraph wires (which had of course been cut) by almost invisible metallic threads, but they could not succeed. The river, flowing into Paris from the plains of central France, formed the basis of many promising schemes. Divers, submarine boats, and floating contrivances of many kinds were proposed, and some of them tried; the most ingenious being little globes of blown glass, so marvellously resembling the natural froth bubbles on the surface of the water as to escape the most vigilant observation. It was thought at one time that these would come into use, but before the 'service des bulles' could be organised, the frost set in, and spoiled the surface of the river.

The problem which had defied the ingenuity of man, was, however, solved by the instinct of a bird. The return post was effected by means of *carrier pigeons*, which, having been taken out of Paris in balloons, were let loose in the provinces to find their own way home. There existed in Paris a 'Société Colombophile,' and after the departure of the first balloon, the Vice-President waited on General Trochu, and proposed that an attempt should be made to combine the outward balloon post with a return service by pigeons. The second balloon carried three birds, which came safely back six hours afterwards, with news from the aeronauts; and the return of eighteen more despatched in following days confirmed the practicability of the plan. The service was then regularly organised, and was carried on with more or less success during the whole of the siege.

But though the messengers were found, it was necessary to give careful attention to the mode of transmitting the messages. A pigeon's despatch is tied to one of the feathers in his tail, and, of course, in order

to avoid impeding his motion, it must be very small and light. For strategic purposes, small despatches in cypher would have sufficed, but the Government, with laudable spirit, wished to give the public the benefit of the pigeon post, as they had already done with the balloon service, and this gave rise to one of the most remarkable and ingenious postal arrangements of the siege, namely the application of *microscopic photography*.

The exquisite delicacy of the collodion film had long been known, and with the aid of a microscopic camera, pictures had been produced on it which, though so small as scarcely to be visible to the naked eye, exhibited, when magnified, all the details of the original. M. Dagron,\* who had practised this art, pointed out its applicability to the pigeon post, and was commissioned to organise the arrangements. He left in the 'Niepce' balloon on the 12th November, and, after falling into the hands of the Prussians at Vitry-le-Français, he escaped to Tours, where, and at Bordeaux, he conducted the process with much success.

The despatches, public and private, were first printed (to save space and render them more legible) on pages of folio size, sixteen of which were placed side by side, forming a large sheet about 54 inches long and 32 inches wide. This was reduced by photography to  $\frac{1}{100}$  of its original area, the impression being taken on a small pellicle of transparent gelatinous collodion, 2 inches long and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch wide, and weighing about three-quarters of a grain. The figure in the margin is a full-sized representation of one of these pellicles now before us. The sixteen pages of letter-press will be seen in their reduced size; each page consists of

DESPATCH OF THE PARISIAN PIGEON-POST, 1870.

(Real size.)



\* 'La Poste par Pigeons Voyageurs.' Par Dagron. Tours, Bordeaux, 1870-1.

about 2000 words, and, therefore, the whole impression contains as much matter as thirty-three pages of this review.

We have read the despatch with a powerful microscope, and find it contains a great number of messages, chiefly of personal interest, to inhabitants of Paris, from many parts of France. We extract the following as samples:—

'*Dépêches à distribuer aux destinataires.*

'*Pau, 26 Janvier.*—A Focher, Rue Chaussée d'Antin. Madeleine accouchée heureusement hier. Bien beau garçon.

'*Biarritz, 1 Février.*—A Martin, 68, Rue Petites Ecuries. Sommes à Biarritz, bébé complètement remis, embrasse papa, douloureusement impressionnés événements.

'A Font. Besoin argent, demande Masquier.

'A Perier. Tous parfaitement bien; trou veras charbon dans cave.'

There are also many 'Dépêches Mandats,' or post-office orders, payable to persons in Paris, from correspondents in the country.

Every pigeon carried twenty of these leaves, which were carefully rolled up and put in a quill; they contained matter enough to fill a good-sized volume, and yet the weight of the whole was only fifteen grains. When the pigeon arrived at his cot in Paris, his precious little burden was taken to the Government-office, where the quill was cut open, and the collodion leaves were carefully extracted. The next process was to magnify and read them by an optical apparatus, on the principle of the magic lantern, or rather of the well-known electric illustrator, which plays such an important part in the scientific lectures at our Royal Institution. The collodion film was fixed between two glass plates, and its image was thrown on a white screen, enlarged to such an extent that the characters might be read by the naked eye. The messages were then copied and sent to their destination.

The despatches were repeated by different pigeons, for although the communication was established many causes interrupted its regularity. The Prussians were powerless against the winged messengers (it is said they attempted to chase them with birds of prey); but there were more real obstacles in fogs, which prevented the pigeons seeing their way, and in the great cold, which was found to interfere with their powers, particularly when the ground was covered with snow. There were sent out of Paris 363 pigeons, but only 57 returned, and some of these were absent a long time.

The charge for private despatches by pigeon was 50 centimes per word; but to facilitate the service, the Parisians were directed to send to their friends in the

country, by balloon, questions which could be answered by pigeon with the single words, 'Yes' or 'No.' Forms were prepared, something like our postage-cards, and four such answers were conveyed for one franc.\*

The Parisians will long recollect the excitement produced by the arrival of their pretty couriers; no sooner was a pigeon seen in the air than the whole city was aroused, and remained in a state of intense anxiety till the news was delivered. An engraving was afterwards published representing Paris, as a woman in mourning, anxiously awaiting, like Noah's imprisoned family, the return of the dove.

The aerial post was undoubtedly a great success. It could not indeed save France, or deliver the Capital; but it was an immense comfort and advantage to the Parisians, as establishing, during the whole of the siege, a correspondence with the exterior, which without it would have been impossible. And had the cause been less desperate, it is not improbable that the balloons might have turned the scale, by giving to the French substantial advantages in their means of communication.

We must now, in conclusion, say a few words on the general capabilities and prospects of the balloon as a means of aerial

\* The following official notice, of a kind unique in postal annals, may still be seen on the walls of some of the French provincial towns:—

'DIRECTION GENERALE DES TELEGRAPHES ET DES POSTES.—*AVIS*.—Les derniers ballons ont apporté de Paris, avec la correspondance de la capitale, des cartes destinées à recevoir des réponses à des questions posées dans la lettre d'envoi. La direction assurera la transmission de ces réponses au moyen des pigeons-voyageurs, désireuse d'ajouter ainsi aux moyens de correspondance qu'elle a déjà mis à la disposition du public pour ses relations avec la capitale, un nouveau mode de communications, moins complet, il est vrai, mais moins onéreux. Les cartes-réponses seront reçues dans tous les bureaux de télégraphe et de poste moyennant une taxe uniforme d'un franc. Elles ne pourront contenir que quatre réponses, par oui ou par non, consignées dans des colonnes disposées à cet effet. Les bureaux de poste sont également autorisés à recevoir des sommes d'argent à destination de Paris et de l'enceinte fortifiée jusqu'à concurrence de 300 fr., et à délivrer en échange des mandats qui, transmis à Paris par des pigeons-voyageurs, y seront acquittés à présentation. . . . La direction prend des mesures pour donner aux opérations photographiques nécessaires pour la reproduction et la réduction des télégrammes et des mandats un développement en rapport avec les nouvelles facilités qu'elle est heureuse de pouvoir accorder au public.—STEENACKER. *Tours*.' (No date, but it must have been early in October, 1870.)

locomotion. The problem is one of great interest and importance; for it need hardly be said that if such a mode of transit could be established, its advantages would be almost incalculable.

The balloon already fulfils, as we have seen, one of the two necessary conditions; it will float in the air, and it can be made to rise and fall at pleasure.\* But it fails in the second particular. The great obstacle at present to its use is the want of power over the *direction* of its flight. It is at the mercy of the wind, which 'bloweth where it listeth;' and a vehicle which can only travel to some unknown place is not likely to have many business passengers.

It has often been proposed to take advantage of the fact, well ascertained by experience, that currents are found, at different heights, moving in different directions; but the information on this point is at present very imperfect; and probably such a mode of direction would be always uncertain. The more important problem is, how to make a balloon travel, not *with*, but *through* the air; in the same manner as a boat, instead of being floated along with the stream, is made to move in an independent course through the water. In short, we want what, if we may coin a word for the purpose, we may call a *dirigible* balloon.

The Montgolfiers, in 1783, discussed the use of oars, and Gulton de Morveau, in the following year, made some experiments at Dijon, with analogous contrivances. But no useful result was obtained, and the question does not appear to have been studied, with any earnest attention to its mechanical conditions, until the middle of the present century.

The nature of these conditions may best be learnt by considering the analogous case of a boat; not a sailing boat which is moved by external power, but a rowing boat or a steamer in which the power is internal. In such a vessel the motion is produced by oars, paddles, or screws, the surfaces of which are impelled against the circumambient fluid by mechanical power; the reaction sends the vessel forward, and when the motion through the fluid is once obtained,

\* The present mode of doing this, involving a continual loss of gas and ballast, and a consequent waste of ascending power, is very imperfect: it was one of Mr. Green's objects, in the invention of the guide-rope, to ameliorate the evil, by providing a kind of ballast which could be discharged temporarily, and taken in again; and no doubt this expedient, combined with a perfectly impermeable envelope, would much extend the limit of balloon voyages. There is, however, great room for improvement in this particular.

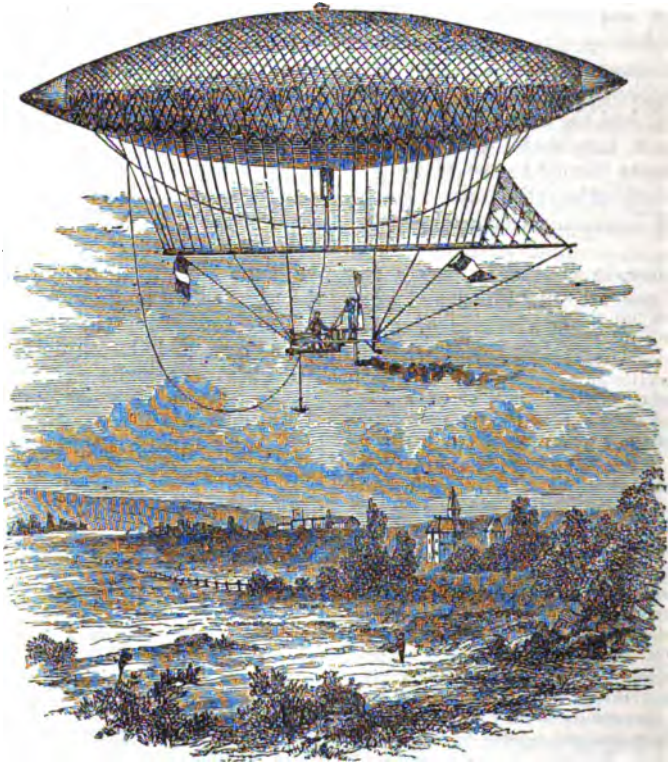
the *direction* is determined by that simple and beautiful contrivance, the rudder.

According to this, in order to make our balloon move through the air, it must be provided with propelling apparatus, propelling power, and a rudder. And, as a further condition, derived from aquatic analogy, it must have such a form as will offer the least resistance in its passage through the air. If these conditions are complied with, we shall certainly get a dirigible balloon, and they involve nothing that is at variance with mechanical knowledge, or that is beyond the scope of mechanical skill.

The first good attempt to make such a balloon was in 1852 by a French engineer,

M. Henri Giffard. He was then young and unknown, but his name has since become famous on other grounds. He had evidently studied the subject well, and had arrived at a thoroughly practical appreciation of the necessary conditions. Abandoning the globular shape, as offering too much resistance, and following the analogy of the lines of the vessel, he constructed an oblong pointed balloon, to the stern of which he attached a rudder, and in the car he carried a small steam-engine, which worked a screw, formed of sails like a windmill. The following sketch (taken from M. Louis Figuier's '*Merveilles de la Science*') will give an idea of M. Gif-

M. GIFFARD'S STEAM BALLOON.



fard's balloon. It was about 150 feet long, and 40 feet diameter. It contained 88,000 cubic feet, and was filled with coal-gas. The engine was three-horse power, weighing 3 cwt., and it turned the screw 110 revolutions per minute. It was a daring thing to put the furnace of a steam-engine so near to a huge reservoir of highly inflammable gas; but M. Giffard adopted, among other precautions, the ingenious device of turning the chimney *downwards*, producing the draught by the steam-blast, as in the locomotive-

engine; and he considered himself free from any danger of fire.

The ascent took place from the Hippodrome in Paris on the 24th September, the signal to 'let go' being given by the steam-whistle. The wind was strong, and M. Giffard did not expect to hold against it; he found, however, that he could make a headway through the air of five to seven miles an hour; and this enabled him to execute various manœuvres of circular motion with perfect success. The action of

the rudder was very sensitive. No sooner, he says, did he pull gently one of the cords, than he saw the horizon turn round him like the moving picture in a panorama. He rose to a height of nearly 6000 feet, but, the night approaching, he put out his fire, and descended safely in a field near Elancourt.\*

In 1855 M. Giffard constructed another balloon, of larger dimensions, which confirmed the previous results; but he found that before the direction could be completely commanded, many improvements were necessary which would take time. His attention was just then occupied on other mechanical inventions,† but he did not neglect the subject, for, in the great captive balloons erected by him in 1867 and 1868, he perfected several of the improvements he had in contemplation, in particular the impermeability of the envelope, a more mechanical construction of the

valves, and a better and cheaper mode of preparing pure hydrogen.

During the siege of Paris, the earnest desire to get a return-post to the city again called attention to the subject of dirigible balloons. In October 1870, M. Dupuy de Lôme, the eminent Naval Architect to the French Government, obtained a grant of sixteen hundred pounds for experiments, and he proceeded to construct an apparatus, which was in progress when the Communist insurrection broke out and stopped the proceedings. On peace being restored, M. de Lôme resumed the work at his own cost, and the trial was made on the 2nd of February, 1872. He has given a full account of his proceedings in several papers of the 'Comptes-rendus' \* of the Academy of Sciences. His balloon was elongated, 120 feet long, and 50 feet diameter, containing 122,000 cubic feet, and it was filled with hydrogen. It had a triangular rudder, and the car carried a screw-propeller of two sails, 30 feet diameter, intended to be turned by four men, a relay-gang being also taken up to relieve them. M. de Lôme considered it essential that the balloon should preserve its form in spite of any escape of gas, and, to ensure this, he placed, inside the large envelope, a smaller balloon, which could be filled with air from the car when required.

The ascent took place at Vincennes, with M. de Lôme and thirteen other persons in the car. In the early exposition of his objects he had stated that he did not aim at attaining any great independent speed; the important point was to get such a moderate control over the course as should render it possible for balloons to return into Paris, and he believed that a motion through the air of about five miles (eight kilometres) per hour would suffice for this purpose. Soon after leaving the ground the screw was put in motion, and, on the rudder being taken in hand, its influence was at once observable. The wind was high, blowing from the south-west, with a velocity varying from 27 to 37 miles an hour, and all that could be hoped for was to produce a moderate deviation in the direction of the flight. This was accomplished, as, when the screw was put to work, and the head of the balloon set at right angles to the wind, a deviation was obtained of ten or eleven degrees, showing an independent motion through the air of 5 to 7½ miles an hour, produced by the machinery. The descent was made safely about 90 miles from Paris.

\* M. Émile de Girardin, in noticing ('La Presse,' 25 Sept. 1852) this experiment of M. Giffard, whom he calls the Fulton of aerial navigation, makes the following remarks:—

'Est-il pour la France une solution plus importante que celle du problème de la navigation aérienne? La navigation maritime à vapeur a changé toutes les conditions relatives d'existence insulaire et européenne de la Grande Bretagne; ce que l'Angleterre pouvait entreprendre il y a cinquante ans contre la France elle ne pourrait plus l'essayer sans s'exposer aux terribles représailles d'un débarquement qui pourrait faire craindre à la ville de Londres le sort de la ville de Copenhague.

'La navigation à vapeur peut également changer toutes les conditions relatives de puissance continentale et militaire de la Russie. En effet, on comprend que toutes les combinaisons de la guerre seront changées le jour où, au lieu de lancer certains projectiles, il n'y aura plus qu'à les laisser tomber au milieu d'un carré d'infanterie.

'Ce n'est là qu'un des points par lesquels la navigation aérienne à vapeur s'élève à la hauteur d'une immense question politique.'

The following letter on the same subject was written at a later date to Gaston Tissandier.

Hauteville House, 9 mars 1869.

'Je crois, Monsieur, à tous les progrès. La navigation aérienne est consécutive à la navigation océanique; de l'eau l'homme doit passer à l'air. Partout où la création lui sera respirable, l'homme pénétrera dans la création. Notre seule limite est la vie. Là où cesse la colonne d'air dont la pression empêche notre machine d'éclater, l'homme doit s'arrêter. Mais il peut, doit, et veut aller jusque-là et il ira. . . . Certes, l'avenir est à la navigation aérienne, et le devoir du présent est de travailler à l'avenir.

'VICTOR HUGO.'

'Voyages Aériens.'—(French edition only.)

† M. Giffard has acquired great fame by his invention of the 'Injector,' an apparatus now applied almost universally to locomotives, and which is one of the most remarkable and novel applications of science to engineering.

\* Vol. lxxi. 1870, p. 502; and vol. lxxiv. 1872, p. 387.

As a matter of fact, M. Dupuy de Lôme does not seem to have accomplished much beyond what M. Giffard had done previously: and it is to be regretted that both M. Giffard and he should have left the subject where it is; but fortunately, guided by the data obtained, we may form an idea, much more satisfactory than heretofore, of the position of the question, and of the prospects of the invention for the future.

In the first place, the possibility of constructing, on principles analogous to those of aquatic navigation, a buoyant aerial screw ship, which shall have a form of small resistance, which shall be stable and easy to manage, and which shall obey her rudder, has been fully established; there only remain the questions what power is necessary to give such a vessel a certain speed through the air; what amount of power can be carried; and how that power may be applied.

The relation between power and speed has been carefully investigated by M. de Lôme on sound mechanical principles, checked by the actual data of aquatic navigation, and although their application to this problem is new, they seem to have been confirmed by experiment so far as the limited trial extended. M. de Lôme calculated beforehand that to give a speed of five miles an hour would require a net expenditure of about  $\frac{3}{10}$  of a horse-power;\* for which, allowing for loss, he allotted 4 men, or  $\frac{4}{10}$  of a horse-power. In the actual experiment he found that 8 men (or  $\frac{8}{10}$  of a horse-power net) gave 6.4 miles per hour, which is sufficient confirmation, the power varying, according to a well-known rule, as the cube of the speed. Hence to give 10 miles an hour would require  $2\frac{1}{2}$  horse-power, 20 miles 20 horse-power, and so on.

The form of power adopted by M. de Lôme, namely human effort, involved an enormous waste of weight; and in reasoning on what may be done, we have a right to assume a more economical arrangement. A horse-power in the shape of 10 men,

\* The power required to propel the balloon depends largely on the value of the coefficient representing the reduction of resistance due to the form or to the *lines* of the vessel. There is little experience of this for the air, but M. de Lôme asserts by the analogy of ships, that it may be as low as  $\frac{1}{10}$  or even  $\frac{1}{20}$ . Allowing for resistances of the car and net, and for other defects, he has in his calculations brought it out at a mean value of  $\frac{1}{10}$ ; and adopting this, we have the following formula. If  $d$  = largest diameter of balloon in feet, and  $v$  = velocity through the air in miles per hour, then the net horse-power required will be in round numbers—

$$H. P. = \frac{d^3 v^3}{1,000,000}$$

with a relay of 5, weighs above a ton; but in the steam engine this may be reduced very largely. Mr. Giffard's engine and boiler weighed 112 lbs. per horse-power; in some boats lately working on the Thames\* the weight was only 60 or 70 lbs., and in other instances it has been reduced still lower.

To keep up the power, we may estimate that the engine will require, per horse-power per hour, 3 to 5 lbs. of fuel and 25 to 28 lbs. of water. But, by an ingenious 'air surface condenser,' lately introduced by Mr. Perkins, the water evaporated may be recovered and used over again, and M. Giffard has pointed out that the fuel and water lost would take the place of the ballast usually put in the car.

We should be quite within actual practice in estimating for each horse-power, 100 lbs. weight of engine, boiler, and condenser, and 10 lbs. for each hour's consumption. Hence, as M. de Lôme's balloon had, after allowing for his entire apparatus and machinery, about 4600 lbs. disposable buoyancy, we find he could carry a 20-horse engine, and keep up a speed of 20 miles an hour for 13 hours. By enlarging the balloon, say to 100 feet diameter, we should get an available buoyancy of 20 tons, which would enable a speed of 20 miles an hour to be kept up for 24 hours, and still leave some 7 or 8 tons free.

These calculations are formed, be it observed, on data already existing; we have made no allowance for the improvements that would naturally arise when the attention of ingenious men was drawn to the subject, and when actual experience had been gained. The application of high power would doubtless require many alterations in construction, and much study of detail, and there is every probability that in the course of this study by skilful engineers such ameliorations would be brought about as would result in the attainment of higher speeds than we have above taken credit for.

Let us only, for the sake of argument, assume that we could attain for our balloons an independent velocity of 25 miles an hour through the air; it is worth while to inquire what that would do towards the solution of the great problem of aerial locomotion.

We have here to consider the effect of the wind. According to the best tables, what may be called an ordinary breeze blows between ten and twenty miles an hour, a strong breeze between twenty and

\* 'Trans. Inst. of Naval Architects,' 1872, p. 269. Paper by Mr. F. J. Bramwell, F.R.S.

thirty, a high wind between thirty and forty, and a gale up to fifty or more. The average velocity of balloons carried along by the wind has been found to be about twenty-five miles an hour, and we may fairly assume that the current is as often below as above this velocity. Hence it follows that for half the days in the year we might have the power, by properly constructed dirigible balloons, of navigating the air as we pleased, in any direction. If the wind were for us, we should make thirty to fifty miles an hour; if against us, we should go slowly, but, as the French sailor said, 'Please God, we should certainly arrive.' In the other half of the year, when the wind exceeded the velocity we could command, we must give up the idea of steaming against it; but even then our steering power would give us very great advantage in deviating from the wind's direction. An example will make this clear. Suppose that a high wind were blowing from the west, with a velocity of forty miles an hour (the highest, perhaps, that it would be prudent to attempt a voyage with), we could not go anywhere westerly, or even due north or south, but, by the aid of our independent speed of twenty-five miles, we could command any course we pleased between north-east and south-east, giving us still a very large and useful range; and what we lost in this respect we should gain in swiftness, as our velocity running east would be sixty-five miles an hour.

Then one most important use of dirigibility would be in facilitating the descent, and in avoiding the many dangers to which the aeronaut, in his present helpless position, is so often exposed. He could choose his place of landing with precision, bearing right or left at pleasure, and, turning his head to the wind, he could get rid of, or largely diminish, the dragging which is so dangerous, and which has so often brought a fatal termination to balloon voyages. Indeed, with ordinary precautions in the construction and management of the apparatus, a dirigible balloon would furnish one of the safest, as well as one of the swiftest and pleasantest, modes of locomotion.

And, further, it must be borne in mind that the increased frequency of balloon voyages would lead to a more careful practical study of the atmospheric conditions bearing on them. We may, indeed, conclude that the future use of balloons will probably depend on a moderate steering facility, combined with the power of taking advantage of the best circumstances of wind and weather; and we do not doubt that with such a combination, well studied, and

wrought out with the skill of which the present age is capable, the balloon has the power to become a really useful machine.

We have had no space in this article to speak of flying. There are many students of aerial locomotion who profess a contempt for the balloon, as a mere plaything, and consider that the only proper solution of the problem is by a flying machine, which shall sustain itself in the air, like a bird, by mechanical means. They disdain floating power, which, they say, birds do not possess, and which is, therefore, unnecessary. It would be just as reasonable to propose, on analogous grounds, to abolish boats and substitute swimming-machines. The 'plus lourd que l'air' doctrine is a delusion, founded on the mechanical blunder of confounding gravity and momentum, which are two distinct things. It is a more reasonable objection that a balloon, from its large size, must offer a great resistance to the air at high speeds, but this resistance has been enormously overrated,\* and it is a cheap price at which to acquire the fulfilment of the first condition of aerial locomotion—that of overcoming the action of gravity. At all events, a dirigible balloon is a thing actually in existence; a flying-machine is, at present, only an idea.

ART. V.—1. *Galerie Historique du Théâtre Français*. Par Mazurier. Paris, 1810.

2. *Mémoires de Mlle. Clairon*. Écrits par elle-même. Paris, 1822.

3. *Études sur l'Art Théâtral; suivies d'anecdotes inédites sur Talma*. Par Madame Veuve Talma: née Vanhove, maintenant Comtesse de Chalot. Paris, 1836.

4. *Le Théâtre Français sous Louis XIV.* Par Eugène Despois. Paris, 1874.

5. *Histoire du Romantisme*. Théophile Gautier. Paris, 1874.

6. *Foyers et Couliasses; Histoire anecdotique de tous les Théâtres de Paris: Comédie Française*. Paris, 1874.

In the eventful year of 1871, an interest hitherto unknown was awakened among us for the highest forms of French Drama. When civil broils followed the withdrawal of the German army which had invested

\* The resistance to M. de Lôme's balloon, of 122,000 cubic feet, at 5 miles an hour, was only 2½ lbs.; at 20 miles an hour, it would be 344 lbs.

Paris, a small section of the Comédie Française took refuge in London at the Theatre of the Opéra Comique in the Strand, and remained there from the beginning of May till the end of July. These artists were but fifteen in number; only one or two among them had ever left France before or could say so much as half-a-dozen words in English.

Few people in London knew anything about them. These exiled comedians, unused to the arts of advertisement, and accustomed to general recognition in their native city, played for some time in London to empty houses. Resorting to no art but that of their own acting, they trusted to its excellence and to that of the authors they represented—Molière, Marivaux, Regnard, Alfred de Musset, Dumas, père, Angier, Feuillet; and by degrees they succeeded so well that it became difficult to obtain places even at the highest prices. This small gallant company forwarded welcome remittances to the rest of the troupe left under severe pressure in Paris.

The farewell banquet given at the Crystal Palace to the Comédie Française, and many other marks of consideration bestowed upon its members in England, are gratefully remembered by them now, and afforded them as much happiness as it was possible for them to experience during their residence among us. But they were beset with daily anxieties: fire, famine, and slaughter reigned in the city of their affections; and they went to rest each night dreading the news which the morning might bring. It was on their return from a brief day of enjoyment at Windsor that they were startled by the sight of placards posted up all over London which proclaimed 'Paris in Flames.' With a load of misery and anxiety at heart they gave some of their most charming representations. The fire which destroyed the Tuileries and the Palais Royal threatened, by its close proximity, the theatre containing those collected treasures of time which no display of modern wealth can ever replace. The Théâtre Française, however, survived this peril, as it had done many others; and when the favourites of its company returned upon the defeat of the Commune to tell of the welcome they had won in the metropolis of England, they found their beautiful temple still standing, and their public again longing for their performances.

But another danger was impending. The heavy exactions of the German conquerors left France so much impoverished that its Government intimated to the subsidized theatres the possibility of a total withdrawal of further assistance in money. Had such a

measure been adopted, the Théâtre Française must ultimately have lost its high place in the dominion of art; it must have gradually assumed the conditions which attach to a playhouse existing as a mere money speculation. The aid of national funds for its maintenance has made it what it is; and without the continuance of such assistance it could not retain its position as a model of dramatic perfection among the theatres of Europe. The result, however, of an eager debate on this subject at Versailles was a compromise; the customary subsidy was for a time diminished. It is now restored, and the last two seasons have been among the most prosperous recorded in the annals of the Comédie Française. These annals date officially from the year 1680, when by the decree of Louis XIV., the two rival companies of the Hôtel de Bourgogne and of the Hôtel Guénégaud were amalgamated into one under the title of the 'Comédiens du Roi.' Up to the time of Molière's death in 1673, there existed three companies of equal pretensions, that of l'Hôtel de Bourgogne, of le Théâtre du Marais, and la Troupe de Molière. Upon the death of Molière, the companies of the Théâtre du Marais and of Molière's troupe, became incorporated at the Hôtel Guénégaud; the fusion, decreed by Royal intervention, between the company so formed with that of the Hôtel de Bourgogne was the foundation of the true Comédie Française, and delivered both the Court and the players from heart-burnings and jealousies which disturbed the welfare of the separate companies, and which appealed alternately to Royal justice or Royal favour for their final issue. These united companies played under the title of 'Comédiens du Roi entretenus par le Roi,' until the year 1689, when they took the name of 'La Comédie Française.' In the year 1682 the King granted to his comedians an annual pension of 12,000 livres, or francs (about equivalent to 480*l.*, at the present value of French money), and this was their first subsidy.

The Hôtel de Bourgogne, occupied by the Troupe Royale, had originally been bestowed upon a society of religious pilgrims, who went about covered with shells from street to street, chanting recitals of the Passion, and to whom the piety of the citizens assigned the great hall for the better performance of their mysteries. The Troupe Royale, willing at first to go shares with the *Confrères de la Passion*, soon found them greatly in their way, and pleaded a necessity for the whole *salle* for their own performances, describing the Brethren as mendicants unworthy of the name of citizens.

The Confrères, of course, had many taunts in reply; but Louis XIV. preferred the players, and finally made an arrangement by which he confiscated the goods of the Brethren for the benefit of 'l'Hôpital Général,' and required the players to pay rent for their occupancy of l'Hôtel de Bourgogne to the same hospital.

This decision is the origin of the tax upon playhouses paid to the clergy for the poor of Paris, which is known now as 'le droit des pauvres,' and which is a heavy imposition upon managers and companies, and is likely to be the subject of fresh legislation before long. It was also a frequent cause of irritation between priests and managers; for the clergy, not slow to encroach where money was to be had for church or parish, gradually began to increase their exactions, a course which naturally provoked remonstrance from those who were subject to them; nor was this the only source of contention between the Church and the Stage. The drama, which had its origin in religious mysteries in France as in England, found by degrees a new outlet for its energies in the form of *sotties* or *sottises*, farcical entertainments which followed the solemn performances of sacred subjects, by way of a relief for the excited or the satiated spectators. The Confrères de la Passion delivered these buffooneries into the hands of a junior society, known as 'les Enfants sans souci.' Mere buffoonery was unsuited to the spirit of the French nation, and the *sottises* grew into satires, distinguished by licence of thought, and used as weapons of attack by contending parties during the civil wars, which troubled the reign of the unhappy Charles VI. Each faction had its dramatic poet, and the poet spoke out roundly.

It can easily be conceived that such audacious talking was displeasing both to Church and State; and after the death of Charles, when order was restored, these performances were put down with a strong hand. Heavy penalties were laid upon the 'Enfants sans souci,' whose appellation under this rigorous treatment seemed bitter irony. The company of the 'Clerks of la Basoche,' who played farces under the title of 'Moralités,' were not less harassed. They were a curious company these clerks—lawyers' clerks, with the privilege granted to their fraternity by Philippe le Bel, of choosing a king for themselves, who had the right accorded to him of coining money for their especial use. This King annually reviewed his troop in state; and to close the day's proceeding they performed a 'Morality,' so called because the religious element was not allowed to enter into it—the sacred

mystery being the exclusive property of the 'Confrères de la Passion.' 'Moralities' were sometimes mythological and allegorical, often satirical and licentious, and probably never moral.

The accession of Louis XII., one of the few excellent rulers that France has known, banished bigotry and superstitious fear for awhile, and the persecuted companies were taken into favour. 'A satire of his time is valuable to a king who wishes to learn the truth,' said Louis, 'so I will see these *sotties*.' The comical representations, which had been extravagant farces, began now to show a new significance. The writing of a few among them became forcible. One of them called 'Maître Pathelin,' acquired a considerable reputation, and, in a modernised version, it is occasionally still played at the Théâtre Français.

It is possible that, under the favour of the Government, a French national drama might have developed itself early in France as in England, but with Louis XII., indulgence disappeared, and the progress of dramatic art was again impeded by continual interference. It was, perhaps, the ardent love of the French people for theatrical exhibitions, together with their satirical wit, also a national characteristic, which excited so much alarm, and caused the Gallican Church to pursue the comedians with singular severity—a severity which displayed itself in the earliest records of French history, and culminated in the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV., when Bossuet anathematised the stage and the players with the concentrated energy of his one-sided mind.

It was in the sixteenth century that Étienne Jodelle, Seigneur de Limodin, conceived the idea of the classical French drama which, being worked out subsequently by more gifted minds, became a source of national pride. Étienne Jodelle was an accomplished gentleman, remarkable both for his scholastic attainments and personal beauty. His good looks disposed him to show himself to advantage in a play; his acquaintance with ancient history, and his knowledge of Greek and Roman drama, suggested to him that it might be at once interesting and safe to take his scenes from the old dead world, instead of dealing with the scandals of a living court, or meddling with the ways of an existing hierarchy, so he wrote his tragedy of 'Cleopatra,' with no offence in it, and it was acted before the King Henry II. and his Court with complete success, the handsome young author playing the part of the Egyptian Queen. If the tragedy had no original grace, it had no original sin. It had the tameness of direct

imitation, and wrung nobody's conscience. Its claim to our present attention is this, that it sowed the seed which afterwards put forth flower and fruit in the works of Corneille, Racine and Voltaire—authors who took so complete a hold on their public, that for a long period no form of French tragedy was admitted as possible that was not built upon the model they had adopted. But it was the work of a century to produce a Corneille from a Jodelle, and the merit of the most conspicuous dramatists who filled that intervening space was very small. Their tragedies, which aimed at being classical, succeeded in being dull. They were generally written in Alexandrines; but one tragic prose drama appeared called 'Sophonisba,' of which St. Gelais was the author; and Alexandre Hardy, or Hardy, a dramatist more fertile than Eugène Scribe, made a daring attempt at tragi-comedy, his subject being taken from Cervantes. He produced 1200 dramas in verse; all of them imitated from other writers. He borrowed from Greek, from Spanish, from Italian; all kinds were welcome that could swell out his own feeble inventions. They were shuffled together with more speed than order. A Greek chorus might end one act, and a Spanish intrigue might begin another: such as they were, these pieces had possession of the stage at the Théâtre du Marais during twenty years, till the public was exhausted by the efforts of the playwright. It was time for them to be tired of such poor shows, for the curtain was soon to rise upon very different scenes.

When Cardinal Richelieu began to reign in France, under the name of Louis XIII., he perceived a better way of making the stage subservient to his ends than that of persecution: he recognised the power which might be exercised over an emotional people by a judiciously-directed drama, and he patronised it. The prime minister himself became the play-writer. Five assistant-authors were engaged to arrange his plays for representation—Rotrou, L'Etoile, Colletet, Boisrobert, and Pierre Corneille. Corneille—a poet before he knew it—strong and independent, altered an act of the Cardinal's comedy of 'Les Tuileries,' which was performed at the Palais Cardinal, since known as the Palais Royal. This daring attempt excited the twofold indignation of the great ruler and the weak dramatist. The interpolation was condemned as inharmonious. 'Il faudrait avoir au esprit de suite,' said Richelieu in his disdain. Upon which Voltaire, who tells the anecdote, observes, 'Il entendait par esprit de suite, la soumission

qui suit avecgtement les ordres d'un supérieur.'

The remembrance of this affront added a sting to the jealousy which stirred the heart of the prelate, when the young man whom he had regarded as his joiner of plays produced his own splendid drama of 'The Cid.' Corneille had previously written seven other pieces, but, though they contained passages which might indicate to a student the workings of an uncommon mind, they had not sufficient power to frighten a rival author. 'The Cid' came as a great discovery to the nation. For the first time human passion, in its sharp intensity, took the form of French tragedy. In his nervous verse Corneille sounded the depths of the heart. The tame plagiarists, who had before catered for the stage, shrank in dimensions, withered, and disappeared, when this commanding spirit first put forth his strength. He breathed new life into the dead. The cold statue of the Greek muse, which his predecessors had vainly sought to animate, glowed at his kiss, moved and spoke, was transformed into flesh and blood, and became the mother of the living French classic drama. Out of the sterile imitations to which the playwrights of France had been reduced, this original power developed itself. Here was a poet whose personages seem to live: they strove and struggled under strong emotions; they did not stand on parade to be drilled; they had a liberty of their own. He who created them, was impelled by them; he did not stay in the presence of the audience to arrange their joints and force their attitudes, nor to command long speeches from their agonies. The tragedy of 'The Cid' is at once human and heroic, and the reader or spectator sympathises with its passion, and follows its story with unflagging interest. A tumult of unknown rapture followed its first representation at Paris. People asked each other what man this was who had worked a miracle. The jealous Richelieu appealed in wrath to the Academy of Letters, which he had himself founded, and said 'criticise him.' The Academy set to work, but the verdict returned was too honest to soothe the Cardinal. Called upon wholly to curse, these select scholars in spite of their orthodoxy almost blessed the writer. The fame of 'Le Grand Corneille' soon extended into all countries; 'The Cid' was translated into every existing language, even into the Spanish, from whence it derived its existence, as a large proportion of French literature did at that time. But when a true poet borrows ideas, he does not reproduce

them in their own semblance, he assimilates them into his very nature; they are amassed and woven in with the rich material of his mind, and are then re-created. He is the infinite plagiarist who gathers up the whole world's wealth; from flowers and weeds, from dews and storms, from light and darkness, from the vast domain of Nature, and from the chosen treasures of art, he takes to give again, like 'that most excellent canopy the air,' which draws out of mountain, valley, and sea, the sources of life, to transform and return them ready to replenish the earth.

Corneille's greatest subsequent works were 'Polyeucte,' 'Les Horaces,' 'Cinna,' in tragedy; and in comedy, 'Le Menteur,' which, no less than 'The Cid,' is derived from a Spanish original, but which has its independent characteristics of wit and brilliancy, with a dash of youthful romance that lends an inexpressible charm to the piece, if a true artist represents its principal character. The poet's genius culminated between the years 1636 and 1640, and then subsided. It is difficult to understand so swift a decline in so great a man. Some impute it to his uneasiness under the frowns of the Cardinal, some to his sequestered life at Rouen, and others to the habit which grew upon him of imitating the Spanish manner. The true cause, perhaps, was the conflict between the mind of the poet and the taste of his time. Classical criticism pronounced him rough and irregular. He had an ambition to become a member of Richelieu's Academy of Letters, and he became one. His powers were fettered by artificial constraint, and his mind was not of that order which moves nimbly in chains. His great plays are performed alternately with those of Racine, Molière, Regnard, and Marivaux, on the classical nights of the *Théâtre Français*, and will not cease to be acted while French audiences remain capable of understanding passion and poetry. Although the light which Corneille shed upon the French stage in a sudden blaze burnt out so quickly within himself, it was not extinct; its vivifying influence called other intellects into action, and Racine and Molière both owed to him their first inspirations. Racine's early plays were direct copies of the master's style, and showed the feebleness which attaches to all mimicry in art. But there was the original impulse within him which will not suffer its possessor to continue his progress in the footprints of a predecessor; and after he had brought out the 'Thébaïde' and 'Alexandre,' he produced his fine tragedy of 'Andromaque,' which created a sensation hardly inferior to that made by the first ap-

pearance of 'The Cid.' Still adopting the form of Greek drama, as regards the adherence to the three unities, and using the Alexandrine measure and the rhymed couplet, it exhibited so many new attributes that the spectators acknowledged the existence of another original dramatic poet. It was no longer an inferior Corneille, it was a beautiful Racine; less heroic, less fiery, less startling, than Corneille, he was more tender, more explicit, more symmetrical, and if not more human in the widest sense of the word, he seemed more so to his auditors, for he was more French. 'Andromaque' was made intelligible to all French mothers. Her emotions were explained by the author, so that any lady of the Court might share them. The Poet's ideas were far from being such as every one could conceive, but they were such as every one could understand.

Racine was a scholar of the Port Royal; he had read much Greek; the forms of Greek drama were sympathetic to him, and his sense of beauty took delight in them; but his spirit was not that of Æschylus or Euripides: he had essentially the mind of a Frenchman of the seventeenth century, and we do not fail to feel a tinge of Court etiquette mixing with the classical treatment of his subjects. He deals with death, passion, affliction, hell itself, with the accuracy of one who draws up a State paper. Passion in real life is not so exact in its phraseology; but Racine did not intend to show every-day life upon the stage. His aim was an ideal phase of humanity thrown back into remote times, and regulated by the limits of time, space, and action, prescribed by Aristotle. With this view his plays are constructed with singular skill, so that the concentrated action does not seem forced; the situations give room for dramatic emotion; and the characters are moved by human passion, although its expression is often too elaborate. Racine dealt subtly with the hearts of women, and loved to expatiate on their trials and agonies. In Phèdre, in her guilty love, her remorse, and her terror of that which she knows to be within her, the poet has, perhaps, shown his greatest power; and the silent endurance of Hippolyte has a repose in it which is not unmixed with awe, and which gives full value to the tempestuous agitations of his step-mother.

The fault of most of Racine's dramas is the great length to which many of the speeches run, especially those of confidants and advisers—the most painful elements of French classical drama. They talk, and narrate, and explain, and lay down the

law, till every human faculty seems exhausted in attending to them. It is an addition to the woes of the prime tragic sufferer, that she is constrained to tell them all to the tiresome lady for ever at her side. This lady is as constant in her attendance as the shadow which follows the heroes of Japanese plays in every movement, ready to place a chair, a footstool, or a torch, at their disposal. The confidante was probably devised in order to get rid of soliloquies, but what a relief a soliloquy from the mistress would be, if the attendant would but go away. Her other province is to sympathise, and wonder, and interpret to the audience, so as to replace in some sort the functions of the Greek chorus; and her not least important office is to tell the details of a murder or a death which it would be unmannerly to exhibit to the public. The heroine and her bosom friend, and the hero and his bosom friend, alternately occupy the classic scene, varied occasionally by the meeting, but always at a respectful distance, of the lovers in the tragedy; and the emptiness of the stage in this protracted seesaw strikes us as somewhat dull; the absence of such stir and occasional filling of the scene, as are needed to give it life, was due, in the first instance, to a close adherence to the rule of the Greeks, prohibiting the simultaneous appearance of more than three characters, but the rule was carried out with the more strictness on account of the small space allowed to the actors at the time when these plays were produced, the largest portion of the stage being then given up to aristocratic spectators, who, on occasions, knew how to be exceedingly troublesome.

Racine, like his Sovereign, took a turn of bigotry and superstition in the later portion of his life, and retired to the Port Royal to repent his dramatic glories. He emerged, however, at the bidding of the crafty woman who managed the King; and at Madame de Maintenon's particular request he wrote 'Esther' and 'Athalie,' for the representation of the demoiselles de St. Cyr. 'Athalie' is, by a considerable number of French critics, supposed to be his finest composition. It was coldly received by the public when it was first brought out, but Boileau declared that it was a great work, and that posterity would acknowledge its beauty. Time has proved the value of this single judgment; and if the poet died without the consolation of the true verdict, his example survives as an encouragement to writers whose finest productions remain unappreciated during the lifetime of their author. Racine's habit of writing his plays in prose before he dressed them out in their stately

Alexandrines, may account for a tendency to the prosaic which we find in the midst of his grand diction and well-measured cadences. His harmonious adornments have more the careful character of an architectural superstructure than that of an abundant natural growth; and he seems to us rather a beautiful composer than an inspired poet. His comedy of 'Les Plaideurs,' which obtained for him a pension from Louis XIV., is a satire which had a special significance in its own time, partly lost to the ordinary spectator of the present day; but its broad caricature deals with human foibles belonging to all forms of social life, and its ludicrous combinations of character and situation will never want audiences to laugh at them. Racine's plays did not exceed twelve in number. He was 59 when he died in retirement at the Port Royal.

He was encouraged at the close of his career by the finest critic of the time—Boileau; and in its dawn, by one of the greatest original writers that any country or any age has produced; for it was Molière who suggested to Racine the plot of his first tragedy, the 'Thébaïde,' and who, when the poet's early pieces fell flat, exhorted him to work on, seeing the promise there was even in the young author's failures.

Molière, whose real name, as everybody knows, was Poquelin, and whose father was 'valet tapissier' to Louis XIII., used frequently to go to the play in his boyhood with his grandfather, and his intellect took its first impulse from the performances he saw at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. They inspired him with new desires, and he asked for a literary education. He was sent to the Collège de Clermont, then under the direction of the Jesuits. Soon after he left it he went upon the stage under the assumed name of Molière, and acted for some years in the Provinces before making his *début* in Paris. His own first attempts were mere farces, of which only two examples survive—'Le Barbouillé' and 'Le Médecin Volant'; it was Corneille's play of 'Le Menteur,' which suggested the comedy of 'L'Étourdi,' and caused Molière to turn from the indulgence of his satirical vein in burlesque to the composition of regular comedy, and to abandon extravagant caricature for a true delineation of character. Corneille's 'Menteur' appeared in 1652; Molière's 'L'Étourdi' in 1653; then followed the 'Précieuses Ridicules,' and after that 'Sganarelle.' It was not till 1658 that Molière brought his provincial troupe to Paris, and played before the King and Monsieur at the Louvre a little farce of his own writing, called 'Le Docteur Amoureux,' which has unhappily

been lost, but which was received by the Court with great applause. Molière, afraid of the rivalry of the two other established theatres at Paris, the Marais and the Bourgogne, made upon this occasion many modest apologies for his audacity in venturing upon any dramatic exhibition while two such great companies existed, and were in the habit of acting before the Court. There were not wanting academical pedants and rival authors willing to take modesty at its word. But royal favour granted to the great satirist the permission to play in the Hôtel du Petit Bourbon, where an Italian company was already established, with whom he formed an arrangement by which his company performed three nights in the week and the Italians the other four. The Hôtel du Petit Bourbon had belonged to the Constable de Bourbon, and was confiscated to the Crown after his betrayal of Francis I.: it faced the Louvre, with which its *salle*, used as a theatre, was connected by a series of long galleries. From this abode Molière and his troupe, with the Italian company, were expelled in the year 1660, on the pretext of additions to be made to the Louvre; but jealousy and intrigue were probably active in this dislodgment, which left the players without room for the exercise of their art during a period of three months; after which, upon the appeal of Monsieur, nominally their patron, the King granted to the players the use of the Salle du Palais Royal. Here Molière remained, sharing his advantages still with the Italian company. He was now in the King's own special domain, and his genius had nothing to fear but the attacks of malignant authors and narrow-minded pedants and Churchmen. Of these he had an ample share.

Molière was a fertile writer: twenty-eight of his pieces are known to us, and some few others have been lost. Yet he rarely sank below himself; his characters are strongly marked and full of life; his dialogue is racy; vigorous rather than fine in satire, it hits hard, and explains itself to an ordinary understanding, though an extraordinary one may find a great deal of meaning below the surface. All vices and all follies feel the force of Molière's lash: his clear eye finds them out whatever disguise they assume, and his honest courage assails them whether they move in stiff brocade through kingly corridors or take sanctuary in the bosom of the Church. He has wide human sympathies, too, beyond the province of ridicule; and the scenes between his young lovers are often full of tender simplicity and chivalrous feeling, passing occasionally into the region of poetry. In the creations of a really

great author there is not one work which can be named peremptorily as greatest; we can only say that among Molière's finest productions '*Le Misanthrope*,' '*L'Ecole des Femmes*,' and '*Tartuffe*,' occupy a conspicuous place. Of these masterpieces '*Tartuffe*' is the most universally known: the name of the principal character is used throughout Europe as a type of the priestly hypocrite. Many portions of the dialogue are familiarly quoted in England as well as in France, and translations and imitations have abounded in all countries. The extraneous priest who talks religion while he schemes seduction, who forbids innocent pleasures to others and enjoys guilty ones himself, who cants and riots, is a possible character in every condition of society, and is hateful wherever he appears; for the two offences which mankind most resents are to be bullied out of enjoyment, and to be cheated. Every translation and every imitation of '*Tartuffe*' are weak compared with the original. The satire is conducted by Molière with consummate skill, the deceiver and his dupes are exhibited with equal force, the plot of the comedy is conducted with the utmost ingenuity, and if humanity were capable of profiting by truth strongly spoken, '*Tartuffe*' would have silenced hypocrisy for ever. Such a possibility was evident to the Gallican Church, from which Molière took his typical figure, and consequently the ecclesiastics were inflamed against the dramatist. After the first representation of '*Tartuffe*,' which excited immense enthusiasm among the spectators, an appeal was made by the Church to the King to forbid the future performance of so impious a comedy. The prohibition was granted; but Molière presented a counter petition, and the order was withdrawn, for Louis himself relished the play and appreciated the writer. Molière, however, thought it prudent to wait, and he produced '*L'Avare*,' '*Les Facheux*,' and '*Amphitryon*,' before he ventured on the reproduction of '*Tartuffe*.' He brought it out again during the King's absence in Flanders. The theatre overflowed with eager spectators, but in the middle of the performance a prohibition arrived from the heads of the temporary government. The lights were extinguished, the money was returned, and the performers retired; but Molière instantly dispatched messengers to Louis to inform him of these proceedings, and the King replied to this message by an order to let the piece be played. Its popularity was finally none the less for these interruptions, but the hatred of the bigots grew apace, and extended from Molière to the whole profession of which he

was a member. Upon the death of the satirist, so powerful in life, the Archbishop of Paris, De Harlay, refused him the decencies of sepulture, but the King remonstrated, and he was buried with 'maimed rites' by two priests without chanting; this omission being a marked affront. A large assemblage of friends met at the grave of the man whom they held in honour, and atoned by their enthusiasm for the meagreness of the ceremony.

The proceedings of the Archbishop, which were checked by the direct interposition of Royal authority, however unjustifiable, were not illegal. They were founded upon an old decree of excommunication passed at the Council of Arles in the year 314 against all persons exercising the theatrical profession. This decree excluded players [from the privileges of holy sacrament and of Christian burial: therefore a French priest might, if he chose to assert his power to the utmost, deny the rites of marriage to comedians; and in two or three instances it appears that this was actually done. It must also be understood that when Louis XIV. set aside the enforcement of the law he did not attempt to abolish its existence. It was easy and pleasant to him to forbid the execution of the penalty in a particular instance, but it would have been onerous to call a fresh ecclesiastical council which alone could annul the act of excommunication, and which might after all only have renewed the condemnations of the early Church. This rigorous decree was not actually rescinded till the year 1849, when the Provincial Council held at Rheims suppressed by a special Act the censure passed by the Gallican Church upon the theatrical profession, this decision being formally ratified at Rome in the following year, 1850. It is an instructive fact in the history of humanity that the Archbishop who refused a Christian burial to Molière died, at the age of 70, in the arms of a favourite mistress. Many popular songs and some famous couplets were directed against him, which were not more remarkable for restraint than the subject of them.

Although it was after Molière's death that the amalgamation of the three companies took place which was the actual foundation of the *Comédie Française*, we must regard Corneille and Molière as the great fathers of the French stage; from their productions the finest inspirations of Tragedy and Comedy were derived which have made the fame of the *Théâtre Français* great and lasting.

The most distinguished performers in the early days of French drama were Floridor,

Baron, and Madame Champmeslé. Floridor, whose real name was Josias de Soulas, and who was a gentleman of good family, left the regiment of the *Gardes Françaises* to go upon the stage. He was handsome and graceful, with a singular charm of voice, and he was generally selected to be the orator to his company; that is, the actor whose function it was to speak an address before the performance of the piece, invoking the indulgence of the spectators; he was never heard without applause. He played both at the *Marais* and the *Bourgoigne* with equal success in tragedy and comedy, and he was a personal favourite of Louis XIV. During an investigation which took place in his time touching the legality of certain titles assumed by gentlemen who had no sufficient warrant for holding them, Floridor's right to bear the title of *Écuyer* was questioned. The comedian, not having his title deeds in his possession, was obliged to ask for time to recover them. The space of a year was granted to him for this purpose: he proved his claim, was reinstated in his rights, and then continued his admirable performances—a convincing proof that the profession of the stage did not interfere with the civil rights of the comedians. He played leading characters in Corneille's and Racine's tragedies and in several comedies. He fell ill in the year 1672, and the *Curé de St. Eustache* seized the opportunity to persuade him to renounce the profession in which he had won his renown, and which he had honoured not less by his moral qualities than his intellectual gifts. He recovered from his illness, was faithful to his promise, and did not return to the stage. He died about three years afterwards.

Madame Champmeslé's name is familiar to all readers of French literature. She was discussed by Madame de Sévigné in prose, and extolled by Boileau in verse. Racine taught her elocution, and she excelled chiefly in his tragedies. She had considerable power and pathos, but her art was often artificial, and her style of sounding her author's verse was too regular in its cadence for the true utterance of passion. Penetrated by the genius of Racine, she enhanced his faults at the same time that she exhibited his beauties. She was a member of the first united company of the *Comédie Française*, which values the traditions of the past, and does not allow the merits of a great artist to be forgotten.

The name of François Baron is little known in England, yet few actors have deserved a wider reputation. He was the son of a meritorious tragic actor, but at an early

age it was evident that he was to eclipse the parental fame; and when Molière saw him play in the juvenile troupe, known as 'La Troupe du Dauphin,' he was so much struck with his capacity that he at once requested him to become his pupil, intending to bring him out as the leading actor of his company. Baron profited by the lessons but deserted the master. He left Molière to join a provincial company, and finally made a successful appearance before the King and the Court at the Palais Royal in 1671. His first triumph was in Molière's 'Amour et Psyché.' His youth, his beauty, and his tender tones fitted him for the part of L'Amour, and made Psyché's sentiments quite intelligible to the feminine portion of his audience. He played during twenty years with equal power in Tragedy and Comedy, in Corneille and Molière, and Louis XIV. bestowed upon him every possible mark of esteem. He was the favourite of the day, but just as he reached the summit of his popularity he solicited the Royal permission to retire. Louis XIV. formally granted him his freedom at Fontainebleau, where the great actor appeared before him on the 22nd of October, 1691. He was at the time of his retreat the chief delight of the Comédie Française; he received the pension of 1000 livres due to him as a retiring member of the company, and the King's bounty added a second pension of 3000 livres—about 160*l.* according to the present value of French money. Baron was a proud man, and the obloquy attached to his profession was irritating to his sense of personal dignity. He persevered in his resolution during a period of thirty years, and then, as if it were his function to startle the public, he re-appeared upon the stage in Corneille's 'Cinna' on the 16th of March, 1720. This Rip Van Winkle of the drama came back to find most of his former comrades departed, but there still remained his Sovereign, and many of his friends at Court, to rejoice in the return of the tragedian who had first sounded the depth of unknown sympathies within them, and taught them the existence of untried passion. The theatre was crowded to excess, and the longing of many hearts fulfilled. Baron had not lost his power; he had doubled it. His figure was imposing; his voice was completely under his command. He had meditated on his art, and he came back to improve it. The artificial declamation, which was in vogue when he left the stage, had, during his absence, passed all reasonable limits: it had become absurd by exaggeration, and Baron resolved to put an end to its existence. He became the founder of a school of which the princi-

ples are at this time held to be the most excellent in dramatic art. He obliged academical rules to give way to Nature, and said, 'Les règles défendent d'élever les bras au-dessus de la tête, mais si la passion les y porte ils feront bien. La passion en sait plus que les règles.' A courageous innovator, he not only flung his arms fearlessly above his head when passion urged him, but he broke through the cadences of Racine when the pause of emotion did not fall in naturally with the cæsura of the line. 'Il rompait la mesure des vers de telle sorte que l'on ne sentait point l'insupportable monotonie du vers Alexandrin,' says Collé in his description of him. This extraordinary tragedian left the stage for the second and last time on the 3rd of September, 1729. He was playing the part of Venceslas, and as he uttered the line—

'Si proche du cercueil où je me vois descendre,'

he suddenly swooned, and was carried off the scene by his comrades. He did not long survive this accident, but he found time before his death to make a solemn renunciation of his profession, which he did, no doubt, in order to conciliate the Church and to obtain a respectable burial; accordingly he was interred with all proper funeral ceremonies. His portrait hangs in the 'Foyer des Artistes,' not far from that of Le Kain.

The most remarkable of the artists who occupied the stage when Baron returned to it was Adrienne Lecouvreur, whose natural endowments were considerable, and whose intellect was of a high order. A true sensibility showed itself in all her representations, but it was checked by the pedantic conventionalities which belonged to that epoch of art. Baron, touched by her talent, redeemed it from this bondage. Adrienne, under his dominion, changed her style, and renounced the excessive restraint which interfered with the flow of poetry and passion. Among her most distinguished admirers was Voltaire; and in his tragedies, as in Racine's, her tender pathos and her dignity were equally felt. She was the chief ornament of the Comédie Française; and when she died, after three days' illness, at the age of forty, on the 20th of March, 1730, there was lamentation throughout Paris, for she was the favourite of society no less than the delight of the stage. The sudden extinction of a bright light always raises wonder and conjecture; and it was whispered in aristocratic circles that Adrienne was poisoned by a certain Countess who disputed with her the exclusive devo-

tion of the Comte de Saxe, and who made use of a little Abbé, the slave of her caprices, to destroy her rival. The Abbé was commissioned to convey to the actress a box of choice 'confitures,' containing some subtle poison. The tragedy of 'Adrienne Lecouvreur,' written by Messrs. Scribe and Legouvé, and made famous by Mlle. Rachel's impersonation of the principal character, is founded on this story, which had some vogue in its day, but which appears to have had no surer foundation than that of general rumour concerning itself with a surprising and painful event. The illness preceding death was so short that Mlle. Lecouvreur had no time to make those arrangements with the Church which were necessary to absolve her from the taint of her excommunicated profession; and thus it happened that Christian interment was denied to her, and that she was buried darkly at dead of night at the corner of the Rue de Bourgogne by two porters. A few months later, in London, died the great tragic actress, Mrs. Oldfield, and she was interred with stately ceremonies in Westminster Abbey.

This insult to the memory of a cherished artist was galling to the heart of the Parisians; it roused Voltaire, who commented strongly upon the proceeding both in prose and verse, and it, no doubt, contributed, with many other ill-advised acts, to that feeling of animosity against the clergy which broke through all restraint in the Revolution of 1789. The persecutions with which the priests pursued the players were very trying. Louis XIV., during the last half of his reign, rarely appeared at theatrical representations, and did little for the players. The 'droit des pauvres,' which began, as before-mentioned, as a substitute for payment to the 'Confrères de la Passion' for the lease of their habitation, was continued after those conditions had passed away, and was augmented in various ways. The comedians were called upon to subscribe for the debts incurred in the building of St. Sulpice, and by an order issued on the 25th of August, 1695, they were compelled to make an annual donation of 250 livres to the Cardinal de Furstemberg and his successors. This Cardinal enjoyed an income of 700,000 livres; but a lady of expensive habits, who shared his worldly and spiritual advantages, the Countess de la Marck, reduced his revenues to such small proportions that he was glad to lay his hands on money wherever he could grasp it, and he was not ashamed to seize on the gains of the artists whom he denounced. In the last year of his reign, Louis XIV.

was prevailed upon to raise the tax from a ninth to a sixth upon the nightly receipts. The players, too, were driven from post to pillar. The Comédie Française had notice to quit the Hôtel Guénégaud, on the pretext that it was too near the Collège des Quatre Nations, which objected to so sinful a proximity. A year elapsed before it found footing again, under the Royal protection, in a *salle* built expressly for the purpose in the Rue des Fossés, St. Germain des Près, where its inauguration took place on the 16th of April, 1689, with the performances of 'Phèdre' and 'Le Médecin malgré Lui.' The receipts for that night were 1870 livres (francs). The theatre held only 1500 persons, and, under the heavy taxation imposed, it was found necessary to raise the prices: 12 sous additional were levied on the best boxes, 6 on the second, 3 on the pit: the actual prices with this augmentation being—the best boxes, 3 livres 12 sous; upper boxes, 2 livres 16 sous; pit, 18 sous. The pit had only standing room in those days, but it was looked to by both authors and actors as the most important portion of the audience. There was no paid *claque* then—that system of hired applause did not come into fashion till the time of Louis XVIII., when it was introduced as a cunning device to ensure the success of a piece in which the King was interested, but which was likely to fail, unless supported by some such artificial aid: before this date the pit was principally composed of true lovers of the drama, of honest, and sometimes severe, critics. Molière, through the mouth of his Dorante, has thus described it:—'*Je me fiera à l'approbation du parterre par la raison, qu'entre ceux qui le composent, il y en a plusieurs qui sont capables de juger d'une pièce selon les règles et que les autres en jugent par la bonne façon d'en juger, qui est de se laisser prendre aux choses et de n'avoir ni prévention aveugle, ni complaisance affectée, ni délicatesse ridicule.*' The 'délicatesse ridicule' of some ladies of the court, indulgent to polite vice, but shocked at a strong expression, had been a source of irritation to the author, and the opinion of the aristocratic circle had the more sway because there was not at that time an established censorship to decide upon the difficult question of what is or is not proper for stage representation. It was not till the year 1702 that a dramatic censorship in France was officially founded, upon the remonstrance of the Duchess of Orleans against the improprieties of a piece called 'Le Bal d'Auteuil.' In compliance with her request Louis XIV. ordered that no play should henceforth be performed with-

out being first submitted to the inspection of a censor duly appointed to that office. It was then with a view to the interests of morality that the official examination of plays was instituted in the reign of Louis XIV. The censorship was not, as some English writers have supposed, an office created under the despotism of the first Napoleon, to serve merely for political purposes; though it is true that Buonaparte did work it hard for his own ends, and that those ends had no concern with the decencies of society. The Bourbon Restoration followed his example in this as in many other respects; and the use or abuse of the dramatic censorship at present in Paris is evidently dictated by political rather than moral considerations.

The accession of Louis XV. to the throne brought with it relief to the Comédie. The Duc de Richelieu took its interests in hand, and in 1758 its considerable debt was paid off, and its subsidy was doubled. The period of eighty years, during which the 'Comédiens du Roi' played at the Rue des Fossés, was one of the most brilliant in the records of the Théâtre Français. Their dramatic repertory was enriched during that epoch by 576 new pieces, of which a few of the most distinguished authors only can here be named:—La Fontaine, Regnard, Le Sage, Crébillon, Voltaire, Marivaux, Marmonet, Diderot, Collé, Sedaine, Beaumarchais, Denon, Ducis. Among these names, the best known to English readers are Voltaire and Beaumarchais.

Voltaire, as a writer of tragedy, has neither the vigorous grandeur of Corneille, nor the dignified pathos and fine construction of Racine; but his dramatic situations are skilful, his movement is animated, his passion often finds a fiery expression, and his intellect is always apparent, indeed too much so, for the intellectual in tragic poetry should not surpass the emotional power. Voltaire was rather a man of transcendent mental power, determined to write poetry, than a poet as Corneille was by that inscrutable process which we call intuition. He was singularly fortunate in his actors, for the era which developed so many great dramatists was equally abundant in first-rate performers, amongst whom Baron, Prévile, Le Kain, Molé, Adrienne Lecouvreur, and Mlle. Dumesnil and Clairon, were pre-eminent.

Le Kain was born in the year of Baron's death—1729. He was the son of a goldsmith, and at an early age showed singular dispositions for the stage, which he gratified by joining a company of amateur actors got up among the Parisian bourgeoisie, who,

relieved from the pressures and anxieties of war by the Peace of 1748, returned with alacrity to their favourite pastimes. The actors were as feeble as amateur actors usually are, and Le Kain's genius with these surroundings was startling. The fame of it reached Voltaire, who sent for the young tragedian, and on hearing him recite, embraced him with enthusiasm, and thanked God for having created a being who could rouse such emotion. Yet he warned him against the theatrical profession. 'Jouez la comédie,' he said, 'pour votre plaisir, mais n'en faites jamais votre état. C'est le plus beau, le plus rare, et le plus difficile des talents; mais il est avili par des barbares, et pros crit par des hypocrites.' With the hope of restricting Le Kain to amateur performances, Voltaire made him his own guest for six months, and built for him a little theatre, where he acted with a select society of the poet's friends. But this kind of entertainment proved expensive, and Le Kain's instincts urged him to seek a wider sphere. He made his *début* at the Théâtre Français the 14th of September, 1750, as Titus, in the tragedy of 'Brutus.' His appearance was the signal for dissension between the aristocracy of the boxes and the literature of the pit. Le Kain was an ill-made, ugly man, with a harsh voice. His immediate predecessors, Baron and Dufresne, were remarkable for their noble presence and their harmonious tones. He appeared, then, before the public under disadvantage; yet the better judgments among his audience saw in his brilliant eyes the fire of genius, and found in his tragic scenes a depth of passion which concentrated in itself all the sorrows of humanity, all the force of man at war with fate. He was a disciple of the school of Baron—paused when he pleased, and used such gestures as his passion dictated. For a long time he acted against eager opposition on one side, and impetuous applause on the other. He was the object of much rancour and jealous fear among those who had already possession of the stage, and for sixteen months he was admitted only as a *pensionnaire* by the Société. Tired of this position, he obtained leave to play the part of Orosmane, in 'Zaire,' before the King. In this performance he surpassed all his former efforts. As the tragedy proceeded, the actor seemed transfigured; eyes wet with tears no longer saw the ill-shaped features. His soul was in his face; women who had begun by spying him curiously, and whispering 'qu'il est laid!' now, sobbing, said, 'qu'il est beau!' At the conclusion, Louis XV. was requested to

give his verdict. 'Il m'a fait pleurer,' said the King, 'moi, qui ne pleure guère; je le reçois.' In this singular manner Le Kain was elected a Sociétaire of the Comédie Française. The position which he had won with difficulty, he was resolved to hold with dignity. He set about correcting the faults which his opponents complained of, and spent long hours upon exercising the tones of his voice, till he forced an unknown sweetness out of them; and those who had before closed their ears against him, listened with mute wonder. He then turned his attention to the improvement of the theatre, and determined to get rid of the benches on the stage, where the most indifferent and insolent spectators were wont to be seated. Baron had looked them down: Le Kain intended to turn them out. Their presence was inconvenient to the action of the piece; the actors were impeded by them, and so were the authors, who had to contrive situations which could be independent of the narrow space allowed. There were many difficulties in the way of this reform. First, there was the old custom; next, there was the expense the change would involve by entailing a necessity for alterations in the scenery. Mlle. Clairon, however, the great actress who shared the honours of tragedy with Le Kain at the Française, supported his views with her remarkable intellect; and at last, in 1759, the benches of the stage were removed for ever. The charges of this alteration were defrayed by the Comte de Lauraguais, and, naturally, the reform did not stop there. Le Kain and Clairon used their united influence to improve all the scenery and decorations of the theatre, and to introduce changes of costume for changes of character.\* The company was now persuaded to proceed so far with decoration and costume that the expenses of the house were doubled, but before long the receipts were trebled. Le Kain finally gained the appreciation of all Paris; and when after a short illness his death was announced in the Théâtre Français, in reply to a demand from the audience to know how he was going on, the words 'il est mort' were repeated by the whole house with a burst of anguish. His loss was felt to be irreparable.

\* Voltaire, upon the production of 'Zaïre,' had made some attempt in this direction, but it did not go far, and the records of the Comédie Française contain the following notes of expenditure for the first night of the tragedy, 13th August, 1732:—

5 habits à la turque loués 6 livres, chaque	30 livres.
Une demi aune de satin pour les bottines	2 " 10 sous.
de M. Dufrene (he played Orosmane).	
Et pour le galon . . . . .	1 " "

This great tragedian, who did much good to his art, did also some harm; for it was he who first made long excursions from his theatre, and starred it either at Ferney and in its neighbourhood, or in some of the great towns of France. He made one visit to Prussia to act before Frederick II.; but that was only effected by diplomatic negotiation. Frederick, through his ambassador, begged this favour of the French sovereign. An expressive portrait of Le Kain is one of the many treasures of the Théâtre Français. He died in the year 1778.

The mental power of his co-operator, Mlle. Clairon, was very singular. She was the child of an ignorant and depraved mother. Who her father was she never knew. Her young days were much like those of a donkey on Hampstead Heath: she was driven and beaten. Her mother's desire was to make her a sempstress; but she had no taste for sewing; her tired head used to droop, and the work fell out of her small unwilling hands. It was said that she ought to like it, and she was flogged to make her like it. Some neighbours interfered; they suggested that perhaps the little girl would do better if she were less beaten. Solitary confinement was then resorted to, and the child was shut up in a large dark garret, lighted only by small windows, to meditate on needlework and to resolve against it. This wretched room, where she was left for long hours to fast and weep, was the origin of her subsequent greatness. One day, tired of darkness, she mounted on a high chair and ventured to look out at window. The streets of Paris were very narrow then, and you could see into a room across the way as into a box at a theatre. The long windows of the opposite house were open, and the little Clairon, then eleven years old, saw a scene which riveted her attention, and made her forget her misery. There, a vision of beauty delighted her eyes, which had hitherto seen nothing but ugliness. A pretty child, about her own age, was practising dancing. The master stood by her side with a violin, and encouraged her with kindly smiles. The mother looked on with approbation in her face, and the girl's movements were full of grace. This lesson lasted an hour, during which time Clairon remained perched on her chair, breathless, gazing with ecstasy—as audiences remained in after years with eyes, ears, and minds, enraptured by her. At the close of this delicious hour the violin ceased, the master bowed, the mother clasped the child in her arms and repeatedly kissed her. Clairon dropped from her chair and wept; she had never known

a tender mother's kiss. This vision of beauty and of human love wrung her heart, and yet she longed to see it again. She was now glad of the daily punishment she was sure to have. She was no longer alone; she was gaining inspirations as from another world. And when the lesson finished, the little watcher followed it up by efforts of her own. She strove to imitate the actions she saw; she taught her small simple limbs to copy the attitudes she admired. She acquired an erect position, and seemed to add an inch to her stature. Her mother cuffed her, and thought she wanted more punishing; but the neighbours made other remarks. 'Why, your little girl,' said they, 'grows pretty, where has she got this new dignity and grace?' One among them at last won her confidence; she told him her precious secret. 'Ah,' said he, 'I know who that little girl is—Mlle. Dangeville, a pupil of the Théâtre Français. He then told her what the Théâtre Français was, and finally obtained leave to take her to the play. There she saw the tragedy of 'Comte d'Essex,' and Regnard's comedy of 'Les Folies Amoureuses.' During the play, and on her return home to supper, she was as one in a dream, seeing, hearing nothing around her, till at last the words 'allez vous coucher, grosse bête,' from her mother, sent her to bed. There she went over in her mind all that she had heard, and the next morning she astonished the neighbour, who had given her this treat by repeating correctly a hundred verses of the tragedy and two-thirds of the comedy, with imitations of Grandval, Crispin, and Poisson, who had played in the respective pieces. This decided her fate.

After much opposition, many threats and hard blows from her mother, Clairon was introduced to Déhesse, an actor of some merit, who heard her recite, and brought her out at the age of thirteen at the Théâtre Italien, in 1736, in a comedy of Marivaux. Her talent was remarkable, but she was too young and too small. However, she obtained a provincial engagement, in which she had to play juvenile characters and to sing in comic operas, and dance in ballets. She appeared finally at the Français, in the year 1743, in the character of Phèdre, though with an engagement which obliged her to sing, dance, and play soubrettes, whenever called upon to do so. Clairon's resolute character showed itself in the character she chose for her first appearance—the most difficult of any in French tragedy, and one in which Mlle. Dumesnil, then the first actress of the Français, was so admirable, that anything but a total eclipse

seemed impossible for a young intruder. Clairon, however, showed talent, no less than determination, and though she was not at once accepted in high tragedy, she had taken the first step announcing a rivalry, which she well sustained afterwards. It was not long before opinions were divided upon the merits of the two great actresses. Clairon soon spurned at her feet the soubrettes and songstresses of her first engagement. She became a noble, classical actress. Her majestic deportment persuaded her audience that she was tall, though her stature scarce exceeded five feet, and her inward power forced her delicate features to look commanding. The portrait of her at the Théâtre Français, over the staircase, which leads to the *foyer*, gives some idea of the beauty of her blue eyes. Her voice was ringing and powerful, and she studied all its modulations. She was an incessant intellectual worker; a true artist. In her early performances her style was declamatory, but at a later period she adopted a more natural elocution, without forfeiting any of her dignity. A high sense of poetry exalted her efforts, and in oratorical passages or in scenes of sublime and scornful passion she was unequalled. Her sense of the capabilities of dramatic art led her to enter with ardour into Le Kain's projects of stage reform, and to attempt some others independently. It appeared to her a great injustice that the professors of an art, which interpreted the greatest poets of France to multitudes who otherwise would know nothing of them, which suggested fine thoughts to many, who otherwise might never pause to think, should suffer under the anathema of the Church and forfeit the rights of all other Christian men and women. Clairon's eloquence persuaded a certain lawyer, Huerne de la Motte, to take up the cause for her; and he wrote a book exposing the persecutions of the Church, its injustice to the players, and its ridiculous terror of 'Tartuffe.' This book was burnt by the public executioner in the Court of the Palais Royal, in obedience to a decree of Parliament issued on the 22nd April, 1766, and the author of the work was disbarred. Clairon's resentment against the disgrace attached to her profession grew with her greatness. The personal adulation which surrounded her seemed an affront, while the art whereby she had won it was held in contempt. An insult from Royalty finally decided her retreat from the stage. A third-rate comedian, named Dubois, was guilty of perjury in order to evade a debt, and his creditor, in pleading against him, urged that his oath was invalid because he

belonged to a profession which was infamous in the eye of the law. The Société de la Comédie indignantly paid the debt, and demanded the expulsion of the criminal from their company. It unluckily happened that the offender had a pretty daughter, who tried the effect of her beauty and her charm upon the Duc de Richelieu in supplicating for the pardon of her father. She obtained an order from the Duke commanding the comedians to play with Dubois. She presented this order to her comrades at the rehearsal of the 'Siege of Calais,' a popular piece which was to be performed that night. They had brought a favourite actor named Bellecour upon the scene to replace Dubois. Le Kain, Clairon, Brizard, Molé, who all had important parts in the play, declined to obey the order, refused to act with Dubois, and left the house. When the hour for performance came, the players were not to be found. The theatre was crowded, but the clamour of the spectators could not compel the presence of the absent. A few frightened comedians offered another piece instead, and were dismissed with violence. 'Les comédiens sont des insolens,' 'Au cachot les insolens,' 'A l'Hôpital la Clairon!' vociferated the spectators; and a young colonel of infantry exclaimed in his fury, 'Ah! que n'ai-je mon régiment ici!' The four principal performers who had declined to obey the Duc de Richelieu's order were, on the following day, taken to prison. Clairon passed five days in the prison of Fort Evêque, but received permission to spend the rest of the term of detention, one month, at her own house. She was the mark of much sympathy, and Madame de Savigny, whose husband held an official position in Paris, accompanied her to prison. Voltaire addressed to her a complimentary letter. When the imprisoned comedians at the end of the month reappeared upon the scene they were received with the utmost enthusiasm; but Le Kain, in disgust, threatened to retire, and Clairon sent in her resignation, and adhered to it; she disappeared in the zenith of her fame. The close of her career was as singular as its opening. The Margrave of Anspach, having in her prosperity been a devoted admirer of this great actress, sought her out in her retirement, and invited her to reside permanently at his court. She was now fifty years old, and he was thirteen years her junior; so that the influential position which she occupied during seventeen years at Anspach might excite envy, but could hardly suggest scandal. She returned to Paris in the year 1790, and died there in 1803, having lived to see strange and terrible events.

The great Revolution, which upturned almost every existing institution, did not leave the Comédie Française unscathed. After its removal from the Tuileries to the playhouse now known as L'Odéon, then in 1782 inaugurated as the Théâtre Français, the 'Société' enjoyed a period of great prosperity, extending to the year 1789. In 1784 it produced Beaumarchais' brilliant comedy of 'Le Mariage de Figaro.' The receipts of the house on the first night of representation were 5698 liv. 19 sous, a sum not much inferior to the highest on record in our own time at the Théâtre Français. The attraction of the play increased as it went on. It is sometimes cited as a leading cause of democratic agitation in Paris, but it should be regarded as a consequence, not a cause. The wit of the satirist played with wrongs the depth of which he did not penetrate, and the great wound throbbled before he touched it.\* His comedy could only affect an audience well prepared to give to it a special interpretation. The time was out of joint, and the players themselves were to share in the general convulsion. Upon the performance of Chénier's play of 'Charles IX.' in 1789, vehement discussions arose among the performers concerning the great political questions of the day. The representation of the drama had been attended with tumultuous demonstrations from the contending Conservative and Republican parties, the excited artists carried on the storm behind the curtain, and the company finally split up into two distinct sections. The Republican party, headed by the young tragedian Talma, established itself at the Ancienne Salle des Variétés in the Rue de la Loi, before and now again called Rue de Richelieu; they baptized their theatre 'Théâtre de la République.' This is the actual Théâtre Français. The Royalist section remained in their old quarters, under the title of 'Théâtre de la Nation:' to them belongs the honour of the first introduction of oil lamps in lieu of wax caudles, and of the first issue of playbills containing the names of the players. Hitherto the programme had only given the titles of the pieces, an arrangement more convenient to the players than to the public, for it not unfrequently happened that when a favourite artist was expected an inferior one appeared, and no positive promise having been made, the disappointed spectators had no breach of contract to complain of; but so many quarrels arose on this account between the comedians and their audiences that honest

\* See the article on 'Beaumarchais' in 'Quarterly Review,' vol. cxxxv.

announcements became at last an evident necessity. When Talma took his departure from the Théâtre de la Nation he left behind him a woman whom he loved, Madame Petit, a charming young widow, *née* Vanhove, was the chief actress of the Royalist company. She was distinguished by her personal beauty and winning pathos. These lovers went through many vicissitudes before their affection came to its natural conclusion—marriage. In September 1793, the Théâtre de la Nation was suddenly closed by order of the 'Comité de Salut Public;' the actresses of the company were captured in their own houses in the night and conducted as prisoners to Sainte Pélagie, and the actors to the Madelonnettes. Collot d'Herbois' proposition was this, that 'la tête de la comédie fut guillotinée et le reste déporté;' the crime attributed to the players being the representation of some pieces of loyal tendency and a scornful emphasis upon the words *citoyen* and *citoyenne*, substituted according to order for Monsieur and Madame whenever these titles occurred in the dialogue. The players were, however, gradually released, Madame Petit obtaining her freedom on the condition that she would appear at the Théâtre de la République. Here it was that Robespierre fell in love with her; and ascribing her evident distaste to himself to her partiality for Talma, he put down Talma's name on his list of 'condamnés.' A tailor who worked both for the actor and the despot warned Talma of his danger, and Madame Petit thought it best to leave Paris. By her departure Robespierre's immediate cause of irritation was removed, and the tragedian gained time. Her enforced retreat was not of long duration. In July 1794 the downfall of Robespierre enabled her to return to the capital, and not long afterwards she was married to Talma, who had, under the new system of easy marriages and loose ties, very comfortably divorced his first wife, a remarkably troublesome woman. The Republican tragedian became eventually the pet actor of Napoleon. The Emperor had a dramatic taste and a personal predilection for Mlle. Georges, which, however, did not make him unjust to the extraordinary grace and charms of Mlle. Mars. But war is damaging to art, and the conquests of Buonaparte brought no gains to the theatre. He considered its interests, however, with that attention to detail which distinguished all his acts of legislation; and at Moscow, surrounded by perils, with danger and death in front of him, he dictated the code for the Comédie Française, which, with small alteration, remains in force at the present day.

Talma was the son of a French dentist established in London: he was born and educated in Paris, but he spent his vacations in England, and his gloomy temperament was ascribed by his compatriots to his early experience of the London climate. He followed his father's profession for a short time, stealing intervals of leisure to gratify his natural tastes in the study of poetry, ancient history, and costume. He made his first appearance at the Théâtre Français on the 21st November, 1787. His talent was at once acknowledged, but he did not reach the pinnacle of fame with a sudden bound. He was often severely criticised, and, like most other French actors, he listened to the critics and corrected his faults. He studied articulation most carefully, and finally brought it to extraordinary perfection. The conventional chant and rigid artificial action prevalent in the early days of Racine had now totally disappeared, and Talma followed the great impulse of passion both in action and elocution; but he followed it with the true artistic sense of beauty, and did not by outrageous gesture or slovenly utterance drag his poet down into the stable or the kitchen: the reform in costume begun by Le Kain and Clairon was zealously carried on by Talma, and his noble bearing and fine countenance assisted his efforts in this direction. There is a portrait of him in his old age at the *foyer* of the Français, the outline of which suggests a recollection of Macready. Talma died at Paris in October 1826, and was buried at Père la Chaise: a large number of friends and admirers attended his obsequies, and two funeral orations were delivered at his grave. The excommunicative decree against comedians was not then annulled, but any priest who had attempted to put it in force on that occasion would have run considerable personal risk; only once more in the reign of Louis XVIII., upon the death of Mlle. Raucourt, a measure of this sort was attempted. She was an actress of no great powers, but she was much esteemed for her personal qualities, and when the church of St. Roch refused admittance to her body, the doors were broken open and the clergy were menaced by the populace. Finally the corpse was carried with demonstrations of enthusiasm to the cemetery of Père la Chaise, where the funeral ceremony was solemnly performed, and where a monumental bust was afterwards erected to mark the tomb. It is satisfactory to reflect that the ecclesiastical decree of 1850 has rendered the recurrence of such scandalous proceedings impossible.

Mlle. Mars, whose grace and finished elocution lent their charm to Molière's

comedies under the First Empire, was the leading actress of the Théâtre Français when that remarkable revolution took place in 1830, under the direction of Victor Hugo, then a young poet, which ended in the triumph of the romantic over the classical school of poetry. Greek rules were cast to the winds, and French poets threw off half their trammels. Shakspeare was enthroned as the divinity of young France. Amidst extraordinary opposition from the classical school in Paris, Victor Hugo brought out his tragedy of 'Hernani.' The result is well known; the poet conquered, and the French Muse was set free—free to breathe fresh air and to extend her views beyond the bounds of the antique drama. His tragedies of 'Hernani,' 'Le Roi s'amuse,' 'Marion de Lorme,' 'Angelo,' and 'Lucrèce Borgia,' show the highest qualities of dramatic poetry. They transport the reader or the spectator to the scene of action; they send life into the dead centuries; the spirit of their time is in them and the passion of all humanity. The vast imagination of the dramatist works with equal power in lyrics and in prose fiction. In verse his 'Légende des Siècles' and 'Châtiments,' in prose his 'Notre Dame,' 'Les Misérables,' 'Travailleurs de la Mer,' and 'Quatre Vingt Treize' are perhaps best known to English readers.

Alfred de Musset's dramatic pieces written in prose, but concentrating in their movement and dialogue the very essence of poetry, belong to the romantic school, which may also claim as distinguished disciples Ernest Legouvé, Alexandre Dumas (*père*), Ponsard, and Augier.

From the year 1838 to 1855, Mlle. Rachel's genius as an actress of classical tragedy took almost complete possession of the Théâtre Français. Her origin is well known: the child of a Jew pedlar, she roamed the streets in Paris, beating a tambourine and picking up halfpence for her sister, Sarah Félix, who sang pathetic ballads. The kindness of a gentleman, who was touched by Sarah's voice, transported the sisters from their wandering life to the Conservatoire of Music. Rachel Félix, then a little child, subsequently attracted notice by her recitations, and one of the best actors and teachers in Paris, Samson, made her his pupil. It is a mistake to say that the beggar girl, with sudden power, burst into fame as a tragedian. She was carefully educated; and she submitted to some years of training before she first appeared at the Comédie Française on the 12th of August, 1838, in the part of Camille in 'Les Horaces.' Her voice as a girl had been harsh and unmanageable, and it was by determined perseverance and under first-rate

guidance that she made it a fine instrument of poetic art. She was most distinguished in the tragedies of Corneille and Racine. Her movement was majestic, her down-pressed brow was full of thought, her long narrow eyes flashed when the torrent of wrath rose within her. She had a look that could command a multitude, and a withering tone that could annihilate her hearers. In tender scenes she was more artistic than natural. Passion at its highest tide; the passion of invective hatred, contempt, or that of a sublime rapture, found in her a grand interpreter. But when she acted, the poet was only represented in one character, for she cared more for herself than the drama, and liked to be surrounded by mean performers. Her imperious avarice took her frequently away from the Théâtre Français to the provinces and foreign countries, and she harassed the management, while her power made her indispensable to the theatre. She was a great artist whose ascendancy was damaging to art. She died at the Villa Sardou at Cannet, in the environs of Cannes, in the year 1857. Her remains were embalmed and conveyed to Paris, where she was buried with Jewish rites in the Israelite division of the cemetery of Père la Chaise, with all the honour that her genius deserved.

The Decree of Moscow, modified by resolutions passed in 1850 and 1859, still regulates, as we have already said, the Comédie Française; and Napoleon's code had for its basis the first constitution of the society established by Louis XIV. in 1680. The *sociétaires* are shareholders, who divide the profits of the company among its members according to certain rules. To be admitted as *sociétaire*, the artist must have served in the theatre as *pensionnaire* during the space of one year, but with regard to this rule, some exceptions have been allowed. All *sociétaires* are submitted to a process of re-election at the end of ten years. After the space of twenty years of service they are allowed to retire with a pension of 4000 francs, the charges of which are equally divided between the government of France and the administration of the Comédie. The offices held in connection with the Théâtre Français are too numerous to be detailed here—a few important ones only can be named. The function of the Administrator-General, President of the Committee, is that upon which the welfare of the Society is most dependent, and is at present filled by M. Emile Perrin, remarkable for his ability and vigour, and who undertook the post, under many difficulties, in July 1871. The stage manager during this last season was M. Regnier, distinguished for many

years as a first-rate comedian and accomplished gentleman, but he has found the fatigue of his position more than he can bear, and he has given in his resignation; it is his province to watch over the business of the scene and the elocution of the performers; he is present at every rehearsal, and considers the effect of every intonation. M. Chevallier is the general manager, and M. Guillard the chief librarian; his learning and patience have been very successfully employed upon a remarkable collection of books and chronicles dating from the earliest days of the Society, and illustrating its history step by step. M. Guillard's courtesy is equal to his knowledge, and it would be difficult to speak too highly of either. It is his task to look over MS. pieces and sift them, only submitting those which seem possible to the Comité de Lecture, upon whose decision the reception of a piece ultimately depends, and which consists of a certain number of *sociétaires* with some additional members who are authors and artists. The administration of the whole Society, under the domination of the President, devolves upon a Committee composed of six *sociétaires* and two *pensionnaires*; the censorship, as at present established, consists of an inspector-general, two inspectors, and two sub-inspectors.

The Théâtre Français represented eighty different pieces, from the 1st January to the 1st October in last year, a considerable number of which have been revivals of great works of the classical and romantic school. Among the new pieces produced, Octave Feuillet's 'Sphinx' made for a while a great sensation; it belongs to a school neither romantic nor classical, which may be characterised as prosaic and *doctrinaire*. This kind of drama occupies itself always with some form of domestic vice, and its scene of action is generally a drawing-room in Paris. The most usual form of vice is the seduction of the married from their conjugal duties; the only variety supplied being the sex of the seduced person. The result is most frequently a violent death for the principal offender, with a sharp sermon from the author, who says, 'this is the consequence.' The authors produce their effect by abrupt transitions of emotion. No poetry enters into them; they starve the imagination, and therefore they injure art. The 'Demi Monde,' by Dumas fils, before acted at the Gymnase, was brought out at the Français soon after the 'Sphinx.' It is a sombre, disagreeable, vigorous satire. To this has succeeded a finely-written, well-constructed tragedy in verse, by Monsieur de Bornier, called 'La Fille de Roland,' in which M. Mounet Sully and Mlle. Bernhardt

have both distinguished themselves by their excellent acting.

The performers who have become famous since the establishment of the second empire are worthy of their predecessors. Some favourite names will at once occur to the reader: Bressant, Got, Delaunay, Mounet Sully, Coquelin; Mlles. Favart, Brohan, Bernhardt, Croizette, Reichenberg, Broizat, and Madame A. Plessy.

We pause upon the name of Bressant—intellectual and dignified in poetical drama and the finished gentleman of high comedy—to regret the illness which has suspended his performances. We have not space to characterise the qualities of that great comedian, M. Got, nor to dwell upon the peculiar genius, marred by defects not yet corrected, of the young tragedian, M. Mounet Sully. Mlle. Croizette, handsome, brilliant, energetic, and very original, has been the subject of great admiration and strong censure. She is wholly unconventional, and stands out as a conspicuous type of the school which rejects the classical in art. Very willingly we turn to Mlle. Reichenberg, whose modesty is part of her distinction; who by her fair beauty and tender winning ways, charms more than she strikes; of whom Théophile Gautier has said, 'C'est une fleur, un sourire, un printemps,' and who seems made to engage sympathy. Of M. Delaunay we must speak as the most perfect of living artists, always finished yet ever increasing in power; who whether he interprets a passionate poet or a light satirist, gives the whole meaning and whole emotion of his author, and lends some new attraction or unexpected force to every character he undertakes: Such excellence is the result of self-abnegation and laborious days undergone at the sacrifice of pecuniary gain, and of personal ambition.

We have now taken a rapid survey of the progress of the Comédie Française, from the simplest form of its origin to its present complicated development; we have seen the trammels of pedantic constraint rejected by the poet and his interpreters. Let us hope that the movement will not press on too far; that the realistic will not supersede the poetical; and that dramatic art will know how to maintain its freedom without forfeiting its dignity.

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ART. VI.—*Falconry in the British Isles.*  
By Francis Henry Salvin and William Brodrick. 2nd edition. London, 1873.

THE age of chivalry is past. The tourna-

ment and the belted knight have disappeared. The manly and unselfish sport of falconry, in which all who witnessed it could share, and even the gentler sex might take an active part without hazarding the influence of their feminine attractions, has been nearly forgotten. The noble falcon, for centuries the favourite of kings and princes—their companion in the palace and their confederate in the field—long since degraded to the ranks of feathered vermin, has been superseded by the fowling-piece, and the merlin has been supplanted by the lap-dog.

Many were the ponderous volumes that appeared in those far distant days, from the time of the Conqueror to that of the Commonwealth, containing elaborate treatises on the art; but about the latter epoch it received 'a heavy blow and great discouragement' from the puritanical habits and manners of the age, reviving again, like the flame of an expiring candle, at the Restoration. Since that period it has remained almost dormant, its slumber being fitfully broken from time to time, as one or another enthusiast has roused it to vitality—for the march of agricultural improvement and the discoveries of science have immeasurably added to the falconer's difficulties and limited his sphere of action—yet in spite of gamekeepers, breechloaders, high farming, enclosure commissioners, railways, and population, the practice has never completely died out. It has been kept alive from time to time by a few devoted admirers, especially in Scotland and Ireland; while even in England there exists at the present moment more than one favoured oasis, in a desert of civilisation, where the sport is annually enjoyed, and 'Falconry in the British Isles,' we rejoice to say, is not altogether a thing of the past.

About one hundred years ago appeared a treatise on the art, in which the author mourns pathetically over its almost total decline in favour of the pointer and the gun. We have heard similar complaints in our own days from many a sportsman of the old school, while inveighing against grouse and partridge driving, the modern battue, the fusillade in the turnip-field, and the substitution of the retriever for the setter and pointer; but it is impossible for those who, like ourselves, have, even in this degenerate age, enjoyed the glorious pastime of our forefathers, not to sympathize with the passionate lamentations of Campbell:—

'Could a falconer,' he says, 'who lived two or three centuries ago—ah! that flourishing period of princely sport—burst the chains of

death and get for a few days into the world, how it would grieve his manly heart to observe the neglect into which the hawk is fallen! He would survey the scenes of his former joys, and with such tears as spirits shed, mourn long over the melancholy stillness which reigns over those hills and dales which his own voice used to awake into life and exultation. His sorrow would receive new pungency when he perceived how scarce his brethren are in society. . . . the manifest inferiority of our age to his, in sport, would fill his soul with indignation; he would fly from the hated sight to his residence in the other world, and carry tidings to the band of departed falconers, which would communicate to them the angry emotions of his own breast.'\*

But even fifty years before this, in the early part of the eighteenth century, a sporting author could speak thus contemptuously of the declining science: 'The diversion of hawking, by reason of the trouble and expense of keeping and breeding the hawk, and the difficulty and management of her in the field, is in a great measure disused; especially since *sportsmen are arrived to such perfection in shooting*, and so much improved in the making of dogs, which facilitates the pleasures in taking all sorts of game. I therefore shall take no notice of it.'†

The art of falconry doubtless originated in the East,‡ where even at the present time it is more universally and successfully practised than in any other part of the world. Certain authors are inclined to refer it to a very early date, and the discovery of a bas-relief in the ruins of Khorsabad, by Mr. Layard, which appeared to represent a falconer with a hawk on his wrist, would lend some colour to the conjecture, while Pliny, according to good old Philemon Holland, says:—

'In a part of Thracia, somewhat higher in the country, beyond Amphipolis, men and hawks joine in fellowship and catch birds together; for the men drive the woods, beat the bushes and reeds to spring the fowle; then the hawks, flying over their heads, seize upon them, and either strike or bear them to the ground fit for their hands. On the other side the hawkers and foulers, when they

\* Campbell's 'Treatise on Modern Faulconry,' p. 39, A.D. 1773.

† 'The Compleat Sportsman,' by Giles Jacob, p. 29, A.D. 1718.

‡ This is elaborately shown by Professor Schlegel of Leyden, the eminent naturalist, whose magnificent folio, 'Traité de Fauconnerie,' Leyden et Düsseldorf, is a worthy monument of the noble art it describes. The extent and minuteness of the learned author's antiquarian researches are only equalled by his practical knowledge of the details of modern usage, and the result is such as may be expected from such a combination.

have caught the fowle, divide the bootie with the hawkes: and by report they let such birds flie againe at libertie aloft in the aire, and then are the hawkes readie to catch them for themselves. Moreover, when the time is of hawking, they will, by their manner of cric and flying together, give signe to the faulconers that there is good game abroad and so draw them forth to hawking, for to take the opportunities.'

Leaving this portion of the subject, however, to the professed antiquary, the art cannot be satisfactorily traced to an earlier period in Britain than the reign of the Saxon King Ethelbert, who wrote to St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mainz—*ob.* 755—for a brace of falcons to catch cranes.\* King Alfred certainly was a proficient in this, as in every other manly sport, and is even said to have written an elaborate treatise on the art: 'The pastime of hawking,' says Strutt,† 'must, no doubt, at this period have been very generally followed, to call for the prohibition inserted in a charter granted to the Abbey of Abington by Kenulph, King of the Mercians, which restrains all persons from carrying of hawks, and thereby trespassing on the lands belonging to the monks who resided therein.'

In the celebrated Bayeux tapestry Harold is represented embarking for Normandy with a hawk‡ on his fist and a dog under his arm, while he appears in like manner approaching Duke William, afterwards the Conqueror. Indeed, the last-named monarch was so devoted to the sport, that he not only introduced numerous improvements in the art, but enacted many harsh and arbitrary laws for the preservation of the birds, their eyries, and their eggs. Men of rank were alone permitted to keep the nobler falcons; the grander kinds being allotted to kings, princes, dukes, &c.—a saker to a knight, a lanner to a squire, a sparrow-hawk was assigned to a priest, while a holy-water clerk had to put up with a muskett, the diminutive partner of the latter bird.§ In the time

of Henry II. the robbery of a falcon's eggs was punished with fine and imprisonment, and these and other penalties were strictly enforced during many succeeding reigns; nor would there appear to have been any mitigation of their severity until the time of King John, when the privileges which the brave barons extorted from that monarch, in *Magna Charta*, included a permission for 'every freeman to have eyries of hawks, falcons, and eagles, in his own woods, with heronries also.'

But, in spite of these concessions, we find, after the lapse of more than a century, the old penal enactments revived with increased rigour. In the reign of Edward III., in the 3rd section of the 34th statute, cap. 22, of that monarch, it is enacted: 'If any do take away or conceal a hawk, he shall answer the value thereof to the owner, and suffer two years' imprisonment; and in case he shall not be able to answer the value, he shall remain in prison a longer time.' And again, the 37th statute, cap. 19, gives notice that 'he that steals and carries away an hawk, not observing the ordinance of 34 Edward III., shall be deemed a felon.' This latter would appear to have been passed as more deterrent than the preceding statute, which was probably found to err on the side of mercy.

For many centuries indeed kings and princes indulged in this truly royal sport. White falcons were the most rare and valuable, and when captured in Iceland these were frequently used as royal gifts. Thus Magnus, King of Norway, writing in 1279 from Bergen to our Edward I., sends him 'aliquos gerifalcones;' and when on his death-bed in the following year, and commending his sons to Edward's care—after the usual compliments between two powerful monarchs, and a feeling allusion to his illness and his anxiety that his sons should profit by the good advice and assistance of the English king—he concludes by presenting him with two noble white gerfalcons and six grey ones, all trained; 'duos nobiles gerofalcones albos formelos, et sex greseos, etiam formelos, beneplacitis vestris et honoribus omni tempore congaudentes.\*' Two years afterwards, in a letter to Alfonso, King of Castile, Edward promises to transmit him four grey falcons (Icelanders), of which two were trained to take cranes and herons, 'mittimus vobis quatuor girofalcones grisos; quo-

\* 'Epistole Sancti Bonifacii, Max. Bibl. Patr. xlii.' p. 85.

† Strutt at one time knew nothing about falconry—a fact which clearly shows how unfashionable the pursuit was in his day. In his 'Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England,' London, 1778, p. 8, he mentions two portraits—one of which he engraves—of King Stephen, 'with his parrot,' asserting that 'in his reign a parrot was brought into England and presented to him,' being the first ever seen here. Of course the 'parrot' was a falcon! Subsequently, p. 89, appears a very humiliating confession to that effect.

‡ Schlegel says, 'un épervier' (a sparrow-hawk), which must have been intended to mark his inferior rank.

§ Book of St. Albans.

\* King Edward used to send holy relics to Magnus in return, and, unless the manufacturers of those articles were more complaisant than we have every reason to believe them to have been at that day, probably had not a very profitable bargain by the exchange.

rum duo apti sunt et instructi ad grues et hiruncellos,' and he apologizes for being unable to send any white ones,\* as he has already lost nine, 'ita quod nullum album ad præsens habemus,' but adds that he has sent messengers to Norway for some, which he hopes soon to present to Alfonso in person.

The example thus set by the highest personages was followed by the most refined and fastidious in all the upper ranks of society. To be unacquainted with the art of falconry, or even the education and the proper treatment of the birds, both in health and disease, implied an ignorance which was almost tantamount to a blot on one's escutcheon. Thus Sir Tristram, that ancient type of valour and all excellence, is made by Spenser to boast—

'Ne is there hauke that mantletli on her perche,  
Whether high tow'ring or acousting low,  
But I the measure of her flight do search  
And all her prey and all her diet know.'

So popular, indeed, for many centuries was the sport of falconry among the wealthier classes, that in spite of the severity of the laws enacted for the preservation of the hawks and their eggs, the value even of the peregrine falcon would appear to have been enormous, while the falcons from Norway and Iceland were considered bribes which a king might accept without dishonour. In the reign of King John, when the distinctions of classes were relaxed, we find Geoffrey St. Pierre presenting two good Norway hawks to his Majesty, to obtain for his friend Walter le Madena the liberty of exporting a hundredweight of cheese, and Nicholas the Dane was bound to give the King a hawk every time he came to England in return for permission to traffic throughout the British dominions. Certain nobles and knights, moreover, held their estates from the Crown by payment of falcons. Sir John Stanley had a grant of the Isle of Man from Henry IV. to be held of the King, his heirs, and successors, by homage of two falcons on the day of his or their coronation, and Philip de Hasting held his manor of Combertoun, in Cambridgeshire, by the service of keeping the King's falcons. Kenneth III., to reward signal services in the battle-field, performed by a peasant and his two sons, gave them as much land on the river Tay as a falcon from a man's hand flew over till it

\* Although the Greenland form of the gyrfalcon is here indicated, yet the term 'white hawk' was frequently applied by old writers on falconry to a peregrine falcon that had moulted and acquired the adult plumage, which is of a much lighter colour than that of the immature bird. The latter was, in contradistinction, styled a 'red hawk.'

settled, which being six miles in length, the tract was afterwards called Errol, and now forms the patrimonial estate of the Earl of Errol, whose coat of arms, as directed by Kenneth, consists of three escutcheons, gules, to intimate that this trio had been three fortunate shields of Scotland, with a falcon for a crest and two ploughmen as supporters.

It would appear that for a long time after the Norman Conquest there was very little money in specie in England, and fines in lieu of military services and debts of all kinds, even the revenue of the Crown, were paid in kind. From the following curious passage in Madox's 'History of the Exchequer,' we find that falcons and hawks subsequently played an important part as a substitute for the coin of the realm. 'Then,' he says, 'the tenants of knights' fees answered to their lords by military services, and the tenants of socage lands and demesnes in great measure by work and provisions. . . . From the time of the Norman Conquest till the reign of Henry I. the rents or farms due to the King were wont to be rendered in provisions and necessities for his household, and in Henry I.'s time the same were changed into money. Afterwards in succeeding times the revenue of the Crown was answered or paid in chiefly gold and silver, sometimes in palfreys, destriers, leveriers, *hawks, and falcons* (to wit in horses, dogs, and birds for game of divers sorts), and things of other kinds, all which may be comprised under the general name of revenue, the same having been rendered by the party and accepted by the Crown as such . . . of which matters there are many instances to be seen, and some may be here subjoined. Outi of Lincoln had to pay, as a fine for his land, 100 Norway hawks and 100 girfals. Four of the hawks and six of the girfals to be white ones. If he could not get four white hawks he was to give four white gyrfalcons instead of them.\* Ralf, son of Drogo, made fine in five hawks and five girfals for himself and in two hawks for Nicholas de Ligillo. Maurice de Creon in one Norway hawk and one gyrfalcon. Stephen de Dammartin in one hawk and one gyrfalcon. Walter Knot in three hawks and three gyrfalcons, &c.'†

We may conclude that the sport of falconry, with little interruption, maintained its popularity in the British Islands for at least 600 years. Edward III. was so enthusiastically devoted to it that, according to Froissart, when he invaded France he was

\* Mag. Rot. 5 Steph. Rot. 12 a.

† Mag. Rot. 2 H. 2. Rot. 5 a Linc.

accompanied by thirty falconers on horseback. It is recorded of a certain bishop at that time that he excommunicated some members of a congregation who during Divine service in Bermondsey Abbey stole a hawk that was sitting on its perch in the cloisters. The crime of sacrilege was assigned as an excuse for this outburst of episcopal wrath, but unfortunately the bird happened to be the property of his lordship.

In the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Henry VIII., a proclamation was issued which had for its object the preservation of partridges, pheasants, and *herons*, the penalties including imprisonment and any other punishment the King might choose to inflict. A well-known anecdote proves his devotion to the sport. While following a hawk on foot in the neighbourhood of Hitchin, he attempted to leap over a ditch with a pole, but the latter breaking from his great weight, he was immersed in the soft mud, and would probably have been drowned but for the activity of one Edward Moody, a footman, who leaped in and kept His Majesty's head above the surface until further assistance arrived.

In the second year of the reign of Elizabeth the following Statute was enacted: 'Whereas Her Majesty, as also divers noblemen and gentlemen, and other persons of great domains and possessions, had breeding within their woods and grounds divers eyries of hawks of sundry kinds, to their great pleasure and commodity, that if hereafter any person shall unlawfully take any hawks or their eggs out of the woods or grounds of any persons, and be thereof convicted at the sessions or assizes, on indictment, bill, or information, at the suit of the Queen or of the party, he shall be imprisoned three months with other penalties.'

When Sir Ralph Sadler\* had charge of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, he was gallant enough to indulge his royal prisoner in the sport of 'hawking the river.' The term 'Flying at the brook' was synonymous. In the 'Second Part of Henry VI.,' Act ii., the King, the Queen, Gloster, the Cardinal, and Suffolk appear with falcons:

'Queen. Believe me, my Lords, for flying at the brook,  
I saw not better sport these seven years' day,

\* By a singular coincidence, while rook-hawking on Salisbury Plain, a few years ago, we discovered an old portrait of Sir Ralph Sadler in the costume of the period, at an ancient manor-house near Chiltern. He wears a high crowned hat, and holds on his hand a falcon with a jewelled hood. Sir Ralph Sadler was Grand Falconer to Queen Elizabeth.

Yet, by your leave, the wind was very high,  
And ten to one old Joan had not gone out.'

In those days, indeed, ladies of high degree emulated their lords in their devotion to falconry. The diminutive but brave little merlin was the favourite, although, according to Sir Walter Scott, in a note to the well-known passage in the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' a sparrowhawk sometimes shared the distinction; and both were carried by ladies of rank, as a falcon was, in times of peace the constant associate of a Knight or Baron. Thus there was no anachronism in introducing the former bird, as a companion of the bride herself, among the witnesses to a marriage ceremony:—

'The ladye by the altar stood  
Of sable velvet her array,  
And on her head a crimson hood  
With pearls embroider'd and entwined,  
Guarded with gold with ermine lined.  
A merlin sat upon her wrist  
Held by a leash of silken twist.'

During the sixteenth century the County of Norfolk presented as grand a field for the exercise of the falconer's art as it now affords to the votaries of the double-barrel. The 'L'Estrange Household Book' contains many remarkable entries with reference to the purchase, keep, training, and other expenses of the various hawks used at that time (from 1519 to 1578) at Hunstanton Hall, for whose care and training a falconer was kept, who probably occupied the same position on the estate as a head-gamekeeper at the present time. It is curious to observe, as Mr. Stevenson remarks,\* in quoting various passages from these entries, that 'particular mention is made of the crossbow throughout the earlier portion of these records, and the birds killed with that weapon, as cranes, mallards, wild geese, bitterns, herons, swans, and bustards. . . . Soon, however, these entries become less frequent, although notes on the hawks and spaniels continue, till in 1533 the crossbow at last gives place to the gun; and thenceforward are chronicled only the victim of the new weapon,† destined to work as great a change in

\* Stevenson's 'Birds of Norfolk,' vol. i. p. 16.

† From the following extract it would appear that large birds, or those most easy of approach, were especially sought by the yet unskilled gunner:—

Itm. a watter hen kyllid wt the gonne.  
Itm. a crane kyllid wt the gonne.  
Itm. ij mallards kyllid wt the gonne.  
Itm. a vydygn kyllid wt the gonne.

\* \* \* \* \*

Itm. delyved to Barns of London to  
bey gunpowder withall—xxxx.

(Extracts from the Household and Privy Purse Accounts of the Lestranges of Hunstanton, from A.D. 1519 to A.D. 1578, communicated to

our national sports as in the more terrible arena of the battle field.'

James I. would appear to have occasionally depreciated the practice of falconry—probably in compliance with the waning taste of the age for the sport—although we have numerous instances on record of his sharing in it. In a curious MS. diary, in Old French, preserved in the British Museum, written by Hans Jacob Wurmser V. Vendenbeym, who accompanied Lewis Frederick, Duke of Würtemberg, in 1610, it is recorded that the King was in the habit of visiting Thetford, in Norfolk, where he had a sporting seat, and that hare-hunting and hawking were his favourite dimensions, when dotterels (*Charadrius morinellus*) were taken by means of sparrowhawks.\* On the day after the Duke's arrival at Thetford, where the King was then staying, 'apres que son E(xcellence) eut disné avecq sa Ma<sup>te</sup>. le Duc de Lenox qui l'estoit venu visiter deuant disné le menu a la chasse ou l'on courrut le lièvre, fit voller ung espervier et prient des Dotterelles, oiseau qui se laisse prendre par une estrange manière ainsy que nous avons vu. Et qui se peult mieulx dire qu'escrire.'†

According to the oft-quoted but, as we believe, erroneous account, His Majesty's head falconer, Sir Thomas Monson, is said to have given 1000*l.* for a cast—a couple—of hawks. We have seldom met with any recent work treating of the art or even of the natural history of the *Falconidæ* in which this statement has not been repeated—all the more incredible when we remember the great value of money in those days. In a rare but scandalous old book,‡ there is a passage which satisfactorily shows that the sum of 1000*l.* was not paid by Sir Thomas Monson for a particular cast of falcons, but evidently included the total expenditure during his exertions to procure such as could kill a kite. The expression 'in all that charge,' shows that he purchased many before he obtained possession of the perfect

pair that could do it. We give our readers the benefit of the extract, merely premising that the '*Gos Faulcons*' of the older authors signified any powerful and long-winged falcons used for taking *geese*, and not the modern goshawk (*Astur palumbarius*).

'But before Somerset's approach to London his Countess was apprehended, at his arrival, himself and the King being that night at supper, said to Sir Thomas Monson, "My Lord Chief Justice hath sent for you." He asked the King when he should wait on him again; who replied, "You may come when you can." And' (as in the story of Byron and many others) 'there have been many foolish observations, as presage, so was there in this gentleman who was the King's Mr. Faulconer, and in truth such a one as no Prince in Christendom had; for what Flights other Princes had he would excel them for his master, in which one was at the kite. The French King sending over his falconers to shew that sport, his Master falconer lay long here, but could not kill one kite, ours being more magnanimous than the French kite. Sir Thomas Monson desired to have that flight in all exquisiteness, and to that end was at 1000*l.* charge in Gos-Faulcons for that flight. In all that charge he never had but one cast would perform it, and those had killed nine kites and never missed one. The Earl of Pembroke, with all the Lords, desired the King but to walk out of Royston Townsend to see that flight, which was one of the most stateliest flights of the world for the high mountee; the King went unwillingly forth, the flight was showed, but the kite went to such a mountee as all the field lost sight of kite and hawk and all, and neither kite nor hawke were either seen or heard of to this present, which made all the Court conjecture it a very ill omen.'

The King's reluctance to come out of Royston to witness the flight induces us to believe that he was at that period losing his former relish for hawking, and that the great exertions and consequent expenditure of his head falconer to show a flight really worthy of a King were owing to a natural desire to revive his Royal master's taste for the sport. At any rate, we find James, in his book of advice to his son, Henry, Prince of Wales, strongly recommending hunting with hounds and other manly exercises; and he adds, 'As for hawking I condemn it not, but I must praise it more sparingly, because it neither resembleth the warres so near as hunting doeth, in making a man hardie and skilfully ridden in all grounds, and is more uncertain and subject to mischances.'

Falconry must have been popular during Shakespeare's time, if we may judge from his many allusions to it: indeed some of his happiest illustrations have reference to the art. We have already quoted one example

the Royal Society of Antiquaries, by D. Gurney, Esq., F.S.A., in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., March 14th, 1833.)

\* There is nothing to show that the hawks caught the dotterels. Indeed, it was a manifest impossibility, but the dotterels were made to lie close so that they could be netted.

† This very interesting diary, written in Old French, is preserved amongst the Additional MSS. in the British Museum in a curious little volume bound in soft parchment.—Stevenson's 'Birds of Norfolk,' vol. ii. p. 82.

‡ 'The Court and Character of King James,' written and taken by Sir A. W. (Sir Antony Weldon), being an eye and eare-witness. Published by authority, and printed by R. S., and are to be sold by John Wright at the King's Head, in Old Bailey, MDCL.'

from 'Henry VI.,' Act ii. To continue the scene:—

'KING. But what a *point*, my Lord, your falcon made!

And what a pitch she flew above the rest! To see how God in all his creatures works! Yea: man and birds are fain of climbing high.

STUFFOLK. No marvel on it like your Majesty, My Lord Protector's hawks do *tower* so well: They know their master loves to be aloft, And bears his thought above his falcon's *pitch*.

GLOS. My Lord, 'tis but a base ignoble mind That mounts no higher than a bird can *soar*.

CARDINAL. I thought as much—he'd be above the clouds.'

Again, in 'The Taming of the Shrew,' Petruccio says of Catherine:—

My falcon now is sharp and passing empty,  
And till she *stoop* she must not be full-gorged,  
For then she never looks upon her *lure*.  
Another way I have to man my *haggard*,\*  
To make her come and know her keeper's call,  
That is, to watch her, as we watch these kites  
That bate and beat and will not be obedient.  
She eat no meat to-day, nor none shall eat;  
Last night she slept not, nor to-night she shall not.'

And Othello, in a fit of jealousy, thus threatens Desdemona:—

'If I do prove her *haggard*,  
Though that her *jesse* were my dear heart-strings,  
I'd whistle her off and let her down the wind  
To prey at fortune.'†

Did our space permit, we might indulge in many further quotations from the works of 'the immortal bard,' to show that his acquaintance with the details of the art, and of its professional terms, was not less remarkable than his knowledge of human nature.

Although the gradual decadence of falconry in England would appear to date from the latter part of the reign of James I., yet at that epoch it had attained its greatest popularity in France. Louis XIII. was a devoted patron of the sport; and a French author, D'Arcussia, whose work was published at Rouen in 1644, was such a consummate courtier, that he compares the fal-

cons to angels, and His Majesty to the Supreme Being. In the antique dialect of the period he says:—

'Les Anges ont toujours les ailes à demy ouvertes au Throsne de l'Eternel. . . . Ne voit on pas dans la chambre du Roy vn nombre infiny d'oyseaux, les vns qui gazouillent tousiours, les autres sur le poing des Fauconniers attendans d'estre emloyés. . . . Il ne faut pas s'estonner si notre bon Roy aime tant la Fauconnerie, puisque dans un Anagramme de Lovys Treiziesme Roy de France et de Navarre se trouve Roy tres-Rare estime Diev De La Fauconnerie.'

This same D'Arcussia gives a remarkably graphic account of a flight at herons with gyrfalcons in France about this period—a sport which may now be considered all but obsolete in England. Professor Newton—a high authority on this and all kindred subjects—says, 'The flight of the heron to his home, when the best opportunity is afforded to the falconer, is, nowadays, rendered uncertain and rare, through the complete drainage of wide tracts of lands, and the larger heronries are, in a great measure, broken up, and their inhabitants scattered.\*' We feel, therefore, tempted, anxious as we are to limit our remarks to falconry in the British Islands, to ask our readers for once to cross the Channel, and accept, at our hands, a translation from the quaint old French of a most exciting episode.

While accompanying the Sieur de Ligne, who had charge of 'Le Vol de Heron,' the piqueurs discover three herons, and Le Sieur determines to attack them:—

'Having given me a white Gyr Falcon, called *La Perle*, to throw off, he took another himself, styled *Le Gentilhomme*, and one of his assistants had a third, named *Le Pincon*. As soon as the herons perceived us they took flight from a great distance, and we immediately threw off our hawks, who were a long time before they saw them. At last, however, one of them got sight of the quarry, and away she went. The two others followed with such ardour and rapidity that they were soon up with the herons, and attacking one, which made a tolerable fight, but he was so resolutely assaulted that he could not defend himself effectually, and he was quickly captured. While we were diverting the hawks,

\* A *haggard* signified an unreclaimed wild falcon, or passage hawk, in contradistinction to an *eyess*, which term was applied to a young bird taken from the eyrie. The term 'passage hawk,' that is a hawk taken at the time of passage or migration, has for many years been becoming obsolete. It first of all gave place to that of *Peregrine*—the wanderer—which has now usurped another signification, and is almost invariably, and improperly, applied to the only large falcon that is resident in the British Islands.

† A useless hawk was generally got rid of by flying her down wind on a stormy day.

\* Yarrell's 'History of British Birds,' fourth edition, revised by Alfred Newton, M.A., F.R.S., to which we conscientiously refer such of our readers as are anxious to study the natural history of British falcons—a perfect biography of each species, narrated in the happiest manner. If any product of science can in these days be characterised as exhaustive, we venture to predict that the term will be applicable to this edition, the earlier numbers of which are now passing through the press. For the modest word 'revised,' rewritten might almost be substituted.

the other herons, terrified at the bad treatment their companion had received, continued to mount directly towards the sun, as if to conceal themselves in his light—*pour se couvrir de la clarté*—but M. de Ligne, perceiving them, called out to me, “I see two herons mounting up there, and I intend one of them for you;” but observing that they were at such a tremendous height, I replied that the hawks would have great difficulty in reaching them. However, he throws off his Gyrfalcon, and we doing the same with ours, they rise with such rapidity, that in a short time we can see they have attained as great a height as the heron. Still working upwards they at last get above him, and begin to strike him, and to give him such repeated blows that he gets confused—*il s’estonne*—and we see him descending rapidly in his efforts to gain the covert. Then we pushed on to bring the dogs to the assistance of the hawks, which was well timed, for the heron had thrown himself into a copse, where we took him alive from the mouth of a hound who had nearly throttled him, and after amusing the hawks with the first—*faisant plaisir du premier aux oiseaux*—we mounted again on horseback to search for another. As we rode along, M. de Ligne kept looking towards the sun, trying to see the third heron. At last one of his people saw it, and pointed it out to us; upon which, M. de Ligne says to me, “We have now two herons, one for you and one for me; the hawks ought to have one for themselves.” While saying this, he unhooded his falcon, who instantly opened her wings, at the same time directing her gaze upwards. She only waited long enough to get a sight of the quarry, when away she went. Then we throw off the two others, and the three birds seemed to be flying, at the same moment, in different directions, in their efforts to mount. At first I could easily observe their manœuvres, but finally I lost sight of them altogether; so I determined to keep my eyes fixed upon the heron itself, and although I had a severe pain in the neck from looking upwards such a length of time, yet the intense enjoyment of the sport made me think little about it. Well! after some time I got a glimpse of one of the hawks, which looked no bigger than a little fly, then we discovered a second, and at last saw all three. The first who stooped did it with such effect that she drove the heron downwards sixty feet—*dix toises*; and the two others repeating their blows in a similar manner, each in his turn, the heron was soon stunned, and began to descend. At this moment one of the hawks was observed to bind to him, when down he came, and the hounds running in at the same moment to assist, quickly killed him. We came up soon afterwards, when all the hawks were rewarded for their capture, and thus ended our day’s sport.’

Although falconry always retained many votaries in England, and especially in Scotland, during the time of the First and Second Charles, yet, as before observed, we may

date the commencement of its decline from the latter part of James I.’s reign. Besides the introduction of the fowling-piece about that period, the civil wars that ushered in the Commonwealth, and the morose and puritanical tone of society, combined to discourage it as a national pastime, and to inflict a blow from which it never afterwards entirely recovered. About the close of the last century, however, a galaxy of honoured names stands forth as patrons of the art; still later, at the very time when Napoleon’s wars had almost banished it from the Continent, Lord Orford, Mr. Colquhoun, Colonel Wilson (afterwards Lord Berners), Colonel Thornton, and Sir John Sebright, were pre-eminent, and, at a subsequent period, the Duke of Leeds, Colonel Bonham, Mr. Downes, and Mr. Newcome; while, as we can testify from personal experience, there still exist several devoted admirers of falconry in the British Islands, who, in certain favoured localities, practise it with considerable success, such as Mr. Salvin, Mr. Brodric, Colonel Delmé Radcliffe,\* the Honourable Cecil Duncombe,† and others, though his Grace, the Hereditary Grand Falconer of England brought to an end the Royal Hawking Establishment, which, for a long time previously, had been reduced to a single attendant.

The raven must have been a grand quarry in olden time, and, although from the scarcity of the species at the present day it may be said to have altogether subsided, yet we believe that the late Mr. Newcome, in his earlier years, succeeded in taking more than one with a gyrfalcon. Turberville,‡ in describing the sport in Russia during the fifteenth century, says:—

‘The Raven truly is a monstrous strong flight, by meane he is of so great force and might of wing, and withall doth use to make so many turnes in the ayre as you shall see no other fowl do the like. . . . Yet is he occasionally forced to take refuge in a pine or fir-tree, but,’ he adds, ‘that shifte little prevails, for no sooner is she perched but presently, by commandment of the Emperor, each Muscovite drawing his hatchet from his back, without which tooles they never travell in that country, bestoweth his force to the felling the tree. . . .’ In the meantime the falcons

\* Colonel Delmé Radcliffe’s ‘Notes on the *Falconidae* used in India’ are a valuable contribution to the ornithology of that country.

† At once a munificent patron and an accomplished falconer, no man of the present day has done more than Mr. Duncombe to revive the practice of the art.

‡ ‘The Book of Faulconrie or Hawking, for the onely delight and pleasure of all Noblemen and Gentlemen,’ by George Turberville, Gentleman, A.D. 1575.

are waiting overhead, and the raven being compelled to take fresh flight when the tree falls, is at last 'slayne by her mightie adversaries, the Gyrfalcons, who most greedily do seaze upon her, as their kind hath taught them to do.'

But although the king of the *Corvidæ* has become so rare a bird in the British Islands, as no longer to furnish a subject for such imperial sport, yet his congeners, the carrion crow and the rook, intelligent, large-brained, and endowed with great power of wing, afford, in our opinion, the best substitutes.

We are aware that among modern falconers a variety of opinion exists as to the relative attractions of rook and game hawking. Having had the good fortune to witness many successful flights at grouse and partridges, as well as at rooks and crows, we venture unhesitatingly, from our own experience, to assign the palm to the latter.\*

\* To those utilitarian sportsmen who have an especial eye to the cuisine, and for that reason alone despise the latter flight, we recommend the perusal of the following anecdote from Colonel Thornton's 'Sporting Tour,' premising for the advantage of the uninitiated reader that a great owl (*Strix bubo*) used to be thrown up to attract the kite:—

'The Southern gentlemen, particularly those in the vicinity of the metropolis, never see game of any kind without expressing instantaneously their inclination for a *roast*; nor is this peculiarity confined to them, for every alderman expresses on such occasions the same emotions. I remember a singular instance that cannot but be recollected likewise by those members of the Falconer's Club who were present, and there was a large field. A Mr. A., attended by a little hump-back servant, with a large portmanteau, joined our party, ranging for *kite*, near Elden Gap. At length one was seen in the air, and I ordered the owl to be flown. He came, as we wished, at a proper distance. The day was fine, and the hawks, particularly *Javelin* and *Islanderkin*, in the highest order; and with them *Crocus*, a famous flight falcon. Never was there a finer day, keener company, or, for six miles, a finer flight. When he was taken, in an ecstasy I asked Mr. A. how he liked kite-hawking? He replied, with a sort of hesitation that expressed but small pleasure, "Why, pretty well." We then tried for *hare*, with a famous hawk called *Sans Quartier*. After ranging a little we found one, and in about two miles killed it. Mr. A. coming up again slowly, unwilling, or unable to leave his portmanteau, I repeated my former question; and though the flight of a hare is fine, yet, being in no way equal to that of a kite, was surprised to see his countenance brighten up, and to hear him express himself with uncommon pleasure; "Ay *that*," he said, "was a nobler kind of hawking; the hare would be of use—a good *roast*—the kite of none." Desirous to gratify his wishes, and to get rid on such easy terms of the trouble the servants would have to carry an old jack hare in the month of May, I begged his acceptance of it, to which he very readily assented; and his servant

In game-hawking, the falcon, or tiercel, 'waits on' overhead, and when the pack or covey is sprung, descends with an impetuous rush on a selected victim, and, if successful, generally strikes it near the ground, frequently out of sight of the field. In rook-hawking, which can only be practised to advantage in an open country, the hawk is not unhooded until the quarry takes wing, or is on the point of doing so; and although the character of the subsequent flight may vary in every possible way, yet, as a rule, while the hawk is 'climbing' in a wide circle to attain sufficient height, the rounder-winged rook starts off at once in a direct line, attaining a great elevation in a comparatively short time. The fleeter falcon, however, soon comes up, and makes her stoop or clutch. If a clever 'footer,' a despairing croak from her victim reaches your ears, and down they come, like a feathered parachute, to the ground; but, fortunately, the first stoop is seldom successful, and the hawk is then seen far below the rook; and while the latter ascends rapidly, so as to get higher than ever above his persecutor, the former, from her length of wing, is compelled to perform the same evolution spirally. Then comes an exciting stern chase; and putting spurs to your horse you gallop over the plain, with eyes directed upwards, regardless of the deep cart-ruts that occasionally cross your course. As the rook ascends, and almost disappears in the distance, you fear that the falcon will never be up in time, but the next moment she shoots over your head like an arrow, and is soon far away and in a favourable position for dealing the fatal blow. Once more she misses the clutch, as the artful rook, by a fortunate dodge, eludes her grasp, and again the same tactics are repeated by both birds. Now they look like two specks in the sky, and you hardly distinguish one from the other, but these suddenly melt into one, which descends rapidly to the earth, and you must be well mounted if you are up in time, before life has departed from the quarry, over which the conqueror now strides with evident exultation.

The loss of a falcon during a flight of this kind is not unusual, especially in a high wind. We have witnessed more than one. Sometimes, after several ineffectual stoops at a wily crow, she becomes disgusted, and rakes off in pursuit of a passing wood-pigeon.

was ordered to add this trophy on the top of the enormous portmanteau. I leave every sportsman to guess the observations that were made by a set of lively young men on the occasion.'—From *footnote*, pp. 87, 88, of Colonel Thornton's 'Sporting Tour through the Northern parts of England and great part of the Highlands of Scotland.' 4to. London, 1804.

Then 'Greek meets Greek' in a contest of speed; and perhaps at last, like Noah's dove, she returns no more. Untoward accidents of various kinds are liable to occur. An unconscionable gunner, deaf to the warning tinkling of her bells, will sometimes take a pot shot at a trained falcon; but one of the most touching and humiliating incidents of this kind we ever witnessed occurred a few years ago on Salisbury Plain. A perfect falcon, 'Juno,' worthy of her name, had just treated us to a grand aerial exhibition, such as we have described; after a stern-chase of a couple of miles we came up at full gallop to the spot where she had descended, with her quarry in her clutches—a cottage garden on the very borders of the plain. Alas! we were too late. What did we behold! An elderly cripple, leaning on one crutch, while he flourished the other aloft—the weapon with which he had just brained poor Juno, who lay in convulsions at his feet. An ignoble end for the Queen of Olympus!

Sir John Sebright, in his concise but valuable little book says: 'Hawking, the favourite diversion of our ancestors, is now so fallen into disuse that the art of Falconry is in danger of being entirely lost,' and the authors of the beautiful work whose title we have prefixed to this article, modestly state, in their introduction, that Sir John Sebright's 'Observations on Hawking' gives the sketch from which they hope to fill up the picture. 'It is not too much to say that they have creditably performed the task.\*' Commencing almost *ab ovo*, we are introduced to the most approved method of taking young eyesses from the nest and instructed how to deal with them during their infancy; how to capture passage falcons with the bow-net, and initiated into all the mysteries of hood and leash, training to the lure, flying at hack, with the proper treatment of the birds in health and disease; and all this as applicable to the gyrfalcon, the peregrine falcon,

the lanner, the saker, the Barbary falcon, the merlin, the goshawk, and the sparrowhawk; whether the object of pursuit be heron, rook, grouse, partridge, woodcock, snipe, wild-duck, or any other kind of existing quarry: and while to the great experience, skill, characteristic patience and perseverance of one of the authors we owe such elaborate practical instructions as have left little to be done by future writers on the art, we are no less indebted to the gifted pencil of the other for illustrations of every species, which are really life-like portraits of the birds themselves.

Yet a few words more and our task is done. We have attempted to give an outline of the history of falconry in the British Islands from the earliest times, but we cannot conclude even a slight sketch like the present without especially noticing the great services rendered to that noble art by one who, within the last few years, has passed away; one who was in the highest sense of the term 'a thorough sportsman.' On field or fen, on moor or mere, by the river-side or on the race-course, no man had more friends or fewer enemies than the late Edward Clough Newcome. But from his own Norfolk 'bracks' to the bogs of Ireland, from Salisbury Plain to the heaths of Brabant and the fells of Norway, he, from his boyhood, followed the sport of falconry more keenly than any other; sharing its comparative prosperity of fifty years since; keeping alive its traditions when its practice had all but expired; reviving it when his own enthusiasm, by infecting others, had given promise for its continuance; and performing feats hitherto unknown in the annals of the art. Untired in his devotion, even by the drudgery of the labour of love he undertook, as an efficient falconer he was unequalled, whether by professionals or amateurs. Always ready, without a thought of jealousy—too often the bane of the sportsman—to give, from his large store of experience, advice or information alike to the youngster fresh from school or college, and to the older hand in whom many might see a possible rival. His assiduity and success in the cultivation of the sport is shown by the fact that he trained falcons brought up by hand from the eyrie, to take wild herons 'on the passage'—i.e., passing overhead in their usual lofty flight—an exploit previously unachieved by any falconer. One other fact may be mentioned, to show his unerring judgment in all that concerned hawks. Many years ago his zeal led him to seek for gyrfalcons in the Dovrefjeld, a range of high mountains in Norway, where it was known that, of old, they used to be

\* Our authors, it is true, seem open to a charge of unduly depreciating what they term the 'Dutch School' of falconry, and of maintaining the entire distinctness of the 'English School,' on, as it appears to us, the somewhat slight ground of the use of 'varvels,' anklets, bearing the owner's name. No doubt each country had some practices exclusively its own, but the hawking connection between England and Holland is probably of older standing than our authors would allow. From documents quoted by Schlegel, 'Traité de Fauconnerie,' p. 85, *note*, we find Leicester—Queen Elizabeth's Leicester, then Lieutenant-General of the English forces in the Netherlands, and Governor-General of the United Provinces—issuing, in 1586, several ordinances concerning falcons and hawks; ordering them to be caught and brought to the Hague for his choice, and fixing the duties to be paid on those that were exported.

taken, but, except the name of the locality, all knowledge of the spot had perished. He surveyed the surrounding country and pitched upon a place as most fitted for the necessary apparatus. The next year he sent thither falconers from Holland, and they, when digging the foundations for their hut, came upon those of the forgotten edifice of bygone generations, thus revealed only by the faculty which led him to detect the most suitable place for the purpose among 'wilds immeasurably spread'—a faculty which becomes, as in this case, instinctive only through long, incessant attention to the habits of wild birds, such as had, no doubt, originally prompted the selection of the same spot by the falconers of yore. It would be out of our province to dwell here on the other qualities of this distinguished sportsman. The kind landlord, the hospitable neighbour, in short, the English squire of the old school, yet exists in plenty; but falconry in the British Islands will scarcely again find such a patron and pillar of strength as in the true-hearted gentleman who, before he had obtained the prime of life, was always affectionately greeted by that single English epithet which at once expresses the veneration felt towards a superior, the honest admiration of an equal, and the thorough appreciation of good fellowship; for at lordly board, or lady's bower, double-barrel in hand, or hawk on fist, the cheerful countenance, the genial humour, and the animating presence of 'Old Clough' were ever welcome.

them with reluctance, and we gladly catch at the opportune occasion for modifying them presented by the 'History and Memoirs' of General Comte de Ségur, who, going over identically the same ground, with peculiar facilities of observation, certainly places the personal qualities of his imperial master in a light which contrasts strongly and pleasingly with our preconceived impression of the intense, concentrated, all-pervading egotism of the character. According to this irreproachable and unimpeachable witness, it abounded in traits of amiability and sensibility: the iron despot could unbend like an ordinary mortal, was not inaccessible to remorse, could sympathise with the sufferings of his victims, and shed bitter tears over the ruin he had wrought. Partial as M. de Ségur undoubtedly is, we have the best possible evidence of his good faith in the indignant condemnation which he passes on acts of reckless violence or treachery, like the seizure and execution of the Duc d'Enghien, the treatment of the Pope, or the trap laid for the Spanish Bourbons. In fact, his moral sense, his sense of right and wrong, is as strong, as deep, as true, as M. Lanfrey's; and in the midst of the most enthusiastic devotion to the man of destiny, the self-made ruler and hero, he never forgets that he is himself a noble, and that *noblesse oblige*: that he is the descendant of a long line of chivalrous ancestors, distinguished by unswerving loyalty to the hereditary throne.

His apparent aberration from their principles is fully explained at starting. It was genuine patriotism, combined with military ardour, that first induced him to join the army as a volunteer; and he may be pardoned for not regarding the brilliant conqueror on the car of Victory, the incarnation of French glory, as the upstart usurper of a crown. Divided in his own despite between opposite creeds, he clings instinctively to truth as his sole preservative against vacillation and inconsistency: he never plays the advocate, never tries to make the case better or worse, but sets down his genuine impressions for evil or for good; and these, it will be remembered, are most frequently the impressions of one who saw and heard what he sets down. The *quorum pars magna fui* is the keynote of the narrative. It is told of our great captain, the Iron Duke, that after putting some one right as to some incident at Waterloo, he naïvely added, 'I was there!' M. de Ségur might

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ART. VII.—*Histoire et Mémoires*. Par le Général C<sup>te</sup> de Ségur, Membre de l'Académie Française. Paris, 1873. Seven volumes, 8vo.

It is painful, depressing, degrading to humanity, to believe that greatness is hopelessly incompatible with goodness; that the brightest of mankind must or may be the meanest; that conquerors are no better than robbers on a large scale; that the loftiest pinnacle of soaring ambition is unattainable by the aspirant who is weighted with honour, probity, and truth. When, therefore, these conclusions were forced upon us by the first four volumes of M. Lanfrey's 'History of Napoleon,'\* we gave expression to

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\* 'The Quarterly Review' for April, 1870. The fifth volume, recently published and bringing down the History to the end of 1811, is marked by the same tendency, indeed rather too

much marked, as detracting from the appearance of impartiality.

have said the same in reference to most of the campaigns and battles he commemorates—Austerlitz, Wagram, Borodino, &c. &c.—‘I was there.’ He was there, moreover, in immediate attendance on the principal performer in the grand drama, or succession of grand dramas; and when not personally present, he heard the most remarkable scenes and occurrences talked over and discussed by his constant companions, the other members of the household and the Staff, whilst the facts were freshly remembered, and there was no immediate motive for misstating or distorting them. He thus contrived to collect an immense amount of valuable information, enlivened by anecdotes: and the style of publication which he chose strikes us to be precisely that which was best adapted to his turn of mind and capacity, as well as best fitted to turn his stock of miscellaneous though rich materials to the best account.

One of his ancestors was the friend and ambassador of Henry IV. Several were distinguished commanders. His grandfather was the Count de Ségur, afterwards Marshal of France and Minister of War, who, when his arm was broken at the battle of Lawfeld, refused to quit the field for fear of discouraging his men, entered the entrenchments at their head, and caused Louis XV. (as quoted by Voltaire) to exclaim that such men deserved to be invulnerable. His father was the well-known author of ‘*Mémoires ou Souvenirs et Anecdotes*,’ published in 1823, towards the beginning of which we read:—

‘Since chance has willed that I should be successively colonel, general, traveller, navigator, son of a minister, ambassador, courtier, prisoner, farmer, soldier, poet, dramatic author, journalist, publicist, historian, deputy, councillor of state, senator, academician, and peer of France, I must have seen men and things under almost all aspects; sometimes through the prism of happiness, sometimes through the crape of misfortune, and tardily by the light of the torch of a mild philosophy.’

These ‘*Mémoires ou Souvenirs*’ were left unfinished, and might naturally have suggested the work before us, by way of continuation, to the son, who also had seen enough of men and things under various aspects fully to qualify him for the task. But the constant movement of military life, with the absorbing interest of the political changes or catastrophes in which he was mixed up, prevented him from forming any literary project till after his compelled retirement at the second Restoration in 1815. Then he began to look about for the means of employing his leisure hours and diverting

his thoughts; and after two or three desultory attempts at detached scenes or passages, he resolved on writing the ‘History of Napoleon and the Grand Army during the year 1812.’ He set to work so eagerly that he was speedily brought to a standstill by exhaustion. ‘I well remember (he says) that, at the very commencement, forcing, wildly straining myself to compose without sufficient preparation or rest, I reduced myself to an utter incapacity for producing anything.’ This is a well-known and recognised phenomenon amongst men of letters. We find Pope complaining that he had been three weeks waiting for his imagination. But it naturally alarmed a novice:—

‘I was disconsolate, on the verge of despair at this impotence, when, fortunately, M. de Lacépède, then living in retirement in the neighbouring village, dropped in.

“What is the matter with you?” said the celebrated *savant*. On my explaining, he said, “Well, nothing more simple; it is a break-down (*fourberie*). The mind may be overworked like the body, dependent as they are on one another, and this is what has happened to you.” “And is it for you,” I replied, “you, who sleep scarcely three hours, and work twenty-one out of the twenty-four; is it for you to impute this shameful sterility to eight or ten hours of work?”

M. de Lacépède, the well-known writer on natural history, explains to him that, as one man’s meat may be another man’s poison, so the amount of sleep which sufficed for one might be utterly insufficient for another, and that as for himself, he had suffered so little from his self-imposed *régime*, that at his advanced age he still composed without writing.

“Ah! probably verses?” “No, prose.” “What?” I rejoined, jocularly; “your work, *Sur l’Homme*, for example?” “Precisely; and to prove it to you, I will, if you have time to listen to me, repeat the whole of my first volume! and not only the original copy, but all the alterations, all the corrections! I have at this moment all the erasures in my mind’s eye; yet I have not yet written a word, and I have almost finished the second volume in the same manner.” Whilst I remained struck dumb by astonishment, he added: “But do not, for all that, suppose that I work consecutively twenty-one hours a day; on the contrary, I take care not to continue more than two hours without interruption, without relieving my brain by some diversion—a few household arrangements, a few tunes on my piano, a few turns in my garden, suffice—after which, refreshed and well disposed, I resume my task.”

‘I endeavoured to follow his advice, and benefited by it; I even sought distractions, some came in my despite.’

He had made considerable progress when

the idea struck him that, since the most curious and important part of his work was to come from the interior of the imperial tent, he must secure the co-operation of the man who had been domesticated in it during the entire expedition, and who, besides the extraordinary opportunities he had enjoyed, was a statesman, and a man of letters renowned for his probity :—

‘Having resolved on this line, I repaired straight and without hesitation to M. le Cte. Daru. I arrived, enriched with a thousand pieces of information obtained from other ministers, great officers, marshals, and generals, aides-de-camp, the four private secretaries of Napoleon, his physicians, *maîtres d’hôtel*, and *valets de chambre*. This minister was my father’s friend, his colleague in the Academy. I had already profited by their communications. His place in my book was consequently marked out beforehand; and as it was to be elevated by the aid I came to ask of him, I had good grounds for reckoning on his obliging concurrence. He thought the work deserved it. Thenceforth, as soon as a book was finished, I came to read it to him, to listen to his remarks, and then collect, in a conversation of several hours of earnest reasoning and discussion on the subject of the following book, all the information that his happy memory never failed to supply.’

M. Daru lent himself complacently to the kind of co-operation that has been described during the entire composition of the work—begun in 1815, and completed in 1820; but never once, in the course of these innumerable consultations, extending over five years, did he utter an approving word, or give the faintest intimation of an opinion touching style or form; so that the author with a conscience perfectly satisfied and at rest as to the facts and their appreciation, was left in the most embarrassing uncertainty as to the literary merit of his production. Whether from the distrust thus inspired, or from his being re-engaged in active military vocations, he had given up all notion of publishing, and laid aside his manuscript as a legacy to posterity, when, much to his surprise (in 1823 or 1824), he learnt from his father that M. Daru had been speaking in the highest terms of the work, advised publication, and prophesied success.

At their next meeting, M. Daru, laying aside reserve, asked him point-blank why he persevered in deriving no advantage from so sustained a labour. ‘But,’ I replied, ‘if the public should prove as reticent as you have been, what is the use of consulting it when its silence would annoy without convincing me; and I should not be satisfied with an incomplete success.’ ‘Well, in that case,’ he rejoined, ‘you

would appeal to posterity.’ ‘Ah, yes,’ I exclaimed, ‘like hosts of others; but I am by no means disposed to swell the number.’ Very little additional pressure is required to impel an author in this state of mind to publication. At a subsequent interview, on M. Daru renewing his remonstrances, M. de Ségur said he would follow his advice, on one condition. ‘Out with it, then.’ After a little hesitation, I resumed: ‘Well, then, you alone are well acquainted with my book; answer me conscientiously. Are you sure that it would be sufficient to throw wide open to me the folding-doors of the Academy?’ ‘I answer for it,’ he replied; ‘and so well, that I give you my vote beforehand.’ There was no resisting such an encouragement: the long-secluded manuscript was brought forth, and read over, chapter by chapter, to his father, whose deliberate judgment was in accordance with M. Daru’s. But fastidious recasting and polishing, with occasional fits of hesitation, procrastinated what he still regarded as a leap in the dark till 1825; when the entire ‘copy’ was confided to the celebrated printers, MM. Baudouin, who severely tried his patience by fresh delay.

‘The process of printing was long enough in all conscience. If, at the time, they had told me why, perhaps my apprehensions would have been allayed. I have learned since that the compositors paused to read the proofs amongst themselves. But I was kept in ignorance of this first success. When the day of publication arrived, I hurried in my perplexity to isolate myself at Saint-Gratien (his country-house). ‘But, at the end of forty-eight hours, the feverish agitation which came over me, augmented by solitude, led me to return furtively to Paris. There, without stirring out, I abided my fate, when M. Baudouin begged me to call on him. I went, more and more anxious. Jostled on my way by a double file of porters loaded with huge piles of printed sheets, I somewhat impatiently entered the court. As soon as he saw me he ran up; and on his grasping and pressing both my hands, I exclaimed, “Good God, what do you want me for, and what has happened?” “Don’t you see? Look; is it not a scene for the ‘Arabian Nights?’” “What! those porters who ran against me?” “Well, it is you, it is your book that they are carrying thus! We are no longer equal to the demand! The first edition of three thousand copies is exhausted already; we must have a second of four thousand as soon as possible, and authority to strike off a third, a fourth, of the same number. It is a success unexampled since Chateaubriand.”’

This was literally true. Congratulations poured in on all sides: the grand object of his aspirations, the seat in the Academy, was as good as attained; and he had fairly estab-

lished his title to a place on that table-land of Fame where, according to d'Alembert, the celebrities, the choice spirits, of all times and climes are to assemble and shake hands. A duel with General Gourgaud, in which he wounded his adversary, and a pamphlet-war with Marshal Grouchy, in which he had the best of it, could hardly be called drawbacks: at all events, were far more than counter-balanced by the eager testimony borne to the fidelity of his narratives and descriptions, as well as by the unequivocal signs of their popular effect and impressiveness.

As an ex-Imperialist he was not in high favour at the Tuileries, and Madame la Dauphine in particular was wont to look coldly on him. The first time he met her eye after the publication of his book, she showed signs of emotion, and seemed more than once on the point of addressing him. Struck by her altered manner, he requested an explanation of one of the persons of her suite. 'What! do you not know? Can you be ignorant that, on reading your account of the unfortunate Prince of Moskow during the retreat, she repeatedly cried out, "Heavens! why did we not know all this? What heroism! Why did not M. de Ségur publish his book sooner? It would have saved the life of Marshal Ney!"'

A still higher compliment was that paid by an eminent professor of history. In the course of a lecture at the Sorbonne, M. Saint-Marc Girardin drew a comparison between the work and the History of Charles XII. by Voltaire; and to justify his preference of M. de Ségur, quoted his description of the Grand Army on the 6th November, when the Russian winter broke upon them in all its horrors, heralded by a piercing wind and a heavy fall of snow. To save the reader the trouble of reference we quote a portion of it:

'Les malheureux se traînent encore, en grelottant, jusqu'à ce que la neige, qui s'attache sous leurs pieds en forme de pierre, quelques débris, une branche ou le corps de l'un de leurs compagnons, les fasse trébucher et tomber. Là ils gémissent en vain: bientôt la neige les couvre; de légères éminences les font reconnaître. Voilà leur sépulture! La route est toute parsemée de ces ondulations, comme un champ funéraire; les plus intrépides ou les plus indifférents s'affectent: ils passent rapidement en détournant leurs regards. Mais devant eux, autour d'eux, tout est neige; leur vue se perd dans cette immense et triste uniformité; l'imagination s'étonne: c'est comme un grand lin-cueil dont la nature enveloppe l'armée! Les seuls objets qui s'en détachent, ce sont de sombres sapins, des arbres de tombeaux, avec leur funèbre verdure, et la gigantesque immobilité de leurs noirs tiges, et leur grande tristesse qui complète cet aspect désolé d'un deuil

général, d'une nature sauvage, et d'une armée mourante au milieu d'une nature morte.\*

This, his first work, occupies the fourth and fifth volumes of his completed *Histoire et Mémoires*, and harmonises admirably with the rest, which is composed on much the same plan and blends personal reminiscences with the Imperial annals in nearly the same manner. 'The History of Napoleon and the Grand Army,' he remarks, on resuming his pen, 'is before the world. It is also my own history. Many a time have I figured upon the stage, but invariably without naming myself. I was then more of a witness than an actor, having hardly quitted the Emperor, except for short distances, to carry and see to the execution of his orders. I suffered less than others, notwithstanding my wounds, because, attached to Napoleon, we were almost always under shelter and sufficiently fed.' On most other occasions he names himself without reserve, and the part assigned to him is not unfrequently reversed. He is conspicuous in action where the fight is hottest; he leads more than one charge as desperate as that of Balacava or a forlorn hope; he receives wounds which make the army surgeons shudder; and has so many hairbreadth escapes, that we wonder by what miraculous intervention he lived to tell of them. The civil or non-military part of his life is also so eventful and sensational, that although we shall keep as much as possible to the passages in which it blends with history, we must bestow a passing attention on those in which he tells us how his character was developed, and how he came to run counter to the hereditary principles of his race.

His education was private and domestic. It was the best that, after his ninth year, his father and mother could give him in the midst of revolutionary dangers and disturbances. On the 21st January, 1793 (the day of the execution of Louis XVI.), they fled to a country-house at Châtenay, near Sceaux, three leagues from Paris.

'It was said that Voltaire had been brought up in it. I remember that the Abbé Raynal came to see my father there. The theories of this historian had just been reduced to practice; he seemed disgusted with them. I heard him reproach himself with the exaggeration of his philosophical writings. He repented his share of the flames in this horrible conflagration, and his having placed torches instead of lustres in brutal hands which used them to consume and destroy all.'

He goes on to say that the Reign of Terror was just beginning; the family was poor

\* Liv. ix., chap. 11.

and proscribed; masters and preceptors all abandoned them, and the father was the sole instructor.

'This was too much for me; the disproportion between tutor and pupil was too great. In this early age, the age of sensations, and in the middle of the tragic scenes surrounding me, feeble and sickly, my heart was too soon and singularly developed, but alone, but at the expense of all the rest, and especially of my mind, which remained in its first infancy. I grew neither in body nor intelligence.'

This lasted three years; and he was in his fifteenth year, when he took up a book of light literature which he had frequently glanced over and thrown by, and from the first words he felt as if a thick internal veil had been torn aside, and as if a new world of ideas, luminous and dazzling, had been opened to him. The readers of John Stuart Mill's 'Autobiography' will remember that the dark mental cloud which hung upon him was similarly dissipated by his coming accidentally on a passage in the Memoirs of Marmontel. The day after the intellectual glow came upon young de Ségur he was seized with a literary fit, during which he composed comedies. Then, after a serious semi-religious turn, a melancholy meditative mood came over him, when, convinced of the vanity and nothingness of all things including human life, he alternately contemplates suicide *à la Werther* or the isolation and solitary musings of a hermit. The spell is fortunately broken by a call to Paris.

'The view of the world sufficed to originate a fresh transformation, so accidental and contrary to nature was the tendency in which I was well nigh lost: self-love and very soon other kinds of love completed the work.'

Society was just beginning to revive under the Directory, and he was immediately introduced to the best of it by his uncle the Vicomte de Ségur. Dazzled by its novelty and fascinated by its charm, his sole ambition is to shine in it, to sustain the renown of his family for wit, courage, and gallantry. The method he pursued was precisely that of the hero in *Les Premières Armes de Richelieu*: he fought duels, he compromised female reputations, he wrote love verses. He was indifferent to the political position, ever verging on a crisis; and if he deigned to think of the glories accruing to the French arms, it was to sneer at them, and speak of the young commander in the full career of victory as 'Monsieur' Bonaparte, after the fashion of his clique. Yet this dissipation and frivolity were but another crust or layer which covered and concealed his genuine qualities of head and

heart: when these were fairly reached and roused, there was an end of vacillation, folly, weakness, and uncertainty. His real instincts were military; his true vocation was for arms; although here, again, the impulse was accidental; but once given, it determined the whole colour of his life.

'Time pressed, and the humiliation of remaining a burthen on my family. Already I was mournfully making up my mind to become a middling clerk, when a last journey took me to Paris. On that day, after passing the barrier, a singular emotion, which I remarked in the attitude and on the countenance of all, inspired me with a vague hope. Revolutions succeeded each other rapidly. I foresaw one. I could not lose by change. Disenchanted of my dreams, and restored to the real world by misery, I felt interested in public matters for the first time. I was utterly ignorant of what was about to happen. I dared not ask, but a powerful instinct guided me; it led me straight towards him whose destiny was speedily to involve my own.

'It was at the very hour when, in the Tuileries, Napoleon, summoned by the Council of Ancients, began the revolution of 18 Brumaire, and was haranguing the garrison, to be sure of it against the Directory and the other Council. I was stopped by the garden railing. I pressed my face against it: I gazed eagerly on this memorable scene. Then I ran round the enclosure and tried all the entrances. At last, on reaching the gate of the Pont Tournant, I saw it open. A regiment of dragoons, the 9th, came out; they were on their march towards Saint Cloud, fully equipped, sword in hand, and in that state of warlike excitement, with the proud and determined air of soldiers, when they go to encounter an enemy, determined to conquer or to die. At this martial aspect the warrior blood I had received from my fathers boiled in my veins. My vocation was decided; I was a soldier from this hour. I dreamt of nothing but battles, and held every other career in contempt.'

Up to this time he had been in the habit of regarding the revolutionary army with hatred and distrust. How were these feelings to be reconciled with his new-born enthusiasm for arms? his love of glory with his antipathy to the only flag under which it could be won? What would be said when he, the champion of the white flag, was first seen in uniform under the tricolour? It was something that Bonaparte was more of a reactionary than a revolutionist: that he was the restorer of order, the declared foe of proscription, and in the very act of holding out the right-hand of fellowship to the Royalists, and calling on all true Frenchmen to co-operate in defence of their common country. One of the First Consul's projects was the levying of a volunteer regiment, to be exclusively composed of young

men, armed, equipped and mounted at their own expense. The organisation was intrusted to General Dumas, an ex-Royalist and acquaintance of M. de Ségur, who had the good fortune, as it turned out, to be the first recruit upon the list. One motive that actuated him, besides military enthusiasm, was the hope of advancing the cause he was apparently deserting.

'My imagination, fruitful in expedients, conceived that of engrafting my Royalism on this army, all made up of Republicans. I was bold enough to suppose that I should induce a considerable number of my friends to imitate my example; that this counter-revolutionary seed would take root; and as hitherto revolution had followed revolution, judging the future from the past, there might come one by which our party might benefit. This idea, absurd as it was, had a commencement of execution; this is why I speak of it, for I soon gained many proselytes.'

But he is here anticipating; and we are induced to follow him closely, if not quite step by step, in this part of his career, because he was then a type of the period, the representative of a class, and strikingly illustrates the manner in which Consulate and Empire were consolidated, and the old order of things gradually brought into some sort of harmony with the new. His father, whom we suspect to have been somewhat of a timeserver, approved the step; but before quitting Paris he had to run the gauntlet of the aristocratic faubourg, who overwhelmed him with sneers and sarcasms, against which he rebelled and bore up with a spirit of defiance that failed him altogether in the parting interview with his grandfather. The old marshal received him much as an old Roman would have received a son who had broken the military oath, or returned without his shield—*parma non bene relictâ*.

'I arrived early, and approached his bed in the most submissive attitude. "You have proved wanting," he sternly began, "to all the traditions of your ancestors. But it is done; think well of it; you are voluntarily enrolled in the Republican army. Serve in it frankly and loyal, for your course is taken, and it is no longer the time to turn back from it." Then seeing me bathed in tears, he melted, and with his only remaining hand taking mine, he drew me towards him; then giving me twenty louis—it was almost all he possessed—he added: "Come, there is something to help you in completing your equipment; go, and at least sustain with bravery and fidelity, under the flag you have thought fit to select, the name you bear and the honour of your family." Fifty years have passed, and I never think of this noble and painful counsel, of this manly and touching benediction, without being moved to the bottom of my heart.'

He was really fulfilling an important mission; and he does himself less than justice when he says that the opportune junction of parties would have taken place without him, although it was he who began it. The importance of the service rendered was seen and duly appreciated by Napoleon, who, at the end of a few months, appointed him to a sub-lieutenancy in the corps.

These Memoirs were composed piecemeal, and the detached portions have been somewhat hastily and carelessly thrown together. The transitions are abrupt, and the general history is intersected with the personal adventures in a way that renders it no easy matter to extract a consecutive and consistent narrative. Thus, after passing over the summary of the early life of Napoleon, filling more than half a volume, we find, to our surprise, that an interval of two years occurs between M. de Ségur's first commission and his complete adhesion to the First Consul, during which he was more than once on the point of siding with the rivals of his chief. His first campaign was in the Grisons, under Macdonald; and his first great battle Hohenlinden, under Moreau. On the eve of Hohenlinden, he was engaged in an affair which throws light on the discipline and the relations between officers and subordinates in an army thus exceptionally composed. His colonel was M. de Labarbée, a man about fifty, renowned for his ready wit, his martial bearing, his herculean strength, his extraordinary skill in all athletic exercises, and his reckless, always happy, temerity. It was recorded of him, that one day, confronted by the Austrian cavalry, he ordered his men to keep still, dashed sabre in hand at the opposing line, traversed it, wheeled round, cut his way back, and covered with blood, calmly resumed his place at the head of his regiment.

He was once quartered in a garrison town, where the officers of a crack regiment had practically monopolised a café, by insisting that any officer of another regiment who made use of it should be deemed their guest and regaled at their cost. Enraged at this pretension, M. de Labarbée, when his money was refused, first broke everything within his reach, then calling for a bucket of lemonade, gave it to his horse, saying, that as 'it was Messieurs the officers who paid, there was no need for sparing anything.' This left him with some half-dozen duels upon hand, each of which terminated in his favour. A quarrel with such a man was anything but agreeable, yet one was forced upon M. de Ségur in a way which left him (he thought) no alternative. The evening before the battle, the colonel, who

had dined, was on his way to the bivouac of his regiment, when he rode against the lieutenant, coolly pushed him aside with a thrust of his boot, and went on without apologising or taking the slightest notice of him.

'Struck dumb and motionless for a moment by so unexpected a blow, my imagination was inflamed. I passed the whole night, one while in transports of rage, and one while, not knowing what to do, in tears. Finally, at break of day, seeing my colonel walking by himself in the plain, I ran to him and tendered my resignation, giving him to understand that, immediately afterwards, having become again his equal, I should use my right to demand satisfaction for the insult he had offered me. M. de Labarbée either had no recollection of the incident, or had not recognised me when he pushed me from his path. All surprise at first, he measured me from head to foot with a glance of disdain so expressive, so full of the exclamation of the Cid: "*Mais t'attaquer à moi qui t'a rendu si vain?*" that, in truth, Daguerre, interpreting his look with his new method, might, I believe, have traced this verse, word for word, on my slender person. At the same time, the colonel simply replied that in presence of the enemy I could not resign my commission, without the loss of honour. I replied that I deemed myself already dishonoured by his violence; and that after having disposed of what was most urgent, I could always re-engage as a private under another chief.

'He was too much a man of head and heart to abuse his position. He did not prolong the scene, but calling several officers together, nobly explained the wrong of which he had inadvertently been guilty; and taking them publicly to witness his avowal, he accompanied this generous and complete reparation with the most honourable words.

'The rest of the day was devoted to the battle. As for us, some manœuvring and skirmishing, followed by bivouacs on the ice, such was our small share in so grand a victory; after which, having to go to receive the orders of Moreau, and breakfast with him at Nymphenbourg, I returned by long stages, alone, without money, but provided with everything by the country, to rejoin General Macdonald in Valteline.'

Whilst quartered in Trent, he pursued his military studies with an ardour which contrasted strongly with the idleness and love of pleasure of the other young officers, and led to his being intrusted with the correspondence and general orders of Macdonald. With the aid of these materials, he subsequently composed an account of the campaign in the Grisons, little guessing (he adds) that it would see the light at Paris, and would help to get him appointed to the home staff, and especially to that of Bona-

parte, to whom at that time he neither expected nor desired to be attached. But his rank and birth had more to do with his advancement than his military ardour or his acquirements. Early in 1801 Macdonald was sent on a special mission to Denmark. 'The First Consul, who neglected no detail, recalling the brilliant renown my father had left at the Court of the great Catherine, ordered that I should be diplomatically attached to this mission on June 1st. I received my nomination, and soon afterwards I started with Macdonald as attaché and aide-de-camp.' He passed six months at Copenhagen, and made excellent use of his time, as was his wont, 'interviewing' all the personages of note to whom his position gave him access, and taking notes of what he saw and heard. He had there the good fortune to attract the notice of Duroc (who was passing through on a special mission to Petersburg) by his ready answers to questions relating to the Danish army and fleet. But the favourable impression thus made and conveyed to Napoleon threatened to counteract instead of forwarding his views.

At the first Consular levée he attended on his return, Macdonald presented him as *aspirant* (diplomatic cadet) instead of aide-de-camp, and Bonaparte remarked, 'Yes, I know he has excellent dispositions.' Regardless of etiquette, he exclaimed, 'Citizen Consul, if I have dispositions, it is not for diplomacy, it is for the military calling.'

'This boldness surprised and displeased him: absorbed for the moment in peace and negotiations, it ran counter to his views for me; with a severe look and a rude sharp voice he replied, suddenly turning his back on me, "Well, then, you shall wait till war."'

As they left the Tuileries, Macdonald ironically congratulated him on the success of his *début* and the rapid promotion it foretold. He retorted that it was all owing to Macdonald, who had presented him against his earnest entreaties as an *aspirant*; but that it mattered little, since he should continue attached to the general; when he learnt for the first time that the rules of the service only allowed Macdonald three aides-de-camp, and that he was the fourth. He was kept in a most embarrassing state of uncertainty until the 24th of May, 1802, when he received a note from Duroc, saying that the First Consul wished to see him; and requiring him to be at Malmaison at noon, when he would be introduced by the aide-de-camp on duty, Duroc being otherwise engaged. He obeyed in a state of feeling in which fear predominated over hope, when, to his surprise and joy, he was

received with a winning smile, and told in a caressing tone by the First Consul that, 'satisfied with the reports he had received of me, he intrusted me with a mission to the King of Spain; that I should have to deliver ostensibly a letter to the King, and another to the Prince of Peace secretly, and without the knowledge of General St. Cyr, our ambassador, these two persons not being on good terms; that Citizen Talleyrand would give me such further instructions as might be required.' The precise object of this mission does not appear, but he succeeded in keeping St. Cyr in ignorance of it; and soon after his return Napoleon publicly expressed his approbation in these words, 'You have ably and rapidly fulfilled your mission; rest yourself, and be at ease: I will make you make the tour of Europe.'

Three months after his return from Spain, October 27, 1802, he is summoned to St. Cloud, and this time introduced by Duroc. A presentiment of what was about to happen had come over him on first receiving the summons, and from a mixture of royalism and republicanism he had thoughts of declining the anticipated honour; but all hesitation and reluctance were instantaneously dispelled when the great man surrounded by a brilliant suite addressed him thus:—'Citizen Ségur, I have placed you on my personal staff: your duty will be to command my body-guard: you see the confidence I place in you; you will justify it; your merit and your talents promise a rapid advance.' He left the Consular presence more than half intoxicated by this stroke of fortune, and henceforth his feeling towards Bonaparte and the new order of things is one of unmixed enthusiasm. He even goes the length of giving the preference to the society of Paris during the Peace of Amiens over that of the ancient régime, and little less *couleur de rose* are the pictures of the Consular interior which he drew from the life and upon the spot. It is new to find Bonaparte the charm of the domestic circle, not merely by amenity and affability but by putting forth his powers as a talker and *raconteur*:

'How often during these late evenings did the youngest women forget the hour, believing they saw what he related, and as it were, chained to these admirable recitals, coloured and animated by an inexhaustible vein of ingenious analogies, of new, bold, the least expected and the most piquant images. One evening amongst others at St. Cloud, when he was describing the desert, Egypt, and the defeat of the Mamelukes, seeing me hanging on his words, he stopped, and taking from the card-table he had just quitted a silver coin or

medal representing the battle of the Pyramids, he said: "You were not there, young man?" "Alas, no." "Well, then, take this and keep it as a souvenir." Such was his habitual amenity; and I well remember that, when our bursts of laughter in his saloon growing too loud, disturbed him at his work in the adjoining cabinet, he half-opened the door, and good-humouredly complaining of these interruptions, merely recommended us to moderate our explosions of mirth.'

Private theatricals were amongst their amusements; and Bonaparte was often present at the rehearsals, which were under the direction of the celebrated actors, Michaud, Molé, and Fleury.

'These were followed by concerts, and often by little balls, without crowd, without confusion, composed of three or four *contredanses* at a time. He joined in them gaily in the midst of us, calling for the tunes, already grown old, which recalled his youth. Thus ended towards midnight these charming soirées. Hence arose those absurd reports of dancing or posture-lessons which the First Consul was reported to have taken from sundry actors.'

This manner of life was cut short by the preparations for war; most of the members of the suite, he states, being simultaneously dispersed on different missions, and transformed from men of pleasure into men of action. His mission was to examine and report upon the state of the fortresses and fortifications on the coasts of the Channel and on the Rhine.

'After Strasbourg, my mission finished at Neubrisach, whence I returned to Saint-Cloud. I found the First Consul breakfasting alone in the cabinet, looking on the garden of the orangery, from which on the 18th Brumaire he had expelled the Representatives of the people. He wore the uniform of the grenadiers of his guard. I never had so favourable a reception. After a hundred questions, in listening to my answers, having spilt his coffee over the white facing of his coat, he cried out that he had completely spoilt his fine uniform.\* Then he asked me if I had breakfasted; and I verily believe that, satisfied with my reports and my replies, he was on the point of ordering me a cup of the coffee, which he took but twice a day, and never more, let people say what they will.'

It has often been made a question whether Napoleon really meditated an invasion of England. The more recent and better

\* A point in common between Bonaparte and Pepys is worth noting: 'This day I got a little rent in my new fine camlet cloak with the latch of Sir G. Carteret's door; but it is darned up at my tailor's, that it will be no great blemish; but it troubled me.'—*Pepys's Diary*.

informed historians have arrived at a confident conclusion that he did; and this is confirmed by M. de Ségur, who contends that success was infallible if the ill-fated Villeneuve had appeared at the appointed time in the Channel:—

‘But he was possessed by the spectre of Nelson. His fear dared to disobey. After a hesitation of four days on an open sea, this fear—not of the soldier, for Villeneuve was personally brave, but of the general who is overcome by his responsibility—took counsel only of a feeble breeze which unhappily blew that day from the north-west. If it had blown from the south, I have been assured by another witness (Reille, afterward Marshal) Villeneuve would perhaps have sailed with it, and would not have been found wanting to the expectations of the Emperor, of our army, and to the fortunes of the Empire.

‘In this fatal irresolution of Villeneuve, this feeble incident, a puff of wind finally decided all. See, then, on what hung the fate of the world! on a puff of wind, not even on a storm! It pleased destiny to overthrow by this puff the entire work of Napoleon, and the greatest hope ever entertained. So light in the scales of fortune are the greatest men, their grandest conceptions, and the most powerful empires.’

The absurdity of forming plans of naval co-operation on the most comprehensive scale, without allowing for wind or tide, never once occurred to the Emperor or his military Staff. He not only expected fleets and armaments, coming from opposite points of the compass, to rendezvous at a given time and place, like concentrating troops; but it was of the very essence of his plan that two thousand vessels, including transports and flat-bottomed boats, distributed along more than two hundred miles of coast, should arrive simultaneously on that part of the English coast which was deemed most favourable for the disembarkation. Well may M. Laufrey exclaim that, ‘calmly analysed and considered in detail, it was the wildest venture that ever tempted the imagination of a gamester.’

The news of Villeneuve’s detention at Ferrol reached the Emperor at 4 A.M. on the 13th of August, 1805:

‘Daru was summoned: he enters, and gazes with wonder at his chief, whose air, he told me, was wild (*farouche*); his hat forced down upon his eyes, his look black as thunder. Coming close to Daru, he apostrophises him: “Do you know where this j. . . f. . . de Villeneuve is? He is at Ferrol. Can you conceive? at Ferrol! Ah, you do not understand! he has been beaten! he is gone to hide himself in Ferrol. It is all over; he will be blocked up there. What a marine! What an admiral! What a useless sacrifice!”

‘With increasing agitation during nearly

an hour, he paced up and down the room, venting his first anger in a torrent of oaths, reproaches, and painful words. Then stopping suddenly and pointing to a desk loaded with papers, he said to Daru, “Seat yourself there; write.” And immediately without transition, without apparent meditation, and with his sharp, short, and imperious accent, he dictates, without hesitating, the plan of the campaign from Ulm to Vienna. The army of the coasts, on a line of more than two hundred leagues, was to face about at the first signal, break up, and march on the Danube in several columns. . . The fields of battle, the victories, even the very days on which we were to enter Munich and Vienna, all was announced, was written down as it happened; and that two months beforehand, at this very hour of the 13th August, and at these quarters-general on the coast.’

Napoleon was a consummate actor, with a dash of the charlatan. We strongly suspect that he had given up the project of invasion some time before, and was merely using it as a blind to organise an army for a sudden and crushing blow in another and unsuspected quarter. ‘The sacrifice was made, his resolution taken! Immediately all the Grand Army, ranged along the coast facing England, wheeled about, broke into a hundred columns, and hurried towards the Rhine.’ Before hurrying after them, we must revert to M. de Ségur’s account of the impression produced upon himself and others by the execution of the Duc d’Enghien, which is one of the most valuable of his reminiscences.

On the night of the execution he was on duty at the Tuileries; and the next morning, at nine, he went to make his report to the Grand Marshal, Duroc, when he encountered Hulin, the President of the Military Commission which sentenced the Duke, in the waiting-room:

‘I found Hulin very red, very excited, walking up and down in the greatest agitation. This colonel of the guards was very tall and strongly built. The adjutant-major went up to him, and I heard Hulin exclaim repeatedly, “He has done well! better kill the devil than let the devil kill you.” I foresaw a catastrophe.

‘I was ignorant of the arrival of the Prince at Vincennes. I could not yet believe that they were talking about him. However, in my anxiety, approaching Hulin, I hazarded these words: “People say the Duc d’Enghien has been arrested!” “Yes, and dead too!” was his brusque reply.” Duroc coming in then, we surrounded him. When my report was made, to a short and almost mute interrogation, d’Hautencourt (the adjutant-major of *gendarmérie* charged with the execution), replied: “He was shot in the ditch at three this morning.” Then producing from his pocket a packet about three inches square,

squeezed and stained as if carried for some time, the adjutant-major added: "The moment before his death he drew this paper from his breast, begging me to have it delivered to the Princess.\* It contains the hair of . . ." These last words were spoken with an affectation of indifference which filled me with horror from head to foot. I felt growing pale; it seemed as if the earth was slipping from under me. My service was over, I withdrew on the instant in a state of inexpressible distress. . . .

'On reaching my father's, I hardly knew how, I dropped on a chair at the foot of his bed, saying, "The Duc d'Enghien has been shot this night. We are carried back to the horrors of '93. The hand which drew us from their thrusts us back. How henceforth can we continue his associates?" My father, prostrated, remained dumb; he could not believe me. I repeated to him what I have written down, and he, revolted by it, could think of no sufficient motive for such vindictiveness. His first belief, like mine, was that after this first step in blood, no genius would be sufficiently master of itself to stop in so fatal a course, and that we must, in short, think seriously of separation.'

Such, he states, was the unanimous feeling of his friends, and it would seem that they were at no pains to conceal what they felt. When, on the Sunday following, they met at the Tuileries, Caulaincourt looked aged by ten years; 'his paleness, when I pressed his hand, redoubled, but his attitude remained of marble.' When Bonaparte crossed the circle to enter the chapel, no change of countenance could be detected; and although M. de Ségur watched him narrowly during the service, expecting some symptom of remorse before God and, haply, the disembodied spirit of his victim, he betrayed none; 'his face retained its imperturbable calmness, and struck the observer as that of a severe and impassive judge.' It was as such that he assumed to have acted; and even those of his followers who remained unconvinced of either the justice or expediency of the act, ended by agreeing to regard it as an insulated and exceptional one, out of keeping with his character, and of a kind which he lay under no temptation to repeat:—

'As to a future of blood, why suppose it? Fear alone could drag the First Consul into it; and we know that, after the explosion of the infernal and Royalist machine of 3 Nivose, on one of his counsellors asking him, "Are you not afraid, Citizen Consul?" he replied, "Ah, if I was afraid, it would be a sad misfortune for France."'

\* The Princess de Rohan, to whom the Duc d'Enghien was tenderly attached. The words are '*cheveux du*' . . . i.e. of a man, but it seems improbable that he should have carried about a lock of his own hair.

It would be no easy matter to account on this theory for the numerous executions of political offenders, many for pretended conspiracies, or for the violent and secret deaths of Wright and Pichegru in their cells. M. de Ségur states, as a matter of which no reasonable doubt could be entertained, that all or most of the assassination plots directed against the First Consul were set on foot or encouraged by Pitt!

The confidence with which Napoleon planned the campaign on the Rhine and Danube was speedily justified:

'That very day (September 26th. the day of his arrival on the field of action) on the reports of Murat, he judged his anticipations realised, Mack misled by his first manœuvre, and success indubitable. Here is the proof. I had just received orders to precede him first at Ettlingen, then at Ludwigsbourg, when on my taking leave of the Empress, she said, "Go; my prayers go with you, and be as happy as the army and France." Then, on seeing my astonishment at so positive an assertion, she added: "Never doubt it; the Emperor has just announced to me that the enemy's army will infallibly be made prisoners within eight days." This was the first of October: the 8th, in point of fact, Mack was completely turned; and some days later it fell to me to arrange at Ulm that capitulation which the Empress had announced.'

This was not an exact fulfilment of the prophecy, which had well-nigh been falsified altogether by somewhat more than the average allowance of mistakes and accidents. On the 6th of October the Emperor was at Donauwerth, hastening the repairs of a bridge over the Danube:—

'The rain which continued through this month and rendered the first part of this campaign so harassing, had just begun. Wrapped in our cloaks, we stood around Napoleon, Mortier, Duroc, Caulaincourt, Dapp, and I, receiving and executing his orders. He multiplied them. One while he despatched me to hasten the advance of Soult, and then again to press that of Vandamme. As to himself, I always found him before this burnt bridge of Donauwerth. In his haste to see it re-established on the two banks, he ordered me to cross the river. It was a first trial, and of the most startling kind. There was simply a long, narrow, and badly-fastened plank thrown from one pile to another. However, under the eye of Bonaparte, I started with so prompt an impulse that, notwithstanding the mobility of the plank which slipped from under my feet, and the cloak which embarrassed my movements, and the storm, I reached the middle of the second arch without wavering. But there the oscillations of the thin and quivering prop made me pause and totter. I lost my balance; I saw below the half-burnt joists, thrown into the river above, dashing against

the foundations with a violence which threatened to drown and crush me between them. Unable either to advance or recede, hanging and already bent over this abyss, I felt lost, when a cry of Napoleon: "*Ah, mon Dieu, il va se tuer !*" sustained me. This cry coming from his heart reanimated mine; I made one effort more, and recovering myself, I reached the right bank.\*

Instead of using this bridge, which he had been so impatient to restore, the Emperor ordered Ney to force a passage at Elchingen at a large and unnecessary cost of life. On arriving at this bridge in person he found it encumbered with the dying and the dead.

'He made his way with difficulty along this narrow passage covered with blood and shattered remains, when, seeing our wounded interrupt their moans to salute him with their usual acclamation, he stopped. Amongst them was an artilleryman whose thigh was shattered. The Emperor leant over him, and unfastening his star, put it into the man's hand: "Take this; you have earned it, as well as the *Hôtel de l'Invincible*; and take heart, you will yet live and be happy!" "No, no," replied the brave fellow; "I have lost too much blood! But it is all one (*c'est égal*), *Vive l'Empereur !*"'

On the other side of the bridge a veteran Grenadier of the army of Egypt was lying on his back, with his face exposed to the rain, which fell in torrents. In his prolonged excitement he was still crying out '*En avant !*' to his comrades. The Emperor recognised him in passing; and taking off his own cloak, threw it over him, saying: 'Try to bring it back to me, and in exchange I will give you the decoration and the pension you well deserve.'

Finding everything to his mind on the left bank, the Emperor recrossed the river to see that his orders were properly executed on the right, and chose for his post of observation a rising ground so near the enemy, that the Staff were obliged to act as skirmishers, and employ their pistols to keep off the Austrian dragoons.

'He was not satisfied till a few minutes before dark, when he returned to pass the night at Ober-Falheim, at a curate's, where Thiard made his bed, and one of his aides-de-camp an omelette; but where, all having been pillaged, all was wanting, dry clothes and the rest, even to his Chamberlain, of which (he gaily remarked) he had never been deprived before, even in the middle of the sands of Egypt.\*

\* 'Then some glasses of Beaune—to dilute—or mayhap

Chambertin, which you know's the pet tipple of Nap.'

MOORE'S *Fudge Family in Paris*.

After dictating his orders at 3 A.M. (his usual hour) on the following morning, he was again seized with a fit of impatience, and about 11 passed the outposts of Ney (who commanded the vanguard), followed only by twenty-five Chasseurs of the Guard and some of the Staff. Coming under fire, and seeing a body of Hulans in front, he turned to Ségur and said: 'Take my Chasseurs, advance, and bring me some prisoners.' The Hulans stood firm; the Chasseurs, badly led by their lieutenant, instead of charging, halted, and were within an ace of suffering Ségur to be taken prisoner along with a brigadier, who alone had followed him and had received a lance-wound by his side:

'Turning back, angry enough, it may be believed, I apostrophised the Chasseurs, their officer particularly, and dispersed them as skirmishers. Thus commenced the battle of Ulm. It was by the Emperor, and by his personal escort, that it was engaged.'

Without waiting to see the result of this incipient movement, the Emperor sought a short interval of repose and shelter from the weather in a farmhouse at Haslach, where M. de Ségur found him slumbering in a chair on one side of a stove, whilst a young drummer, also slumbering, occupied the other. Astonished at this spectacle, he ascertained that on the Emperor's arrival they tried to turn out the drummer, who resisted, saying that there was room enough for all; that he was cold, was wounded, was very well there, and would remain where he was:

'On hearing this, Napoleon laughed; and ordered that he should be left on his chair; since he so strongly insisted on it. Thus the Emperor and the drummer-boy were sleeping *vis-à-vis*, surrounded by a circle of generals and great dignitaries, standing, waiting for orders. The sound of the cannon came nearer and nearer; and Napoleon, from ten minutes to ten minutes, woke up and sent to press the arrival of Lannes; when Lannes, hurrying in, exclaimed: "Sire, what are you doing here? You are sleeping; and Ney, quite alone, is struggling against the whole Austrian army." "And why did he engage?" replied the Emperor. "I told him to wait: but he is always the same; he must fall on the enemy the moment he catches sight of them." "Good, good," rejoined Lannes; "but one of his brigades is repulsed; I have my Grenadiers at hand; we must go to him. There is not a moment to lose." And he carried off Napoleon, who, getting warm in his turn, pushed so far in advance that Lannes, unable to stop him by remonstrances, brusquely seized the bridle of his horse and compelled him to occupy a less dangerous position.'

The details of the capitulation of Ulm, which was conducted by M. de Ségur, are

well known. We pass on to the night before Austerlitz; when the Emperor's bivouac consisted of a large round wooden barrack, lighted from the top, with a fire in the middle. It had been constructed by his Grenadiers on a rising ground commanding a view of the plain. His carriage, in which he had slept the preceding night, was close at hand. There was also hard by, towards the main road, an isolated peasant's hut, where his cantine was established, and where the Staff dined with him in the low only chamber, and at the long only table, surrounded by the benches which were found in it. Before the dinner began he had satisfied himself that the Russians were about to commit the fatal error of weakening their centre and their right to concentrate an overwhelming force on their left, where they hoped to carry all before them. He was, therefore, in excellent spirits when he sat down.

'Murat and Caulaincourt were seated next to him, then Junot, General Mouton, Rapp, Lomarois, Lebrun, Macon, Thiard, Yvan, and myself. The repast was long, contrary to the Emperor's custom, who remained hardly twenty minutes at table; the attraction of the conversation detained him. As to me, persuaded that the great event about to decide his fortune, would supply the subject, I listened attentively, but quite the contrary fell out. The Emperor, addressing Junot, who prided himself on some literary acquirement, turned the conversation on dramatic poetry. Junot, having replied by citing some new tragedy, Napoleon—as if he had forgotten the Russian army, the war, and the battle of the morrow—protested, entered fully into the matter, and, getting warm, declared that in his eyes none of these authors had comprehended the new principle which ought to serve as the base of our modern tragedies. He had told the author of *Les Templiers* that his tragedy was a failure. He knew full well the poet would never forgive him; one must praise these gentlemen to be praised by them. In this piece a single character was carried out, that of a man who wished to die. But this was not in nature, and came to nothing; men should wish to live, and know how to die.

"Take Corneille," he went on, "what strength of conception. He would have made a statesman. . . Now that the prestige of the pagan religion exists no longer, we want another motive power for our tragic scene. It is politics that ought to be the mainspring of modern tragedy. It is that which should replace on our stage the antique fatality, that fatality which makes (Edipus criminal without being guilty, which interests us in Phèdre by making the gods responsible for a part of her crimes and her weaknesses. Both principles are found in Iphigenia. This is the masterpiece of art, the masterpiece of Racine,

who is most unjustly accused of wanting force."

He then proceeded to show that political necessity might supply subjects as well as ancient fatality; that thus, what is called a *coup d'état*, a political crime, might become a subject of tragedy, in which, the horror being tempered by necessity, a new and sustained interest would be developed.

'Then came several examples, but not probably that one of his reminiscences which inspired him most at this moment. One of them carried him back to the campaign of Egypt, apropos of which, passing to another subject more conformable to our present situation, and the habits of those about him: "Yes," he resumed, "If I had taken Acre I should have assumed the turban; I should have put my army into wide trousers; I should no longer have exposed it to the last extremity; I should have made it my sacred battalion, my immortals! It is by Arabs, by Greeks, by Armenians, that I should have finished the war against the Turks! Instead of a battle in Moravia, I should have gained a battle of Issus, have made myself Emperor of the East, and returned by Constantinople."

Here M. de Ségur hazarded a suggestion, which was repeated by Junot, that, if there was any question about Constantinople, they were already on their way. To which Napoleon replied that the French were too fond of France to like distant or long expeditions; and when Junot enlarged on the acclamations of the army, Mouton rudely interrupted him, declaring that these acclamations signified nothing; that the army was tired and only showed so much ardour on the eve of a battle in the hope of ending with it on the morrow, and returning home. The Emperor, little pleased with this blunt declaration, though he assented to it, rose, and broke up the conversation with: '*En attendant, allons nous battre!*'

After again inspecting his parks of artillery and ambulances, and renewing his orders, he threw himself on the straw of the bivouac and fell into a deep sleep, which lasted some hours; and he was with some difficulty awakened by an aide-de-camp, who brought intelligence that a warm attack on the French right had been repulsed. This confirmed his calculations; but wishing to reconnoitre in person, by the fires of the bivouac, the positions of the enemy, he remounted his horse, and, followed by a few of his suite, ventured between the two lines. In spite of repeated warnings, he went on till he fell suddenly on a post of Cossacks, who would have taken or killed him had he not put spurs to his horse and galloped back, protected by the Chasseurs of his es-

cort. His return was so hurried, that in re-passing the marshy stream which divided the two armies, many men and horses of his suite were swamped in it, amongst others Ywan, his surgeon since 1796, whose duty it was never to be separated from his person. After clearing the stream the Emperor regained his bivouac on foot. In passing from one camp-fire to another, he stumbled in the dim light over the trunk of an uprooted tree, on which the idea occurred to a Grenadier to twist his straw into the form of a torch, set fire to it, and raising it above his head, give light to the Emperor. This flame in the middle of the night, on the eve of the anniversary of the Coronation, which illuminated and placed in broad relief the figure of Napoleon, struck the soldiers of the neighbouring bivouacs as a signal :—

‘The cry arose: “It is the anniversary of the Coronation; *Vive l’Empereur!*”—a burst of ardour which he tried in vain to check, calling out “Silence and till to-morrow; think only for the present of sharpening your bayonets.” But the cry swelled, and the torches multiplied, till the entire line, five or six miles long, was lighted up, and the whole camp rang with acclamations. Thus was improvised, before the eyes of the astonished enemy, the most memorable illumination, the most touching fête with which the admiration and devotion of an entire army ever saluted its general. The Russians, it is said, imagined that we were burning our sheds and tents in token of retreat, and their presumption increased. As for Napoleon, vexed at first but speedily moved and softened, he exclaimed that this soirée was “*La plus belle de sa vie.*”’

It is remarkable that none of the particulars of this memorable evening have been mentioned by preceding writers, with the exception of the illumination, which they describe as the result of a regular and pre-meditated inspection of the bivouacs.\* The precise occurrences of the next morning, with some important details of the battle, also appear for the first time in these Mémoires :—

‘During the rest of the night, despite of fatigue, whether emotion or repeated intelligence of the Russian movements kept him awake, he slept little. At last, when the morning of the second of December began to break, he summoned us all into his barrack. A short repast was served, of which he partook with us standing; after which, buckling on his sword, “Now gentlemen,” were his words, “let us begin a great day.” An instant afterwards, there arrived on the summit of the mound, which our soldiers called Emperor’s Hill, from different points of our line,

each followed by an aide-de-camp, all the chiefs of our corps d’armée. It was the will of Napoleon that they should come thus, all at a time, to receive his last orders.’

These were Murat, Lannes, Bernadotte, Soult, and Davoust. His general instructions to them were summed up in these words: ‘Within half an hour the whole line must be *en feu.*’ As he dismissed each in turn, he simply said, ‘*Allez!*’ with the exception of Bernadotte, whom he distrusted to such a point that he harangued the two divisions under that Marshal’s command as they advanced to the attack.

‘At this moment some dark vapours raised by the sun which intercepted its first rays seemed to the Russians to favour the flank movement towards their left; on the contrary, it veiled our columns of assault ready to take advantage of this imprudent and foolish manœuvre in the fact. Their attack had already begun upon our right, which was drawn back and refused. It was not yet eight o’clock: silence and obscurity still reigned over the rest of the line, when suddenly, *and at first upon the heights*, the sun dissipating this thick fog, showed us the plateau of Pratzen, which they were denuding more and more by the march of columns to the flank. As to us, remaining in the ravine which marks the foot of this plateau, the smoke of the bivouacs, and the fog, thicker at this point, hid from the Russians our centre which was formed in column and ready for the attack.

‘At this sight, Marshal Soult, *whom the Emperor had kept the last*, was for hurrying to his divisions and giving them the signal; but Napoleon, more calm, allowing the enemy to complete the blunder, retained him, and pointing to Pratzen, asked: “How long will it take you to crown that height?” “Ten minutes.” “Away with you then; but give them another quarter of an hour, and it will be time enough then.”’

We turn to the description of the same scene by M. Thiers :—

‘The Marshals Lannes, Murat, Soult, with their aides-de-camp, surrounded the Emperor, waiting the order to begin the battle on the centre and the left. Napoleon moderated their ardour, wishing to allow the completion of the fault which the Russians were committing on our right, so that they should be unable to get back from these low grounds in which they were seen engaging. At last the sun appeared, and dissipating the mists, inundated this vast field of battle with light. It was the sun of Austerlitz, the sun whose recollection, retraced so many times to the present generation, will doubtless never be forgotten by future generations. The heights of Pratzen were getting stripped of troops. The Russians executing the plan agreed upon, had descended into the bed of the Goldbach to take possession of the villages situated along this rivulet. Napoleon then gave the

\* Lanfrey, vol. iii. p. 397; Thiers, liv. xxiii.

signal of attack, and his marshals galloped off to place themselves at the head of their respective corps.'

The plateau was carried and the Russian army cut in two, when a gallant attempt was made by the Russian cavalry of the Guard to redeem the battle by retaking Pratzen. M. de Ségur was at the Emperor's side when they made their charge :

'It was so impetuous that the two battalions of Vandamme's left were crushed. One of them only recovered enough to make off at a run, with the loss of their eagle and most of their arms. They were nearly passing over us and over Napoleon: our efforts to stop them were vain: the poor devils had lost their heads: their only answer to our reproaches for their abandonment of the field of battle and their Emperor was by the cry "*Vive l'Empereur!*" which they uttered mechanically whilst accelerating their pace. Napoleon smiled with pity: then with a gesture of contempt, he said, "Let them go," and, calm in the midst of the mêlée, he dispatched Rapp to bring up the cavalry of his Guard.'

The encounter between the French and Russian cavalry of the Guard was the turning-point. The Russians were driven a second time from the plateau, and the victory was complete :—

'Rapp returned alone on the gallop, with his head erect, his eyes on fire, his sabre and forehead covered with blood, such, in fact, as a celebrated picture represents him,\* but with this difference, that there were there, close to Napoleon, neither wrecks of battle, nor broken cannon, nor dead bodies, nor the numerous staff with which the painter has surrounded him. The soil trodden down by the combatants was bare. On this summit, the Emperor was two or three paces in advance of us: Berthier by his side, and behind, Caulaincourt, Lebrun, Thiard, and myself. The footguards, the very squadron on service, were at some distance in the rear. The other officers were dispersed along the whole line. Rapp, on coming up, said in a loud voice: "Sire, I have made bold to take your Chasseurs: we have overthrown, crushed, the Russian Guard, and taken their artillery." "It is well done, I saw it," remarked the Emperor; "but you are wounded." "It is nothing, a mere scratch," replied Rapp, and he resumed his place in the middle of us. Savary then coming up at a foot's pace, showed us his Turkish sabre broken, he said, in the same charge by which Rapp had just immortalised himself: but Rapp, who detested him, happening to be near me at the

moment, disputed this fact; and as he was still all on fire, he told me a good deal more about it.'

Savary has maintained a discreet silence on this subject in his 'Memoirs.' M. Thiers merely says that the Emperor, surrounded by his Staff, received Rapp, covered with blood, and gave him the most striking tokens of satisfaction. Painters in general may be excused for inventing accessories; but historical pictures should be true, or they may aid in the falsification of history. Thus Maclise's fresco in the Houses of Parliament, which places the meeting of the Duke of Wellington and Blücher after Waterloo at La Belle Alliance, will certainly be cited to prove that the Prussians had a greater share in the battle than we can possibly concede to them. The meeting really took place at the *Maison du Roi* or *Maison Rouge*, between two and three miles from the battle-field.

The battle of Austerlitz ended about four; and the Emperor was occupied till long after nightfall in going over the field and looking after the wounded, frequently stopping whilst Yvan and his Mamelouk administered brandy from his own flask:—

'It was ten before he took up his quarters for the night in the mean post-house of Posorsitz. He supped on the provisions which the soldiers brought him from the neighbouring bivouacs, stopping every moment, and sending order upon order to collect the wounded and have them carried to the ambulances. It was there, that finding Rapp, with the wound in his forehead, he said to him: "It is an additional quarter of nobility; I know of none more illustrious."'

It is difficult to understand how the line of retreat of a numerous body of troops can be matter of doubt, yet for two days after the battle of Ligny Napoleon was uncertain what direction the Prussian army had taken, and the morning after Austerlitz he was similarly at a loss. Deceived by Murat, he pushed the pursuit in the wrong direction for some hours; but before the day closed the Emperor of Austria had sent to notify his abandonment of the coalition, and to demand an armistice, an interview, and peace.\* A suspension of arms was granted—the more readily because a portion of the French army might have been compromised by the continuation of hostilities; and about 10 A.M. on the morning of the 4th, Napoleon, surrounded by his suite, galloped along the Hungarian road till he reached a

\* 'The Battle of Austerlitz,' painted by Gerard in 1810. It is said that Napoleon was in the habit of sending people to see it as an exact representation: '*Allez voir comme nous étions, c'est parfait.*'—'Nouvelle Biographie Générale,' art. "Gerard."

\* M. Thiers states that Prince John of Liechtenstein was sent directly after the battle, and had an interview with Napoleon that same evening at the post-house.

rising ground above Urchütz, overlooking a valley, one side of which was occupied by the French Guard and the opposite by the remains of the Austrian troops. Here he pulled up, and ordered M. de Ségur to descend into the low ground and have a fire lighted by the Chasseurs. A tree, cut down the night before by the Russians, about ten paces on the left from the main road, indicated a suitable spot:—

‘It was there that I established this celebrated bivouac, where the interview of the two Emperors was about to take place. The fire was lighted; Napoleon had just put foot to ground: several of his Chasseurs were emulously carpeting the ground with straw: others were fixing a plank of the felled tree for the two Emperors to sit upon; when, smiling at all these preparations, he said to me: “There, that will do,—and it took six months to regulate the ceremonial of the interview between Francis I. and Charles V!”’

Treating as an ungenerous fiction the statement in one of Napoleon’s bulletins to the effect that the Russian army was completely at his mercy when he granted the armistice, M. Lanfrey adds that the same might be said of the words which he puts into the mouth of the Emperor of Austria in the recital of the interview: ‘France is in the right in her quarrel with England. The English are traders who set fire to the Continent to secure the commerce of the world.’ But if these were not the exact expressions, they do not differ substantially from what M. de Ségur overheard. ‘After contrasting the cold inexpressive air and look of the Austrian Emperor with the cordial address and manner of Napoleon when they met, he continues:—

‘His (the Austrian Emperor’s) first words, however, were appropriate: he hoped, he said, that our Emperor would appreciate the step he had first taken to accelerate the general peace. But immediately, with a strange and obviously forced smile, he added: “Well, so you wish to strip me, to deprive me of my States?” To some words of Napoleon, he replied: “The English! ah, they are dealers in human flesh.” We did not hear any more, having remained on the road with the Austrian officers, ten paces from the two monarchs and Prince de Liechtenstein, the only person admitted to the conference. But it was easy for us to see that it was especially Liechtenstein who sustained the discussion.’

Napoleon’s last words, uttered in a raised voice, were: ‘So your Majesty promises me not to recommence the war.’ Francis II. replied that he swore it, and would keep faith. They then embraced and separated. Napoleon’s first words on remounting his

horse were: ‘We shall soon see Paris again; the peace is as good as made.’ But on his way back to Austerlitz, after dispatching Savary to arrange with the two Emperors, he became uneasy and thoughtful, and exclaimed with bitterness, that ‘it was impossible to trust to these promises; that they had given him a lesson he should never forget; that henceforth he would always have four hundred thousand men under arms!’

When this peace was concluded, M. de Ségur’s eagerness for active service, and wish to visit Italy, led him to solicit the appointment of aide-de-camp to King Joseph; and he acted as a sort of military adviser to that unmilitary monarch in the campaign undertaken to conquer the newly-acquired kingdom of Naples. When the conquest was complete by the capture of Gaeta, M. de Ségur became equally eager to return to Paris; and persisted in the intention, notwithstanding the most flattering offers and entreaties from King Joseph. His accounts of his parting interview with Joseph and first colloquy on his return with Napoleon, are full of curious and characteristic matter, on which we cannot afford space to dwell. In reference to this colloquy, after stating that its tone of kindness towards himself was quite paternal, he adds:—

‘I will only repeat the last words, because they prove that the Emperor was then far from believing in the aggression, though so near, of the King of Prussia. These were: “Rest yourself, then, and marry; there is time for all things, and there is no question whatever about war!” Six weeks later, however, and married, I rejoined him at Wurtzbourg; passing thus, without more repose, from the campaigns of Ulm, Austerlitz, and Naples, to those of Prussia and Poland.’

We are disposed to give the Emperor full credit for good faith in thus negating all immediate expectation of a renewal of hostilities; for no one could have calculated on the degree of fatuity which hurried the Prussians into a declaration of war at the most ill-chosen time, with divided councils, without allies, with an army led by incompetent commanders, who confidently relied on the traditional (and misunderstood) tactics of the great Frederic. There is nothing like it in history, except the fatuity of the French in declaring war against Germany in 1870; when the parallel is complete, even as regards the illustrious personages who were most instrumental in accelerating the catastrophe, as well as the want of preparation, the presumption and incapacity of the chiefs, and the sudden collapse of spirit and energy under the ensuing catastrophe. In

fact, the positions were exactly reversed; and it looked as if the two nations had undergone an entire transformation of character to fit them for an exchange of parts.

Napoleon saw his advantage, and foretold that the war (of 1806) would be neither costly nor long.

'It is certain, that before his departure from Paris, on the 24th September, he announced the annihilation of the Prussian army towards the 15th of the following month, and that he designated Clark as governor of Berlin towards the end of October. Daru, from whom I have these facts, of which he was witness, added that at Mayence, the 2nd October, when he demanded the order for the *Trésor* (the military chest) to follow, Napoleon replied that the Treasurer would suffice. The *Trésor* remained in France. The Emperor reckoned so much on the plunder of Prussia, that he carried with him only 80,000 francs, to keep and pay two hundred thousand men.'

What is commonly called the battle of Jena, consisted of two battles; and M. de Ségur fully confirms the charge brought by M. Lanfrey against Napoleon of purposely confounding them, with the view of monopolising the glory. On the night of the 13th, the night after the battle, he was quartered in an inn, and sleeping in a common inn bed.

'He was not then surrounded by all those comforts which subsequently contributed to make war less fatiguing to him, and perhaps too easy. I entered (at midnight), lamp in hand, and approached his bed. In an instant the dull light of this lamp broke him from a deep sleep, for he could endure no light at night, and the feeblest glimmer was enough to prevent him from sleeping.'

After listening to M. de Ségur's report, he asked whether no cannonade had been heard towards Weimar, remarking, that a considerable affair must have occurred in that direction. Two hours afterwards he was awakened again by Bourke, an officer of Davoust's, who came to announce the victory of Auerstädt, a victory so independent of Jena, that eight or ten hours after its conclusion the Emperor knew nothing of it.

'There is ground for astonishment, therefore, if, in the following bulletin, it was his pleasure to confound this victory with his own. It was especially at Auerstädt, and by one of his lieutenants, that, three times more numerous, the *élite* of the Prussian troops, with their most renowned generals, their princes and their king, had been annihilated; whilst at Jena, the Emperor, as strong as the enemy, found he had only conquered two lieutenants, whom he had surprised separated from the rest. The glory was too disproportion-

tioned to be avowed before the world by him who lived on glory.'

All that can be urged in excuse for this mystification is, that the success of both battles was conjointly owing to his strategy: this is the view apparently taken by M. Thiers; but what are we to think of the portentous audacity of the statement that he had 80,000 men before him, whilst Davoust had only to encounter 50,000, a statement which, after being published in a bulletin, was regularly recorded in the archives of the War Office.

The same night during which he was twice disturbed, he had made inquiries about a numerous body of Saxon prisoners:

'I afterwards ascertained that they had defiled before him whilst, stretched on the ground with his maps, he was marking out to Berthier those bold movements which followed his victory. He was so overcome by fatigue that, in the middle of this work, he fell asleep. His Grenadiers saw it, and, on a sign from Marshal Lefebvre, they silently formed round him, thus protecting the sleep of their Emperor on the ground where he had just treated them to so splendid a spectacle!'

This illustrates some remarks of Napoleon at St. Helena, when he censured what he called historical silliness (*niaiserie*) on the part of historians who judged ill of men and events. 'It was wrong, for example, to expatiate on the calmness of Alexander, Cæsar, and others, for having slept on the eve of a battle. There are none of our soldiers, of our generals, who have not repeated this marvel twenty times, and nearly all the heroism lay in the foregoing fatigue.' M. de Ségur describes him passing the night before Wagram, within reach of the enemy, on the alert, the horses bridled.

'The Emperor was in the middle of his Guard . . . A spread mantle served him for tent. He slept under it scarcely three or four hours, but as profoundly as usual. It was necessary to wake him in the morning. This will excite no astonishment if we reflect that at these critical moments history shows us hardly any great men without sleep or appetite; not that robust health is indispensable to these great actions, but rather because they require elevated and firm characters which maintain their calm.'

Condé was an excellent sleeper: so was the Duke of Wellington: so was Pitt, till his health became fatally shattered;\* and

\* Striking instances are given by Lord Stanhope: 'Life of Pitt,' vol. iii. p. 39, and 'Life of Condé,' p. 18. We have heard the late Earl of Westmoreland relate that the Duke, on arriving before St. Sebastian, was informed that the breaching batteries would not open for two

the power or habit is quite as essential in civil as in military affairs, for without it both mind and body must prove unequal to a strain. One striking exception was Nelson, who, when everything was ready for the attack on Copenhagen, and he was only waiting for a wind, was with difficulty persuaded to attempt an hour or two of rest. He allowed his cot to be placed on the deck and lay down on it, but never closed his eyes a moment; and at brief intervals during some hours, kept anxiously inquiring about the wind. Napoleon or Wellington would have ordered himself to be called when the wind was favourable, and gone quietly to sleep. Yet Nelson was a hero in the brightest acceptance of the word—

‘The fiery spirit working out its way,  
Fretted the puny body to decay.’

At Wagram there was a time when the French left was routed, and the artillery of Boudet taken. Intelligence of this disaster and of the threatening advance of the Austrian right to operate on the French rear being brought by one of Massena's aides-de-camp, the Emperor remained silent, impassive, as if he had heard nothing, with looks fixed on the opposite side, on Neusiedl and Davoust. It was not till he saw the fire of Davoust, and his victorious right wing pass the high tower of this village, that he turned to the aide-de-camp: ‘Boudet's artillery is taken. Well, it was there to be taken. Go and tell Massena that the battle is won.’ It was then far from won; a desperate effort was required to redeem it, and he was obliged to order up his reserve, to which he never resorted except in the last emergency.

‘Having given this order, confident of its execution by Lauriston, Davoust, and d'Aboville, and sure of its effect, tranquillised, moreover, by the progress of Davoust and our right wing, Napoleon alighted, and that which will astonish, but is certain, is that, calling Rustan (the Mamelouk), he caused his bearskin to be spread out, stretched himself upon it, and fell into a deep sleep. This sleep had already lasted nearly twenty minutes, and was beginning to create disquiet, when he awoke, without surprise, without eagerness to know what had come to pass during this absence of his consciousness. We could even see, by the direction of his first look, and by the orders which he redoubled, that he resumed, or rather followed, his train of thought as if it had undergone no interruption.’

hours. ‘Then,’ said he, turning to his aide-de-camp, ‘the best thing we can do, Burghersh, is to go to sleep.’ He got off his horse, slipped into a trench, sat down with his back against the side, and was asleep in an instant. ‘I was only too glad,’ added Lord Westmoreland, ‘to follow his example.’

The connection of subject has led us to neglect the order of time. Between Jena and Wagram M. de Ségur's stirring career is crowded with exploits and adventures enough to set up half-a-dozen ordinary autobiographers. He is taken prisoner in a skirmish with Cossacks and carried to Siberia, where he is detained till the Peace of Tilsit. The scene then changes to Spain, where we find him (November, 1808) *tête-à-tête* with the Emperor in the Imperial headquarters at Burgos, which he had been sent forward to get ready and had established in the archiepiscopal palace.

‘I had not yet placed the first posts, when the Emperor himself arrived, with only his Mamelouk and Savary. He had travelled all the night like myself; he arrived post haste, covered with mud, and half dead with hunger, cold, and fatigue. This palace had not been spared much more than the rest of the city. The apartment destined for the Emperor was still in the greatest confusion; strewn with pieces of broken glass, overturned bottles of wine, and broken articles of furniture. We did our best to restore some order; then, Savary having gone to prepare some provisions with Rustan, I was left alone with the Emperor, who assisted me to light his fire.

‘I had completed this duty by the help of a candle, when Napoleon, whose fine sense of smell was offended by the rank odor of the place, called to me to open a window near which he happened to be seated. I hastened up, and we began by drawing the curtains, but what a surprise! Behind these curtains were three Spaniards, armed to the teeth, upright, motionless, with their backs pressed against the shutters, who had taken refuge there to escape our plunderers, or had come with plundering intent, of which their army was accused like ours. During more than ten minutes, whilst Napoleon, alone with me, was there without distrust, one while seated, one while bent over the fire, and with his back to them, they might ten times over, by a single blow, have terminated the war. But, fortunately, they were soldiers of the line, not insurgents. These wretches, seeing themselves discovered, remained frozen with fear. The Emperor did not even think of laying his hand upon his sword; he smiled with a gesture of pity. I disarmed them, and delivered them to our soldiers; and, after making sure that there was no other hidden enemy in the room, I hastened to reconnoitre the rest of this immense building.’

In his advance towards Madrid, the Emperor sustained a check which had well-nigh proved fatal to M. de Ségur. The main road lay through a defile bordered by high rocks, at the end of which was a narrow and steep ascent to mount before gaining the plateau of the Sommo-Sierra. On the top were a redoubt commanding the pass,

twelve thousand Spaniards, and sixteen guns. The rocks on each side of the defile swarmed with skirmishers. On arriving at this defile, Marshal Victor paused till the arrival of the Emperor, who was both surprised and angry at the delay. He ordered his escort, composed of eighty Polish light horsemen under seven officers, to charge and sweep the obstacle from his path. They held back on recognising its character; and the Emperor, who, in his eagerness, had come under the fire of the skirmishers, was told that to carry the position by a charge in front was impossible. 'How? Impossible? I do not know such a word. Nothing should be impossible for my Poles.' He would not listen to Walther, the commandant of his Guard, who urged that the position might be turned, and that nothing would be lost by waiting. 'Impossible! What! my Guard stopped by peasants! before armed banditti!' At this moment balls whistled round him, and M. de Ségur advanced to cover him, fearing every moment to see him hit, and 'too much heated (he owns) by his expressions, for Walther was right.' But the Emperor, seeing the sympathetic animation of the aide-de-camp, exclaimed, as if in response, 'Yes, yes, away with you; go, Ségur, make my Poles charge. Get them all taken, or bring me some prisoners!' Ségur obeyed without hesitation, and addressing the Polish commander, told him that they must charge directly, and charge home. As the most conclusive answer, Piré led him to the sharp turn in the road where the ascent began, with the preparations for their reception.

'There were full forty thousand musket balls and twenty discharges of grapeshot to receive per minute. Nothing was more convincing, no doubt; but the order was too imperative, and there was no drawing back. "It's all the same" (*c'est égal*), I exclaimed; "the Emperor wishes us to make an end of it! Come along, colonel, be ours the honour, *rompez par pelotons et en avant*." Any other soldiers would have been intimidated by the foregoing colloquy uttered aloud; they would have hesitated, but with these heroic troops there was nothing of the kind. I had hardly time to unsheath my sabre before the charge had begun. We charged at full speed. I was ten paces in advance, with my head bent down, replying by our war-cry (which I needed to keep me up to the mark) to the roar of the enemy's guns, and to the infernal hissing of their musket-balls and grapeshot. I reckoned on the rapidity of our impetuous attack: I hoped that, astonished at our audacity, they would fire badly: that, after all, we should have time to arrive in the middle of their cannon and their bayonets, and throw them into confusion. But they fired only too well.'

He is shot down with more than half the party. Besides several slighter wounds, a grapeshot grazing his breast nearly laid bare his heart; and a musket-ball in the side, by suspending his respiration, compels him to stop. He quits his wounded horse, and, whilst making the best of his way back, comes upon a boy-trumpeter weeping over an officer, whose horse, by the lad's aid, he mounts, and contrives to reach the covering rock from which he started on the charge. Utterly exhausted by the effort, he falls into the arms of the Grenadiers, who are carrying him to the rear, when the group, passing near the Emperor, attracted his attention. 'Ah, poor Ségur!' he exclaimed, on hearing who it was; 'quick, Ywan, and save him for me!' Ywan obeyed, and was in the act of assisting the Grenadiers to carry him, when another musket-ball from the crest of the defile 'chose him out alone in the middle of the heads bending over him.' It grazed without hurting them, and entered his right thigh. The bearers stopped. 'Ah!' exclaimed Ywan, 'there is his thigh broken into the bargain.' 'No no,' he exclaimed, moving it; 'but, quick, get me out of this, for it seems that fate is decidedly adverse to me this day.'

'When my wounds came to be examined, Ywan showed no emotion at the wound over the heart, or that in the thigh from which he extracted the ball without difficulty, but from the contraction of his features when he saw the shot which had penetrated my entrails above the liver, and of which he vainly sounded the depth, I comprehended that he had lost all hope of saving me. I collected as much still more clearly from his gestures in answer to the eager and numerous enquiries of the officers of the Old Guard, and their exclamations of regret, final adieux which their friendship addressed to me.'

As the Spanish position was eventually turned and carried, Napoleon thought proper to confound this charge with the general attack, and during two or three days was ignorant, or affected to be, when and where Ségur had been struck down. It was on the road to Madrid that, sending for Larrey, the surgeon-in-chief, he asked if he had seen Ségur and could answer for his life. On Larrey's replying in the negative, after some questions addressed to Duroc and Berthier, Napoleon turned towards the officers of his suite and said, 'Do any of you know how Ségur got wounded? Could it be in carrying some order?' There was no answer, till Piré, a bold Breton, as much surprised at the question as (remarks Ségur) he himself could have been, pushed his horse forward, and said, 'Alas, Sire, it was in charging by your order at the head of

the Polish squadron in attendance on your person. I heard and saw it.' This was confirmed by General Montbrun and Ywan. The Emperor then remained pensive, and had a bulletin of Ségur's state brought to him daily.

Short of admitting an error, he did all in his power to make up for it by promoting Ségur to a colonelcy, and causing two highly flattering letters to be addressed to him, remarking, however, to Berthier, that to be so frequently wounded was a bad sign. 'I have been at fifty battles without being wounded; and he,—here are two, one after the other, in which he has been hit. Luck is indispensable in war.'

Ségur's condition was still critical in the extreme. The young doctor left in charge of him thought him dying, and was actually giving directions to his servant for his decent interment and the disposition of his effects, when Ségur, who felt stifled, managed to articulate a few words, intimating a determination to be bled.

'The doctor recoiled with an exclamation; and I saw from his look raised to heaven that he dared not, fearing to see me expire under his lancet. Then, stretching out my arm with an imperative sign and word, I decided him; my blood flowed, and I was saved. That very evening he proudly declared me out of danger.'

As soon as he was sufficiently recovered, he was sent to Paris with the Spanish colours taken in the campaign, which he had the distinguished honour of presenting to the Corps Législatif. But he saw from the first that what little glory was to be gained by French arms in Spain would be dearly bought; and he condemns in the strongest terms the lust of conquest which induced Napoleon to persist in reducing to subjection a people like the Spaniards, who were rising on all sides against the French.

'Our first army had learnt too well by experience how atrocious monkish anger can be: what hatred and revenge can be concentrated in the soul of an insulted Spaniard. They, the Spaniards, had seen tears in the eyes of the images of their saints. Thenceforth, our sick, our stragglers, our officers sent with orders, surprised and seized, had been, the most fortunate of them, murdered on the spot; others thrown into cauldrons of boiling water; others again either sawn between planks or roasted by a slow fire. Amongst a thousand victims of similar atrocities our soldiers cited one of the worthiest and most humane of their generals, whom they found still living, hanging on one of the trees by the roadside, where these monsters had sawed off his four limbs.' \*

The Emperor told the Abbé de Pradt (who repeated it to M. de Ségur), that, if the conquest of Spain were likely to cost him 80,000 men, he would not attempt it, but that it would not cost him 12,000. 'It is child's play. The Spaniards do not know what a French army is. The Prussians were the same: you have seen what they have made of it. Believe me, this will soon be over. *I wish no harm to anybody*; but when my grand political car is launched, evil to all who are found upon its track.' The abortive attempt lost him more than 300,000 men, when he most wanted them; and the final upset of his car was mainly owing to the obstacle which he went out of his way to drive against in Spain.

Early in 1810 M. de Ségur formed one of the mission, headed by Hortense, Queen of Naples, which was despatched to the Austrian frontier to receive Marie Louise and escort her to France. He says that the Austrian gentlemen who accompanied her were affable enough, but that he never saw a more stiff, constrained, silent set of women than the ladies, who seemed bent on revenging by their repelling manners the humiliation inflicted on their country by French arms:—

'Custom requires from a foreign princess thus situated a sudden transformation so complete that about her, as on her, nothing must remain which attaches her to the country, the persons, and the habits from which she is to be separated. The Queen of Naples did not neglect the observance of this rule. The change of articles of dress, the most complete, was but an amusement; that of persons being foreseen, there was nothing to do but submit to it. This painful transition would have passed without too evident a mortification if the jealous anxiety of the sister-in-law of Napoleon had not been attracted to a little Viennese dog, the parting with which, inexorably exacted, cost Marie Louise many tears. . . .

'On the 20th March he (the Emperor) had come to Compiegne to meet her. On the 28th he started incognito with Murat. He met us, at nightfall, at Courcelles, where we saw him, through a pouring rain, run up hastily, open the carriage of Marie Louise, throw himself into it, and embrace the Archduchess with an ardour which it is impossible to paint.'

This marriage completed the mental intoxication in which he had been habitually indulging for the last two or three years. Until the actual overthrow was impending, checks and reverses only served as stimulants, and M. de Ségur compares his imperial patron to a gambler who, spoilt or *blazé*

Comte de Sonnevillle in his highly interesting 'Memoirs,' recently published.

\* This is confirmed to the letter by Colonel

by a long run of good luck, seeks a new excitement, if not a new pleasure, in running extraordinary risks against the known calculation of chances. All his most sagacious counsellors were agreed in deprecating the expedition to Russia, and the common opinion was that his head was turned when he conceived the insensate project of reducing the whole of Europe to a state of vassalage. M. Lanfrey says that he sought war as a diversion and an exercise indispensable for his spirits and health. This cannot be said of his later campaigns. It was one of his favourite maxims that health and youth, as well as luck, are indispensable in war, and his own powers of exertion and endurance were prodigious till he had passed middle age. One day, at Alexandria, in 1802, he rode over the whole of the fortifications and the surrounding country, tiring out five horses, and so completely knocking up his escort, that they could hardly keep their legs, whilst he remained standing and at work far into the night. His constant mode of accounting for the failures and reverses of his decline was, that he could not be everywhere; and it was undoubtedly true that his quasi omnipresence at the earlier and more auspicious periods was a main element of success. Before the end of 1810, when he was in his forty-second year, he had contracted an inconvenient degree of *embonpoint*, and he told M. de Ségur's father that he could not ride the shortest distance without fatigue. Nor was this the worst. He was obliged to be constantly on his guard against a painful malady, an access of which might prostrate him at any moment when he required the unimpaired energies of both mind and body. There were four or five occasions on which the destinies of the empire, of the world, were more or less influenced by this complaint.

'It is certain that at Schönbrunn, shortly after the great efforts of Essling and Wagram, towards the end of July, a malady that has remained mysterious suddenly attacked him. The most intimate of his chief officers knew its nature and have kept it secret. The others are still ignorant of it; but the entire sequestration of the Emperor during eight days, mysterious conferences between Murat, Berthier, and Duroc, their evident anxiety, and their prompt summons of Corvisart, and the principal physician of Vienna, all proves that serious alarm prevailed at the Imperial headquarters.'

M. de Ségur attributes to exhaustion and depression, premonitory of this attack, the suspension of arms at Znaim (July 11, 1809), to which the Emperor agreed against the earnest remonstrances of his marshals

and amidst the clamorous disappointment of the army.

At Borodino, Ney, Davoust and Murat called simultaneously for the Young Guard. 'Let it only show itself, let it only follow in support, and we answer for the rest.' Their messenger, Belliard, returned in alarm and haste to announce the impossibility of obtaining the reserve from the Emperor, whom he had found at the same place, with an air of pain and depression, a dull, drowsy look, the features drawn, giving his orders languidly and indifferently. At this recital Ney gave free vent to his indignation:

'Had they come so far to be content with a battlefield? What was the Emperor about behind the army, where he is only within reach of a reverse and not of a success? Since he no longer makes war in person, is no longer General, let him return to the Tuileries, and leave us to be his generals.' Murat was more calm. 'He remembered seeing the Emperor the day before, when reconnoitring the front of the enemy's line, stop frequently, get off his horse, and leaning his brow against a cannon, remain there in an attitude of pain.'

The morning after the battle, when it was agreed on all hands that a grand opportunity had been missed, when Murat declared that the genius of Napoleon was not to be recognised on that day, and the Viceroy (Eugène) owned that the indecision of his father-in-law was unaccountable, M. de Ségur remarks that, 'those only who never quitted him saw that the conqueror of so many nations had been conquered by a burning fever, and especially by a fatal return of that painful malady which was renewed by every over-violent and too prolonged movement.' They recalled his own prophetic exclamation at Austerlitz: 'Oudinot is worn out. One has only a given time for war. I shall be good for six years more; after which I must stop.' In specifying six years from Austerlitz, he gave himself too long.

The third occasion, when he was similarly prevented from following up the last of his great victories, that of Dresden, is minutely described by M. de Ségur:

'The day of this attack was the 28th August (1813); the hour, mid-day; the place, a meadow, on the right of the main road to Prague, a quarter of a league from Pirmas. He stopped there to breakfast. From the first moment of this short meal a deep disgust took possession of him; convulsions of the stomach, pains in the bowels came on. To state the exact fact as admitted by himself to Haxo in 1815, from whom I have it, a little garlick mingled in his breakfast contributed to decide the fate of the campaign. There was an instant when he thought himself poisoned.'

The halt which was to last twenty minutes, lasted some hours, and one result of the delay was the disaster which befell Vandamme and completely changed the whole aspect of events.

A few days before he left Paris for Waterloo the Emperor told Davoust and the Comte de Ségur père that he had no longer any confidence in his star, and his worn depressed look was in keeping with his words.

'Some days later, at Charleroi, the morning of the battle of Fleurus (Ligny), the Emperor having sent for Reille, this general, on seeing him, was affected by a painful surprise. He found him, he told me, seated near the fireplace in a state of prostration, asking questions languidly, and appearing scarcely to listen to the replies; a prostration to which Reille attributed the inaction of one of our corps upon that day, and the long and bloody indecision of this first battle.

'As to the second, that of Waterloo. Turenne and Monthyon, general of division and sub-chief of the Staff, have told me a hundred times that during this battle, which was deciding his fate, he remained a long time seated before a table placed upon this fatal field, and that they frequently saw his head, overcome by sleep, sink down upon the map spread out before his heavy eyes. Monthyon added that, when the catastrophe was declared, he and the grand-marshal Bertrand could only enable the Emperor to make good his retreat to Charleroi, by holding him up between them on his horse, his body sunk (*affaissé*) and his head shaking, overcome by a feverish drowsiness.' \*

The disgust at food which came over him in the meadow near Dresden may have been the result of fatigue; and writers on gastronomy have recorded on the authority of Hoffman, the novelist, who was in Dresden at the time, that the dish which caused the mischief was a shoulder of mutton stuffed with garlic. With regard to the other occasions, there is no longer room for mystery or doubt. Two short extracts from attestations signed by Ywan, his body surgeon, confirmed by Mestivier, the body physician during the Russian campaign, will suffice:

'L'Empereur était très-accessible à l'influence atmosphérique. Il fallait pour lui, pour que l'équilibre se conservât, que la peau remplit toujours ses fonctions. Dès que son tissu était serré, soit par une cause morale ou atmosphérique, l'appareil d'irritation se manifestait

\* 'Mélanges,' forming an Appendix or Supplement to the 'Histoire et Mémoires,' also published in 1873. Amongst other verses, the production of his advanced years, they contain some addressed to France, December, 1869, beginning:

'Des temps de Marengo, vétérans solitaires,  
J'élève encore vers toi ma voix nonagénaire.'

avec une influence plus ou moins grave, et la toux et l'ischurie se prononçaient avec violence. Tous ces accidents cédaient au rétablissement des fonctions de la peau.

\* \* \* \* \*

'Il était soumis aux influences morales, et le spasme se partageait ordinairement entre l'estomac et la vessie. Le déplacement à cheval augmentait ses souffrances. Il éprouvait l'ensemble de ces accidents au moment de la bataille de Moskowa.'

In 1812, Napoleon told the Comte de Ségur père, that 'from his youth he had suffered from attacks, getting more frequent, it is true, of this infirmity which he believed to be merely nervous,' and enjoined him to observe the strictest secrecy. M. Thiers, who is not quite satisfied upon the point, admits that Jerome Bonaparte, and a surgeon in attendance, told him that at Waterloo Napoleon was suffering from the malady described by M. de Ségur.

When the Emperor's marshals and generals, foreseeing to what his restless ambition must inevitably lead, counselled peace, he accused them of a selfish love of ease inspired by the honour and riches he had heaped upon them. But as one after the other of his bravest and most devoted followers was struck down, he began to feel that victories were bought with blood, and that his wars might end by leaving him friendless and alone. When, at the battle of Essling, Lannes, with both knees shattered by a cannon-ball, was carried by, he stopped the bearers, threw his arms round the dying marshal, and bursting into tears, covered his brow with kisses, and cried out amidst sobs: 'Lannes, my friend, do you not know me? it is I, Bonaparte, your friend. Lannes! Lannes! you shall live, you shall be saved to us!' At the sound of this well-known voice, the marshal, opening his eyes, replied by an effort, 'I wish to live, to serve you still and our France . . . but I believe that within an hour you will have lost him who was your best friend.'

Mortally wounded on the 22nd May, Lannes lived till the 30th, and the Emperor visited him daily; but he had lost all consciousness after the second day; and a story, accredited by M. Lanfrey, got abroad that he repelled the caresses of the Emperor; and gave vent to imprecations or complaints against ambition and 'the insensibility of the reckless gambler, in whose eyes men were nothing more than the current coin which one risks without scruple and loses without remorse.'\* This is hardly reconcilable with the devoted attachment of Lannes, a rude soldier little given to sentiment or reflection;

\* Lanfrey, vol. iv. p. 536.

and M. de Ségur states that the last time he was visited by Napoleon, he was found in a prophetic delirium, making gestures, fancying that he was defending Bonaparte, and crying out that he saw an assassin ready to attempt the life of his Emperor.

It was within six weeks after the death of Lannes (July 11th) that the Emperor was on the point of yielding to Davoust, who wished to follow up a success, when news was brought that the general of cavalry, Bruyères had been wounded: 'You see,' said he, addressing Davoust, 'death is hovering over my generals, and who knows that within an hour or two I shall not hear that you too have been hit? No; enough of blood has been shed. I accept the suspension of arms.'

About the same time his self-confidence was seriously undermined. Writing (June 16th) after the battle of Essling to the King of Bavaria to announce the victory of Raab, gained by Eugène, he says: 'I congratulate you on the success of your son-in-law, more fortunate than I. He has just beaten the enemy who beat me.' 'Whilst on this subject,' adds M. de Ségur, 'I may add that shortly afterwards, in intimate conversation, far from pretending to infallible uninterrupted victory, he said to my father, recalling Saint Jean d'Acre, the bridge of Arcola, and this reverse of Essling, "That it would be wrong to suppose him invincible, and that he had often been vanquished."'

On May 22, 1813, Duroc, the Grand Marshal, his almost inseparable companion and most attached adherent since 1796, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball, which, after cutting in two a general of engineers, tore open the bowels and shattered the hip of Duroc. The ensuing scene is thus described:—

'Ywan, Berthier, Soult, Caulaincourt, the Duc de Plaisance, the Comte de Canouville, and Bonneval, Duroc's aide-de-camp, were present; all turning aside, were in sobs. Berthier drawing Canouville convulsively towards him, exclaimed: "Oh, my friend, behold our destiny, this horrible, this eternal war will be the death of all of us." Duroc kept entreating the Emperor not to remain longer in this atmosphere of death. But Napoleon could not subdue his consternation; his knees trembled under him. Ywan saw it, and whispered to Soult: "Support him, he is sinking;" and the marshal tried to take him away. Then the Emperor pressing this dying and devoted hand which he still held, pronounced the cruel adieu, adding that they should both see each other again in a better world. "Yes, Sire," replied the Grand Marshal, "in a world where we shall never be separated again."

A better world! and this from the man who had done more than any human being to make the world we live in a bad and wicked world, to render bare existence in it a misery and a curse to millions, to encourage rapine and murder, to let loose every baneful passion, to deface and desolate the fairest quarters of the globe! What an idle mockery it sounds! Yet such is the force of habit, that these incongruities pass uncensured or unobserved, like the *Te Deum* (in 'Candide') chanted in both camps to the God of Peace and Mercy after a battle in which the souls of some thirty thousand sinners had been sent unshriven to their last account.

Napoleon deliberately asserted at St. Helena that he had done no wrong, that he should appear before his Maker without a fear; yet he had no pure, firm, elevating faith. He was never a believer in the common acceptance of the term. He had no more scruples about self-destruction than dread of futurity. He alternated, according to his spirits or his prospects, between gloomy fatalism and credulous confidence in his star. On the 20th of March, 1814, before Arcis, he persevered in ignoring the proximity of the Allied Army till he was assailed in overwhelming numbers, and his Guard fell back in confusion:—

'In the middle of this affray he tried in vain to draw his sword. It was so rusted in the sheath that it required two of his equeuries, Foulér and Saint Aignan, to draw it, and with such an effort that Foulér was wounded by it. At this moment a shell fell before the Emperor; he pushed his horse upon it. Excelmans was on the point of crying out to warn and turn him back, when Sebastiani exclaimed: "Let him alone, will you: you see plainly that he does it of set purpose; *il veut en finir*."

'Sebastiani was right; Napoleon then, as at St. Jean d'Acre, despaired of his fortune. The shell burst; he disappeared for a moment in the smoke, but the explosion only wounded his horse.'

Shortly after this escape, he was riding, followed by St. Aignan, along the crumbling crest of a ravine, so near to the edge that the least land-slip must have precipitated him into the abyss. St. Aignan called to him to take care, that there was no *garde-fou* (railing). 'What!' exclaimed Napoleon, suddenly pulling up, 'no *garde-fou*. There wants, you say, a *garde-fou*;' and pre-occupied with the ominous derivation of the word, he kept murmuring, 'Ah! Monsieur, un *garde-fou*. Vous dites qu'il manque ici un *garde-fou*.'

The most minute details of the Emperor's attempt to poison himself at Fontainebleau

are given by M. de Ségur. It failed apparently because both the poisons he tried—*laudanum* and a powder composed by Cabanis—had lost their strength; and while the officers of his suite were occupied in sustaining and restoring him, he complained to Caulaincourt that ‘all, even death, had proved false.’

Although much of Napoleon’s conduct during the campaign of 1814 was of a nature to require a *garde-fou*, his military genius was never more strikingly displayed; and the most perilous of his manoeuvres, that of throwing himself in the rear of the allied army, the army commanded by Schwarzenburg, would have succeeded had it not been counteracted by treachery. They were on the point of retreating, when secret information reached them from Paris that they might reckon on active co-operation within the walls. After mentioning two intercepted letters from Marie Louise and Savary intimating as much, M. de Ségur goes on to say:

‘This is certain. What is less so is the following fact. A witness, however, has attested it to me, although Pozzo was unable to certify it. This witness deposed that an emissary from Paris had brought in a hollow cane, to the Emperor of Russia, these words: *Vous pouvez tout, et vous n’osez rien! Osez donc enfin.* The emissary was to supplement this communication.’

It is strange that Pozzo di Borgo was unable to give precise information upon such a point, still stranger that so much doubt should exist regarding it. Count de Nesselrode states in his Autobiography that whilst with the allied army at Troyes, he was told that a peasant wished to speak to him, and that, on being admitted, the so-called peasant, announcing himself as the Baron de Vitrolles, drew from the heel of his boot a slip of paper, on which when held to the fire there appeared, written in sympathetic ink, in the handwriting of the Duc d’Alberg, these words: ‘*L’homme qui vous remet ceci, mérite toute confiance. Écoutez-le, et reconnaissez-moi. Vous marchez sur des béquilles. Il est temps d’être clair. Servez-vous de vos jambes et voulez ce que pouvez.*’ This slip of paper is now in the possession of Count de Nesselrode (the son of the celebrated statesman), a popular and most agreeable member of English society as we write. The Autobiography, which by his kindness we have read in the original French, has never been published except in a Russian journal and in Russian. It is unluckily little more than a sketch.

This is clearly what lawyers call the best evidence; yet, such is history, there is equal-

ly good evidence for a contradictory version which we had from Buchon (the editor of the ‘Chroniques’), who took it down from the Duc d’Alberg’s own lips. According to this version, as the emissary (Vitrolles) would have to traverse both armies, he refused to carry writing, which Talleyrand and d’Alberg were equally reluctant to give. He simply requested a *mot d’ordre*, which would show that he was duly accredited by them. ‘You have only,’ said d’Alberg, ‘to ask for the Comte de Stadion, and utter these words, “*Madame — et vos deux contretemps.*” He will know that you come from me.’ The allusion was to a singular affair of gallantry known only to the Comte and the Duc.

M. Louis Blanc says that the Duc d’Alberg and the Comte de Stadion had been connected by ties of tenderness with two young girls at Munich whose names were recollected by the Duc. These he wrote on a card which served as letters of credit to the adventurous ambassador. ‘*Voilà de quelle sorte il plaît à Dieu de disposer du sort des peuples.*’ \*

M. Thiers, who writes on the authority of Vitrolles, whom he knew personally and whose unpublished Memoirs he had read, substantially confirms Buchon:

‘There was only one man who could ensure the reception of an individual who should come in his name, that was M. de Talleyrand. But never would he have entrusted to anyone whatever a positive proof of his action against the established government; and he refused to send anything beyond sound advice which should be orally communicated to the sovereigns and the ministers of the coalition. M. d’Alberg, who did not spare himself when he could make a step towards his end, supplied what M. de Talleyrand left wanting. German by origin, he had been very intimate with M. de Stadion at Vienna: he furnished M. de Vitrolles with some tokens of recognition sufficient to convey the certitude that the bearer came from him.’

After a most interesting account of the events which immediately preceded the ab-

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\* ‘Histoire de Dix Ans.’ *Introduction.* This is just the sort of historical puzzle about which Mr. Charles Greville might have been expected to know something. He obviously knew nothing. His version is improbable, and utterly untenable on the face of it.

‘January 22nd, 1820.—Just before the advance of the allied army on Paris a council of war was held, when it was unanimously resolved to retreat. The Emperor of Russia entered the room, and said he had reasons for advancing, and ordered the advance; the generals remonstrated, but the Emperor was determined. Woronzoff told Sydenham that that day a courier arrived at his outposts with a letter for the Emperor in the handwriting of Talleyrand. This was told me by Frederick Ponsonby.’

dication at Fontainebleau, M. de Ségur exclaims :

'What can I add? Grand Army, Empire, Emperor,—there is an end of all of them. This genius which supported me has departed with Napoleon. Arrived at that fatal termination of so much greatness, I feel that my literary life is closed like our military life, that history is now wanting to the historian as war was then wanting to the warrior.'

His literary life was far from closed, and history was not wanting to the historian. He soon resumed his pen, and found materials for valuable additions to his reminiscences. But we are compelled to act like the genius which parted company with him when he parted company with his Emperor.

In giving more—more both new and true—about Napoleon, we have proceeded upon a conviction that we can hardly have too much. He fills so great a space in the history of the world, he exercised so extraordinary and so sustained an influence on the very framework of society, he wrought so many changes, he left his mark on so many institutions, civil, military and political, that the slightest trait or illustration of him has a value and an interest of its own; the more especially because men's minds are not yet definitely made up about him, are still wavering between the rival and conflicting estimates of M. Lanfrey and M. Thiers.

Our readers will judge for themselves, but we do not think that M. de Ségur's tribute to the memory of Napoleon will essentially vary the sentence which the right-minded portion of posterity, the lovers of truth, justice and free government, must pass upon him. He is shown to have had winning manners when it suited him; to have yielded to kindly or generous impulses when they cost him neither power nor glory, in other words, nothing that he really cared about. But his capacity for self-sacrifice and magnanimity stopped there. His sensibility was little more than an exaggeration of that which led Sterne to weep over a dead donkey and neglect a dying mother; and his good qualities did more harm than good in the long run, by helping to gloss over the detestable nature of his policy, and by withdrawing attention from the crimes and vices, especially his insensibility to human suffering on a large scale, which have given him a bad pre-eminence amongst the worst scourges of our race. Any apotheosis of Napoleon must resemble that of Hoche (in Gillray's cartoon), who ascends to Heaven amidst emblems of cruelty and violence, from an Earth of burning towns, devastated plains, and battle-fields heaped with the dying and the dead. To invoke the image of the ex-

ile of St. Helena is to invoke along with it a succession of images, like the night scene in Richard III., when the ghost of victim after victim utters a malediction and passes on. As regards the portrait which M. de Ségur has placed before us, we are at first sight attracted and to a certain degree misled by it. But on a careful study, the features seem out of keeping with the gentler feelings: the expression repels sympathy: falsehood and treachery lurk beneath the smile; and the gaze becomes riveted on the cold, smooth, severe, inflexible brow, with the indelible stain of blood traced on it.

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ART. VIII.—*Queen Mary.* A Drama. By Alfred Tennyson. London, 1875.

As the true end of the drama is action, and no play can be a thoroughly good one which is not fitted for representation on the stage, it is but seldom that great plays are written where the stage is either in its decline, or where it has no genuine motive for existence. In any dramatic work of genius composed in such a period, it will almost invariably be found that action is subordinate to idea; the interest of the poem lies not so much in the imitation of nature by means of actors, as in the form which expresses the thoughts and feelings of the poet himself. There are, in fact, two distinct classes of dramas: those which are primarily meant to be acted, like the plays of Shakespeare and the Greek tragedians, and those which, like the works of Seneca and Guarini, are intended only to be read.

It can scarcely be disputed that the great days of the English stage have gone by. Perfected like the theatre of Athens, when the nation itself was at the height of its greatness and activity, the era of our dramatic productiveness was as brief as it was glorious. The golden age of our theatre was, without doubt, the age of Elizabeth; yet so long as the nation continued to occupy itself with arms as well as commerce, the traditions of the poetical drama never quite expired. The historical plays of Shakespeare, above all, retained their popularity on the stage till within comparatively recent days. A constant succession of great actors, Garrick, Kemble, Kean, Macready, did justice to their heroic style; and old playgoers still recall with enthusiasm the favourite parts of King John, Richard II., Richard III., and Wolsey.

It was not till after power passed into the

hands of the middle classes, at the time of the first Reform Bill, that the poetical drama received its death-blow. Then, as the interest in foreign affairs and public action declined before the all-engrossing pursuit of wealth, a fresh set of anti-poetical motives came into play in the theatres. Since that period the old love of imaginative action has gradually given place to a taste for domestic or melodramatic incident; invention, character, passion, all the elements that constitute a great drama, have been sacrificed to the craving for scenic effect. Even the plays of Shakespeare himself have been 'adapted' to gratify the new taste. It was but lately, for instance, that we witnessed the revival of '*Antony and Cleopatra*,' for the sole purpose, as it seemed, of exhibiting a magnificent show of ancient millinery. And if now and then a play has been acted which appeared to have been inspired by more elevated motives, the spectator has felt that the old and noble traditions of the stage have become obsolete. We remember a year or two ago witnessing a drama full of grand tableaux, and performed amid nightly rounds of applause, in which the actor represented the most unfortunate of English monarchs, lying on his back, and tossing about his children like a street tumbler, while the poet had introduced the Protector of England, the master of Blake, and the terror of Spain, cringing and craving for a title, like any grocer under Louis Philippe.

Nevertheless, with such a dearth of true dramatic motive in our theatres, most observers must have been struck with the number of poems published in a dramatic form, and though evidently unsuitable for the stage, proving that the idea at least of action is still present in the minds of our poets. These compositions have now received an addition which cannot fail to excite great interest in the literary world. The Laureate himself has written a drama, and what is more, a historical one. Naturally enough his work has been received with every symptom of enthusiasm and delight. We are told that here at last is a poem full of true 'dramatic fire;' that the play 'is the most dramatic since the days of Shakespeare;' that it is the worthy sequel of the great series of dramas that 'were culminated and crowned with Henry V.' If this be so, none ought to welcome the event with more pleasure than ourselves. We have long protested against the effeminate and luxurious motives of modern poetry; a genuine revival of the drama would be real evidence of increased public spirit; while if '*Queen Mary*' be in any way like the parallel suggested for it, nothing but great acting and

proper appreciation is required to ensure its success on the stage.

The historical plays of Shakespeare are the most splendid monument of poetical patriotism that any country can boast. In them, as in a mirror, we see a representation of whatever is famous in the life of our nation, reaching back to distant periods, extending into modern days, starting from the great wars with France, covering the Wars of the Roses, proceeding to the dawn of the Reformation. Here are embalmed the great and generic names of English chivalry, the Pembrokes, the Salisburys, the Northumberlands: here are the life-like figures of our heroes, Henry V. and Talbot: here all those scenes of tragedy and pathos of which English history is so full; the fortunes of Constance and Arthur, and Katharine of Aragon; the captivity and death of Richard II.; the downfall of Wolsey. Here, too, are represented the humours and manners of the people themselves in the market, the inn, and the battle-field; manners not studied with an eye to antiquarian effect, but painted with a genial enjoyment of real life, as the old painters filled in their pictures of sacred subjects with the details of the life about them. Action, action, action, is the key-note of every play. The poet has not been simply inspired by a love of artistic form; nor does he group his incidents so as to express any central idea: he is content to follow the order of events; to imagine with ardour the motives of heroes, and to utter them in heroic words. This is Shakespeare's historical method: let us see whether Mr. Tennyson's resembles it as closely as his critics declare.

And first as to the subject. *Queen Mary*. Not Mary, Queen of Scots, the subject of ballad and romance, but Mary of England—Bloody Mary. The nation has passed its judgment on this Queen in the epithet attaching to her name, and the verdict has been thus expanded by a great, if not a picturesque, historian.

'It is not necessary to employ many words in drawing the character of this Princess. She possessed few qualities, either estimable or amiable, and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny, every circumstance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding. And amidst that complication of vices which entered into her composition, we shall scarcely find any virtue but that of sincerity, which she seems to have maintained throughout her whole life, except in the beginning of her reign, when the necessity of her affairs obliged her to make some promises to the Protestants which she never intended to perform. She appears

also, as well as her father, to have been susceptible of some attachments of friendship, and that without the caprice or inconsistency which were so remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that in many circumstances of her life she gave indications of resolution and vigour of mind which seems to have been inherent in her family.'

The judgment of Hume, which is scarcely likely to be reversed by the industry of later historians in collecting facts, or their 'picturesque sensibility' in interpreting them, does not promise a character suited to the heroine of a romantic drama. Nevertheless, Shakespeare, who found materials for a play in King John, might possibly have also found them in Queen Mary. Had he done so, we may be quite sure that he would have concentrated all his interest on the salient points of action in the reign, and on the characters engaged in it, the revolt of Northumberland, the execution of Lady Jane Grey, the rising of Wyatt, the absolution of Pole, the death of Cranmer, and the loss of Calais. The Queen herself would certainly only have appeared in so far as she was mixed up with public affairs. A brief analysis of Mr. Tennyson's play will show how far he has built on the Shakespearian lines.

The first act represents the eagerness of Mary for her marriage with Philip, both for personal reasons and on account of her zeal for the Roman Catholic faith. In the first scene the citizens, watching the progress of Mary on her accession, comment on the State changes the reign is likely to produce. In the second, Cranmer is sent to the Tower. Then we are introduced to a crowd listening to the Catholic preacher, Father Bourne, stirred up to a riot by the arts of Noailles, the French Ambassador, and quieted by the influence of Courtenay, one of the popular pretenders to Mary's hand, who in the fourth scene is shown making advances to Elizabeth. In the last scene, the climax of the act, Mary, sitting with Philip's miniature, expects the decision of the Council on the marriage; and pending their judgment, gives audience to Gardiner, Noailles, and Renard, each of whom she questions respecting the person and character of Philip. Gardiner and Noailles, depreciating these, are dismissed with displeasure; while the Queen's infatuation for Philip is brought out in the colloquy with Renard, who advises the execution of Lady Jane Grey:—

'RENARD. Too much mercy is a want of mercy,  
And wastes more life. Stamp out the fire, or this  
Will smoulder or re-flame, and burn the throne

Where you should sit with Philip: *he will not come*  
*Till she be gone.*

'MARY. Indeed, if that were true—  
But I must say farewell. I am somewhat faint  
With our long talk. Tho' Queen, I am not  
Queen

Of mine own heart, which every now and then  
Beats me half dead: yet stay, this golden  
chain—  
My father on a birthday gave it me,  
And I have broken with my father—take  
And wear it as a memorial of a morning  
Which found me full of foolish doubts, and  
leaves me  
As hopeful.

'REN. (*aside*). Whew—the folly of all  
follies  
Is to be love-sick for a shadow.'

The Queen meets her Council, who consent to the marriage; and Mary, quitting them, sinks into a chair, concluding the first act with the passionate exclamation—

'*My Philip is all mine.*'

In the second act the poet, still holding the thread of the Spanish marriage, shows the public indignation embodying itself in Wyatt's revolt, the loyalty of the citizens of London, and the energetic conduct of Mary in crushing the rebellion. At the close of the act, Mary determines to send Elizabeth to the Tower, a step which Gardiner opposes, out of consideration for Courtenay. Once more Renard steps forward, recalling his innuendo of the previous act:—

'REN. (*advancing*). I trust by this your  
Highness will allow  
Some spice of wisdom in my telling you,  
When last we talk'd, *that Philip would not come*

Till Guildford Dudley, and the Duke of Suffolk,  
And Lady Jane had left us.

'MARY. They shall die.

'REN. And your so loving sister?

'MARY. She shall die.

*My foes are at my feet, and Philip King.'*

Mary has now reached the climax of her fortune. She is married to Philip, and she expects a child, a hope to which she gives expression in the following speech:—

'He hath awaked! he hath awaked!  
He stirs within the darkness!  
Oh, Philip, husband! now thy love to mine  
Will cling more close, and those bleak man-  
ners thaw,  
That make me shamed and tongue-tied in my  
love.  
The second Prince of Peace—  
The great unborn defender of the Faith,  
Who will avenge me of mine enemies—  
He comes, and my star rises.

The stormy Wyatts and Northumberlands,  
 The proud ambitions of Elizabeth,  
 And all her fieriest partisans—are pale  
 Before my star !  
 The light of this new learning wanes and dies :  
 The ghosts of Luther and Zuinglius fade  
 Into the deathless hell which is their doom  
 Before my star.  
 His sceptre shall go forth from Ind to Ind !  
 His sword shall hew the heretic peoples down !  
 His faith shall clothe the world that will be  
 his,  
 Like universal air and sunshine ! Open,  
 Ye everlasting gates ! The King is here !—  
 My star, my son !'

To crown her private happiness with public joy, Pole, the Legate, pronounces the absolution of the realm. But the tide of fortune now begins to turn. At the opening of the third act, Bagenhall, who has related the pitiful death of Lady Jane Grey, gives utterance to his forebodings for the future. During the absolution he alone refuses to kneel, and his foresight is proved by the dissensions that arise between Gardiner and Pole ; while the star of Elizabeth, who is summoned from Woodstock, at Philip's instance, to marry Philibert of Savoy, begins to be in the ascendant. On the other hand, Philip himself signifies his intention of leaving the Queen, and, in answer to her earnest entreaties, barely grants her the reprieve of a single day :—

'PHILIP. Then one day more to please her Majesty.

'MARY. The sunshine sweeps across my life again.  
 O if I knew you felt this parting, Philip,  
 As I do !

'PHILIP. By St. James I do protest,  
 Upon the faith and honour of a Spaniard,  
 I am vastly grieved to leave your Majesty.  
 Simon, is supper ready ?

'REN. Ay, my liege,  
 I saw the covers laying.

'PHILIP. Let us have it. [*Exeunt.*']

And now, disappointed and doubtful of her husband's love, Mary seems to have hardened her heart, and gives commands that, in spite of his recantation, Cranmer shall be burned ; a sentence which meets the approval of Pole. The fourth act is the most stirring and vigorous in the play. After Mary's decision we are shown Cranmer in prison, where, insulted by Bonner and comforted by Thirlby, he strengthens himself to endure the fire, and represses the natural promptings of his imagination :—

'Fire—inch by inch to die in agony ! Latimer Had a brief end—not Ridley. Hooper burn'd Three-quarters of an hour. Will my faggots Be wet as his were ? It is a day of rain.  
 I will not muse upon it.'

He is then brought into St. Mary's Church, and 'set on a scaffold before the people.' Cole calls on him to make proclamation of his faith, to which appeal he replies in a fine speech, opening as follows :—

'And that I will. O God, Father of Heaven !  
 O Son of God, redeemer of the world !  
 O Holy Ghost ! proceeding from them both,  
 Three persons and one God, have mercy on me,

Most miserable sinner, wretched man.

I have offended against heaven and earth  
 More grievously than any tongue can tell.

Then whither should I flee for any help ?

I am ashamed to lift my eyes to heaven,

And I can find no refuge upon earth.

Shall I despair then ?—God forbid ! O God,

For thou art merciful, refusing none

That come to Thee for succour, unto Thee,

Therefore, I come ; humble myself to Thee ;

Saying, O Lord God, although my sins be great,

For thy great mercy have mercy ! O God the Son,

Nor for slight faults alone, who thou becamest  
 Man in the Flesh, was the great mystery wrought ;

Oh God the Father, not for little sins

Didst thou yield up thy Son to human death

But for the greatest sin that can be sinn'd,

Yea, even such as mine, incalculable,

Unpardonable,—sin against the light,

The truth of God, which I have proven and known,

Thy mercy must be greater than all sin.

Forgive me, Father, for no merit of mine,

But that thy name by man be glorified,

And thy most blessed Son's, who died for man.'

Then follows his last sermon and confession of faith, after which he is led away to be burned. His death is related by Peters, and commented on by Tib, a country-wife, who prophesies 'that the burning of the owld Archbishop 'ill burn the Pwoap out o' this 'ere land vor iver and iver.'

The fifth act is the last. Disappointed of her hope of bearing children, disappointed in her schemes for the conversion of the kingdom, disappointed in her love of Philip, the close of Mary's tragedy approaches. Once more, in spite of her entreaties, her husband leaves her. Then, as the forerunner of her own end, Pole comes to her with the news that all his grand hopes have fallen, that he has been deprived of his legateship, and cited to Rome for heresy. 'I have done my best,' he says—

'Have done my best, and as a faithful son,  
 That all day long hath wrought his father's work,

When back he comes at evening hath the door

Shut on him by the father whom he loved,  
 His early follies cast into his teeth,

And the poor son turn'd out into the street  
To sleep, to die—I shall die of it, cousin.'

Presently comes the news of the taking of Calais, and in the bitterness of her heart Mary exclaims:—

'I am a byword. Heretic and rebel  
Point at me and make merry. Philip gone!  
And Calais gone! Time that I were gone too!'

The Comte de Feria arrives from the Netherlands, and even then the Queen looks for some comfort:—

'I am not well, but it will better me,  
Sir Count, to read this letter which you bring.'  
'FERIA. Madam, I bring no letter.'

This is the last stroke. Quite broken down, and knowing that Feria is in reality commissioned to Elizabeth, Mary sends for that Princess—

'Tell her to come and close my dying eyes,  
And wear my crown, and dance upon my grave.'

Then follows a scene of policy between Feria and Elizabeth, in which the former makes covert advances, on behalf of his master, for the hand of the heiress-apparent; she on her side replying enigmatically, till Feria discloses to her her sister's state, when breaking off the colloquy by an impulse of natural affection, she hastens to the side of the Queen. In the last scene, Mary is discovered talking with her ladies before Philip's portrait, which brings into her mind all the cruelties of which she has been guilty for his sake, and of the unworthy return he has made her:—

'Women, when I am dead,  
Open my heart, and there you will find written  
Two names, Philip and Calais; open his,—  
So that he have one,—  
You will find Philip only, policy, policy,  
Ay, worse than that—not one hour true to me!

Foul maggots crawling on a fester'd vice!  
Adulterous to the very heart of Hell.  
Hast thou a knife?

'ALICE. Ay, Madam, but o' God's mercy—

'MARY. Fool, think'st thou I would peril mine  
own soul  
By slaughter of the body? I could not, girl,  
Not this way—callous with a constant stripe,  
Unwoundable. Thy knife!

'ALICE. Take heed, take heed!  
The blade is keen as death.

'MARY. This Philip shall not  
Stare in upon me in my haggardness;  
Old, miserable, diseased,  
Incapable of children. Come thou down.  
[Cuts out the picture, and throws it down.  
Lie there (wails). O God, I have killed my  
Philip!'

Elizabeth arrives in time to witness the last moments of her sister, and the drama ends with her recital of the death-bed scene, and the acclamation that hails the new Queen of England.

Such is an outline of the plot of 'Queen Mary.' The reader will, we think, have perceived that, whatever merit the poem possesses, it does not in the least resemble a historical play of Shakespeare. In a Shakespearian sense it is neither historical nor dramatic. It is not historical, for history is merely concerned with the actions and motives of men as far as they are exhibited on the stage of public affairs; it condescends not to follow them into their closets, or to pry into the personal secrets of their hearts. And accordingly we find that Shakespeare always draws his characters as they appeared in the broad light of their public conduct. It is true that he never neglects any opportunity that history affords him for a study of human nature, as in his character of Richard III.; that his imagination seizes with eagerness on any tragic scene like the captivity of Richard II.; that he delights to arouse our pity by pathetic episodes like that of Constance and Arthur, or the narrative of the murder of the little Princes in the Tower. But he does not go out of his way to imagine what history does not reveal; he follows the Chronicles closely; his actors never put off the buskin; they behave like heroes, and speak like famous Kings and Queens. In all external points Mr. Tennyson has kept to his authority as closely as Shakespeare; he has evidently studied Mr. Froude's volumes with extreme minuteness, and there is scarcely one of the many picturesque details collected by the latter, which does not reappear in 'Queen Mary' in a dramatic form. But here the resemblance ends. The chief person of Mr. Tennyson's drama, the heroine who gives it form and unity, round whom all the other characters are grouped, on whom all the interest is concentrated, is she who is still known to the people of England as Bloody Mary. The motive of the drama is in fact purely feminine. Our attention is drawn off from those public actions which have branded Mary's name with its execrable epithet, and pity and compassion are aroused on her behalf, for the terrible situation in which she is placed, for the suffering and loving wife, for the downfall of the hopes of the enthusiastic and aspiring Catholic, as though it were expected that we were to waive our judgment on the Queen out of our sympathy with the woman. Thus the dignity of history is lowered for the sake of imagination and sentiment. Who would ever recognise

in the passionate wife, whose nerves are always on the edge, in the pitiful and sentimental woman shrinking from the execution of Lady Jane Grey, in the hysterical mother-expectant, the dull, vindictive, and narrow-minded Princess described in the sober pages of Hume?

Besides, the central position assigned to Mary in the play prevents it from being dramatic in the same sense as a play of Shakespeare. In the outward form of his play, indeed, Mr. Tennyson has been very careful to imitate Shakespeare's practice. There is the same number of acts as in any one of the latter's historical dramas; the same quick succession of scenes; parallel stage directions; similar 'walking' personages, 'first gentleman,' 'second gentleman,' 'Old Nokes,' &c. &c.; attempted episodes of broad humour and common life; in all these particulars 'Queen Mary' bears a superficial family likeness to 'Henry IV.' But that is all. Of the two most stirring actions that distinguish the reign of Mary—the conspiracy of Northumberland and the loss of Calais—one is only hinted at incidentally, and the other is related by the mouth of messengers. Other actions of the reign, such as the execution of Lady Jane Grey and the burning of Cranmer, which would as far as possible have been acted in a play of Shakespeare, are described in 'Queen Mary,' while many of the persons seem to be merely introduced, like a Greek chorus, for the sake of criticism and comment; a practice which, while it doubtless gives more form and unity to the poem, is quite contrary to the spirit of the English stage.

We have seen what 'Queen Mary' is not; let us now say what it is. It is a drama of the second of the two kinds we have described, a literary drama, which may be read in the study, but which is below the dignity of a truly great stage; a drama in which action is subordinated to idea; subtle analysis is substituted for active imagination; motive is exhibited rather than effect. Now, the method of analysis, as opposed to the method of imitation, is what distinguishes works produced in the decay of imagination from those produced in its maturity. For instance, there is not one of Shakespeare's plays which is grounded on his own unaided invention; he is indebted for the plot of each of them to some well-known story, either true, or so like truth, as to render it easy of representation on the stage. And in the same way we find that all Sir Walter Scott's novels are built on a groundwork of fact, enlarged within the proper limits of nature so as to meet the requirements of the ima-

gination. On the other hand, a novelist like Balzac, or a dramatist like Mr. Browning, first analyses his facts, and then reconstructs them out of his own fancy. He resolves facts into ideas; and after reducing the ideas to the utmost simplicity of which they are capable, he proceeds to erect upon them an edifice absolutely and entirely original. In one sense such a process requires more invention than we find in the works of Shakespeare and Scott, but it is invention misapplied. For it is not the function of true art to be perfectly original, but to *imitate* nature, and the analytical method, proper for the anatomist and the general scientific inquirer, is improper for the painter, the novelist, and the poet.

'Queen Mary' is the product of imaginative analysis. And it must be allowed that, if we grant the lawfulness in art of this quasi-scientific process of the imagination, there can be no more fruitful field for its exercise than history. The historian, enamoured of his subject, sees in the collections of his own labour the materials for a new Creation. Here are the dry bones of the past, the remains of what once was living, and seems but to need an informing spirit to live again. Over these relics the Imagination will brood with the ardour of Frankenstein, tracing effect to cause, supplying actions with motives, detecting the springs of character. It darts from the fresh-discovered record, the private letter, the speaking portrait, the picturesque anecdote, forming the rapid and unfaltering inferences whence it may recompose the men and women of antiquity. And when it has constructed its ideas it lavishes upon them all the affection of a parent; with a maternal sympathy and perception of motive it upholds every action of its children against the gross judgments of common sense, and from the intuition of a moment will often redress the injustice of centuries. So great is its passion for its own paradox, that it seems only necessary that tradition should pronounce a man a tyrant or a scoundrel, for Imagination to discover that he was a hero and a saint. Within our own recollection, almost every supposed villain of history, from Catiline to Marat, has, in the name of truth and candour, been canonised like George de Barnwell.

'Barras loves plunder; Merlin takes a bribe;  
What then? should Candour these good men  
proscribe?

No! Ere we join the loud accusing throng,  
Prove not the facts, *but that they thought  
them wrong.*

And now Imagination claims our pity and sympathy for the *motives* of Bloody Mary.

There is no occasion to regard this Princess as a tyrant in the worse sense of the word; her public character appears to us to be admirably estimated in the passage we have quoted from Hume. But that is not the light in which she discovers herself to Mr. Froude or Mr. Tennyson.

'No English sovereign,' says the former, 'ever ascended the throne with larger popularity than Mary Tudor. The country was eager to atone to her for her mother's injuries, and the instinctive loyalty of the English towards their natural Sovereign was enhanced by the abortive efforts of Northumberland to rob her of her inheritance. She had reigned little more than five years, and she descended into the grave amid curses deeper than the acclamations which had welcomed her accession. In that brief time she had swathed her name in the horrid epithet which will cling to it for ever, and yet from the passions which in general tempt men into crimes she was entirely free; to the time of her accession she had lived a blameless, and in many respects a noble life, and few men or women have lived less capable of doing knowingly a wrong thing.'

How does Mr. Froude know that? But the idea so ardently conceived, and so eloquently expressed, contains in itself all the germs of romantic tragedy, and the poet has seized with eagerness on the imagination of the historian. The tragic conception of a loving and high-minded woman, actuated by great, public motives, and yet impelled by destiny to the performance of bad actions, in pursuit of objects which she is fated never to achieve, is worked out by Mr. Tennyson, as we have shown by our analysis of his drama, with extraordinary skill. The Idea has its rise, its climax, its catastrophe; all the characters and incidents are grouped so as to give it artistic prominence; as the Idea expands the play advances; and the sense of vanity, defeat, and disappointment in the final series of calamities, Pole's citation for heresy, the loss of Calais, and the cruelty of Philip, is brought out in the last act with an astonishing knowledge of artistic effect. 'Queen Mary' is in fact far more like a Greek than an English play; we are expected to pity the Queen as we pity the just *Cædipus* or the pious *Antigone*, expiating the sins of their fathers in the second and third generation. But we cannot forget that Mary Tudor was not a legendary shadow, but a historic sovereign. Nor can we forget that the idea of Nemesis represented in the best Greek tragedies was but the embodiment 'of a religious belief, which, though the first principle of action in the Greek world, is contrary to the Christian doctrine of free-will. It is because the mo-

tive of Shakespeare's plays is essentially Christian that action predominates in them over idea, and that men are represented as moral agents, and no longer as the mere puppets of destiny.

On the other hand, as in 'Queen Mary' idea predominates over action, so the actors themselves dwindle into unreality. Shakespeare, dramatising the chronicles, seems to have simply filled in their large outlines with his own free and vigorous imagination. But Mr. Tennyson, following on the minute analysis of Mr. Froude, and occupied with the study of motives, supposed to be real, has suffered the loss of his poetical freedom. His characters are puppets; we see how they were made; we follow the palæontologist putting together his motive-bones, clothing them with speech as with flesh and blood, and giving to each a particular air of external reality. He seems to have risen from the perusal of his authority with an abstract conception of his various characters, and to have adapted their speeches accordingly. Thus Pole, being represented by Mr. Froude as a weak idealist, is always made to speak in high-flown tropes and metaphors, consciously contrasting with Gardiner's blunt directness. Paget's 'latitudinarianism' is emphasised in his remarks, and so is Philip's 'brutality.' A certain Bagenhall is incidentally mentioned in history, as the single member who refused to kneel during Pole's absolution, and out of this isolated fact the dramatist has constructed a character evidently intended to be typical of the great 'country party' afterwards so distinguished in English history. He has made a careful study of contemporary portraits, and has transferred his own impressions of them into the mouths of his imaginary actors. Elizabeth is made to speak of being frightened by

'This fierce old Gardiner, his big baldness,  
That irritable forelock that he rubs,  
His buzzard beak, and deep incaverned eyes;'

sentiments not exactly in keeping with the style of a Princess who wrote thus to another bishop: 'Proud prelate, you know what you were before I made you what you are. If you do not immediately comply with my request, by G— I will unfrock you. —Elizabeth.' Gardiner himself forms a judgment of Pole from his face.

'Pole has the Plantagenet face,  
But not the force that made our mightiest  
kings;  
Fine eyes—but melancholy, irresolute—  
A fine beard, Bonner, a very full, fine beard,  
But a weak mouth, an indeterminate—ha?  
'BONNER. Well, a weak mouth, perchance.'

It does not seem to us quite the right thing dramatically for two famous actors in English history to talk about a third, as if they were discussing the points of a horse. In truth, however, it is not Gardiner or Bonner who is speaking, but Mr. Tennyson, who makes use of them as vehicles for his own descriptive genius and power of analysis. To give an exact and local colouring to the piece, two old country-wives, Tib and Joan, are introduced, gossiping in the rustic dialect about their cows and the burning of Cranmer. It has been said that these figures are as life-like as the 'Northern Farmer,' a criticism that appears to us strangely beside the mark. The 'Northern Farmer' was a genuine type of living character with which Mr. Tennyson was familiar, and which he has reproduced with admirably vigorous humour. But 'Tib' and 'Joan,'—who, we may remark with diffidence, do not appear to us to speak in the Oxfordshire dialect—are mere scenic studies, introduced without effect upon the action, and with much the same kind of 'historical' motive as makes Mr. Holman Hunt so anxious to put nothing but real Jews' heads into his sacred pictures. Let any one compare them with an episode of common life represented by Shakespeare—say that of the two carriers in the inn-yard at Rochester, in 'Henry IV.'—and he will see what is the difference between dramatic poetry and dramatic scene-painting. These are but a few instances of the result of throwing ideas into a dramatic form. The actors in this play, in spite of all the poet's devices to make them live, recall the speech of the melancholy Jacques :

'All the world's a stage,  
And all the men and women merely players.'

As we read, the events and the characters of history seem no more substantial than the 'shadows' in the 'Midsummer Night's Dream.' This is not what we feel in reading 'Henry V.'

The style of 'Queen Mary' is such as might be expected by the students of Mr. Tennyson's poems. It has a dash of archaism derived from Shakespeare, wanting, indeed, the heroic greatness of the latter's historic manner, but distinguished by all the vivid colour and peculiarity of the author's own narrative verse, which, however, is toned down and corrected by the use of dramatic forms. His epic mannerism has, in fact, produced a kind of dramatic mannerism; and though 'Queen Mary' is far less precise and affected in its versification than 'The Idylls of the King,' it contains many more lines that are harsh, rugged, and abrupt. The occasional use of the tribrach

as a relief to the iambus is well, but there is a limit to the reader's indulgence, and this is really exceeded in 'verses' such as these, which we select almost at random :—

'Of half that subsidy levied on the people.'—  
(p. 39.)

'On Penenden heath a thousand of them—  
more.'—(p. 65.)

'The Queen of England or the rabble of Kent.'—  
(p. 80.)

'For thro' thine help we are come to London  
Bridge;

But how to cross it balks me. I fear we  
cannot.'—(p. 86.)

'And leave the people naked to the crown,  
And the crown naked to the people; the  
crown

Female, too!'—(p. 104.)

'Our letters of commission will declare this  
plainlier.'—(p. 141.)

'The heretic priest, workmen, and women, and  
children.'—(p. 271.)

If lines like these, and the like may be found on almost every third page of 'Queen Mary,' be good blank verse, there must be many M. Jourdain among us who may congratulate themselves on having written *poetry* all their lives.

In the following line the emphasis seems to be placed on the wrong word :

'And ev'n before the Queen's face Gardiner  
buys them.'

And this is obscure :

'And child by child, you know,  
Were momentary sparkles out as quick  
Almost as kindled.'

Yet the composition is careful and studied, and every desire is shown to keep up the reader's attention by novelties of expression. The following passage, in its argumentative dialectic, with its brevity, pregnancy, and antithesis, is in the poet's own unmistakable manner :—

'GARDINER. The end's not come.

'POLE. No—nor this way will come,  
Seeing there lie two ways to every end,  
A better and a worse—the worse is here  
To persecute, because to persecute  
Makes a faith hated, and is furthermore—  
No perfect witness of a perfect faith  
In him who persecutes: when men are tost  
On tides of strange opinion, and not sure  
Of their own selves, they are wroth with their  
own selves,  
And thence with others; then, who lights the  
faggot?

Not the full faith, no, but the lurking doubt.  
Old Rome, that first made martyrs in the  
Church,

Trembled for her own gods, for these were  
trembling—

But when did our Rome tremble?'

This would not do for the stage; it is too subtle and metaphysical; but it is the right sort of style for the literary drama, as it keeps the reader's mind on the alert by a constant succession of intellectual puzzles. Characteristically enough, Mr. Tennyson is always at his best when he is descriptive. For instance:

'His eighty years  
Looked somewhat crooked on him in his frieze;  
But after they had stript him to his shroud,  
He stood upright, a lad of twenty-one,  
And gathered with his hands the starting flame,  
And washed his hands, and all his face therein,  
Until the powder suddenly blew him dead.'

On the other hand, he is not so successful in expressing emotion in act; the speeches have less of ardour than sentiment; what is meant to be tragic is often only painful, and what aims at being passionate, hysterical. The curious want of humour, which Mr. Tennyson so often betrays, may be seen in the following speech of Cranmer:—

'Last night I dreamed the faggots were alight,  
And that myself was fastened to the stake,  
And found it all a visionary flame,  
Cool as the light in old decaying wood;  
And then King Harry looked from out a cloud,  
And bad me have good courage.'

Really we thought it had been impossible to improve on Mr. Froude's canonisation of Henry VIII. But here is an apotheosis that quite throws it into the shade. If "the gods" are not tickled with the exquisite picture of this royal cherub floating on a cloud, it will be a sign that the British stage has degenerated even more than we are inclined to believe. Mary's speech on the quickening of her child is as wanting in dramatic motive as in good taste; but the dying speech of Cranmer is really dramatic, and is rendered into blank verse from the original with great skill and fidelity.

We are glad to see a lighter crop than usual of the monstrous compounds which Mr. Tennyson has helped to produce in modern English; indeed, the only one of which we greatly care to complain is 'brain-dizzied.' We can only repeat what we have said of similar words on a previous occasion, that this compound is bad English. 'Brain-dizzy' would be correct, but by every analogy of participial compounds—'storm-tost,' 'iron-bound,' 'fancy-riden' (to quote a compound of Mr. Tennyson's own in this play)—'brain-dizzied' ought to mean 'dizzied by the brain,' not 'dizzied in the brain.'

To sum up our opinion of 'Queen Mary,' we are inclined to think it the best specimen of the literary drama which has been written in our time. It is, at least, admira-

ble in form. It is better than Mr. Browning's dramatic studies, which have no form at all. It is better than 'The Spanish Gipsy,' which has a hybrid form. It is better than 'Bothwell,' as it has more backbone, and less of the enormous volume and verbosity, which, we think, would always prevent Mr. Swinburne from achieving success as a dramatist. Of the dramatic *spirit*, in the Shakespearian sense, the play, as we have said, has nothing; it lacks the personal interest which might recall the genius of national action, and excite the ardour of patriotism by the representation on the stage of great historic examples. It is guilty, too, of the blunder at once historical and dramatic, of making a heroine out of Bloody Mary. Of course it will be acted. Tib and Joan will appear in miraculously accurate costumes of the period; Aldgate will be very 'richly decorated;' we shall be delighted with the exact representation of Lambeth Palace and St. Mary's Church; and a popular actress will doubtless draw tears from sympathetic eyes when she exclaims that 'she has slain her Philip!' It will be acted, and then, like all plays that want the soul of action, it will disappear from the stage. But as an intellectual exercise, as a scientific study of abstract motives, as a stimulant of those subtle ideas which the luxurious modern imagination delights to substitute for action, as a monument of ingenious and refined expression, in all these points Mr. Tennyson's drama may long continue to afford pleasure to the reader. And more than this, at a time when the tradition of the poetical drama has been forgotten on the stage, it would perhaps be idle to expect.

ART. IX.—1. *Lawlessness, Sacerdotalism, and Ritualism.* By Malcolm MacColl, M.A. 1875.

2. '*Contemporary Review.*' June and July, 1875.

THE whole country has watched with much anxiety, if from various motives, the attitude of those on whose demeanour the peace, and perhaps the existence, of the National Church depends, with regard to the Public Worship Regulation Act which has just come into operation. It might have been hoped that those who have for a long time supported the so-called Catholic revival, which others persist in considering as an attempt to undo the Reformation, would have admitted that they had reached and

overpassed the limit of what was possible for them. It might have been hoped that that great High Church party, which does not sympathise with Rome, would have spoken out by its most influential members, and would have shown that in a collision with law and authority the extreme party could no longer count upon its support. It might have been hoped that some serious attempt would have been made to arrive at a general understanding as to ritual usages, extending not only to the two sections we have mentioned, but to every party in the Church. It did not seem absurd to expect that the Evangelical party would have been content to modify their own usages in some points for the sake of the great object of allaying our unhappy divisions.

To those who have formed such hopes, recent events must have carried much disappointment. The Pas oral Address of the Bishops was a sign that the episcopal body had arrived at an amount of agreement never perhaps before attainable in respect to subjects so much controverted; whilst the flying off of a single bishop at either flank was a proof, if any had been wanted, that the compact array was not marching under orders, but had thought out the subject, and formed a deliberate and almost unanimous conviction. Amongst the bishops, at least, there were many who, having looked with no disfavour on the beginning of the 'revival' movement, felt bound to join in an exhortation to observe the law, and in view of a great crisis to remember the high interests, national and ecclesiastical, which a prolongation of strife would endanger. To some extent the same feelings and convictions have made themselves felt in other classes also. But, on the other hand, it is but too plain that a policy of resistance has found active and numerous supporters, and that the new procedure of the Public Worship Regulation Act will not be allowed to go to rust from disuse.

We are obliged to refer first to a book of which it would have been more agreeable not to have spoken at all. But besides the theological interest attaching to the questions touched in it, this work is a conspicuous example of a particular style of controversy, and the consideration we are about to give it may possibly teach some other controversialists the important lesson what to avoid.

Lord Selborne had given utterance in the debate on the third reading of the Public Worship Bill to an opinion shared by all the laity of every shade of opinion, that there is considerable lawlessness at present. The Rev. Malcolm MacColl addresses him-

self to answer this in a book of about 500 pages, but of the texture of a pamphlet, with the title 'Lawlessness, Sacerdotalism, and Ritualism.' It is natural that, defending himself and his friends from the charge of disobeying the law, he should try to show that the legal decisions are such as ought not to be obeyed. He goes much further. By liberal abuse of the Supreme Court, for inaccuracy and dishonesty, he tries to inspire the reader with a general impression of his own exactness; and he deals in the meantime with well-known facts with a careless disregard, to which we have known no parallel. That a man should write English history over again out of his own mind, as indifferent to obstructive facts as the Bessemer ship is to the wavelets of a calm sea, is a little surprising; that he should do so, dealing round him, to hide the process, every charge of unfairness and ignorance that imagination can supply, might perhaps warrant a severer feeling than surprise.

Here are some specimens of the language which he applies to the Court of Final Appeal. The charges are sometimes founded on the most frivolous grounds, and sometimes on a want of understanding of the subject. He says that the Court has given a 'flat contradiction to the language of the Prayer-Book' (p. 17); that 'an examining chaplain would refuse to pass a candidate for holy orders who displayed such gross ignorance' (p. 19); that the Court 'revels in ignorant assumption' (p. 20); that its 'blunders in matters of gravest import are extraordinary' (p. 21); that it is guilty of 'inaccuracies, mutual contradictions, and unfairness' (p. 31); that its ruling is 'inconsistent with one of the cardinal principles of the law of the land' (p. 32); that it uses 'arbitrary and illogical reasons' (p. 35); that one of its judgments is 'an outrage on law, logic, and history' (p. 40); and is a 'marvellous exhibition of everything that a judicial decision should not be' (p. 41); that its 'decisions' are 'miscalled lawful' (p. 41); that the Lords of the Council find it 'impossible to evade the plain meaning of a rubric,' and have 'recourse to various expedients for explaining it away' (p. 48); that they are 'determined to find arguments to support a foregone conclusion' (p. 49); that 'no lawyer would dispute' a statement which (by the way) the Court, with two Lord Chancellors upon it, had ruled against (p. 61); that something else is 'in defiance of all probability and of the plainest facts' (p. 70); that it is 'hard to speak with patience of some passages' (p. 71). Waxing even warmer, he

asks, 'How is it possible to treat respectfully the decisions of a Court which commits itself to statements like this?' (p. 72); he finds 'surprising ignorance of the whole subject' (p. 73); indeed, 'the ordinary instincts of common sense ought to have saved the Judges from the folly of supposing,' &c. (p. 73); that the Court 'flagrantly misquoted them' (p. 74); that 'My Lord! this is simply scandalous' (p. 74); that 'the Council was so set on condemning . . . that it adopted with careless avidity . . . anything,' &c. (p. 74); 'and carelessness of this sort is a crime' (p. 74); that it was 'inexcusable not to have known' something which could not have been known, as we shall show that Mr. MacColl invented it since (p. 76). 'How often,' he asks with magisterial dignity, 'must I remind their Lordships that they cannot take as much of an argument as they please?' (p. 77). Again, the unhappy Lords of the Council are guilty of 'superficial trifling with historical facts,' and of 'habitual inaccuracy' (p. 77); and of 'extraordinary argumentation' (p. 81); and of 'an inveterate habit of misquotation' (p. 82); their 'conduct' is 'extraordinary' (p. 85); 'they were utterly at sea on the subject on which they were adjudicating' (p. 86); 'I hardly know how to deal with such an assertion in becoming language' (p. 87); they are 'grossly and even ludicrously inaccurate' (p. 91); when they very briefly correct a mistake of the Court below, the importance of which Mr. MacColl fails to appreciate, they are able to combine a '*suppressio veri*' with a '*suggestio falsi*;' their interpretation is 'forced into the rubric in support of a foregone conclusion, and in violation alike of the rules of grammar and the facts of history' (p. 96).

At the end of the first hundred pages we pause for breath. It is by eloquence such as this, applied to the highest Court in the realm, that a clergyman persuades himself he is refuting the charge of lawlessness. Dr. Kenealy no longer stands alone.

When a respectable Scotch clergyman describes the prelates as unable to face their own examining chaplains, an ordeal which he himself has never faced, having been ordained elsewhere; and Lord Chancellors as contradicting the fundamental principles of English law, of which he has learned nothing; when he describes Chancellors and Bishops alike as having no better object in view than to find reasons for supporting a foregone conclusion; the first thought is one of utter humiliation at the failure of our social institutions. In voluminous judgments this writer has found no word to

praise, no statement to welcome as true. All is barren. Once, we think, something was 'plausible,' but it was mentioned only to be dismissed; and once something was 'good,' but a footnote showed that it was not good at all. Amidst the crash of falling Chancellors and the collapse of unsubstantial prelates, one Scotch clergyman stands unmoved. A reconstruction of the social system with a very competent person as the new central figure, uniting in himself, according to ancient precedent, the highest judicial with the highest ecclesiastical functions; at that price, perhaps at no less, could we remedy the evils so vehemently denounced. Our new adviser, as far as can be gathered from public records—and privately we know nothing—was reared in the bosom of that much respected body, the Scottish Episcopal Church, and received his orders there. With his really fine powers of invective unabated by the tame training of an English university, he seems to have migrated to England, served as a Curate, and in 1871 was promoted, by favour of the Crown, to a benefice of some value in the City of London. He wrote two pamphlets, one on Mr. Gladstone, and his seat as member for Oxford, and the other on the disestablishment of the Irish Church. His pamphlets may have been quite as good as the performance now before us. We doubt not that his parochial labours are much better.

The judgment on Mr. Purchas was delivered in February, 1871, about two months before Mr. MacColl entered on his preferment in the English Church, and accepted her as a step-mother, leaving his proper mother for that purpose. So that the pranks of these monstrous Courts, which could arrive at no truth, and which sought no justice, were not only well known to him, but the Purchas judgment was in every one's mouth at the very time that he took so important a step. It was not the case of a man who, early ordained in the English Church, found it arriving at unexpected legal conclusions, and himself involved in the painful alternative of obedience to rulings which he disliked, or forfeiture of a position and duties in the Church which he loved. Mr. MacColl sought out this Church with all her imperfections on her head. He put himself under the present Bishop of London, one of the judges in the very case which excites him the most, and promised reverently to obey that prelate in all lawful matters. He accepted the Acts of Uniformity by a very explicit and formal declaration; and of course he therein accepted the machinery by which the Acts of

Uniformity are interpreted and enforced. It seems a pity that this gentleman's opinion of the Courts should be so uncompromising, and at the same time his acceptance of them so speedy and so complete.

Mr. MacColl has written a book on a subject of which he knows little or nothing; and we are about to show a few of the errors which he has committed in the first 100 pages only.

The first is a small matter. He says that 'surplice and alb are but two names for one and the same vestment.' This mistake is small, but it is a complete scholar's-mate. Over and over again he contradicts his own statement; he says that the alb was consecrated, and the surplice 'as such' (*sic*) was not (p. 66); and that 'the mass was never celebrated in a surplice, but almost invariably in the chasuble, etc.' (p. 67), and the 'etc.' is explained to mean 'alb and tunicle' (p. 66). The alb and surplice were different in shape, dignity, and uses. 'Item, an alb, whereof we have made a surplice,' is an example of a kind of entry very frequent in Mr. Peacock's accurate and important work.\* The alb and surplice are carefully distinguished in the first Prayer Book of Edward. This is a sort of mistake that the very beadle, who keeps the door of an ecclesiastical Court, would have avoided.

Commenting on the dictum that 'in the performance of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordained by the Prayer Book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed,' Mr. MacColl thinks that this would be absurd if applied to the old misals of Hereford and York. Very possibly it might also be inapplicable to the hymns of the Rig Veda. But no one did apply it to either. It is expressly connected in the Mackonochie judgment with the Act of Uniformity. 'The object of a Statute of Uniformity is . . . to produce "an universal agreement in the public worship of Almighty God."† He is entirely unaware that the principle in question was first laid down by an ecclesiastical Court, in the case of *Newberry v. Goodwin*, about a generation before the present Committee of Council came into existence, so that when he says it is 'in contradiction with one of the fundamental principles of English law,' he is not launching this at the Privy Council, but at another and older tribunal. 'Our law,' he says, 'rests on the Roman, of which the maxim was, *Quæ lex non jubet per-*

*mittit*.\* The law permits what it does not order; by which rule one might officiate with a gold crown on the head. Out of church there is almost nothing which it would not cover. Here the writer does not know the judgment he is disputing, nor the origin of it; and loses himself in some general precept of Roman law till all meaning vanishes.

As a proof that there were two measures of ritual, a maximum and a minimum, the author says that, concurrently with the rubric, which orders four chapters to be read in the two services, 'the Advertisements sanctioned a minimum which fell short of it in the express permission granted to the parochial and other clergy to "read duly at the least one chapter of the Old Testament and another of the New."† Mr. Gladstone quotes this with approval.‡ It is a gross misrepresentation. The two chapters were for private study. 'I shall read daily at the least one chapter of the Old Testament and another of the New, with good advisement to the increase of my knowledge.'§ There is a separate pledge as to the use of the Common Prayer, 'I shall read the service appointed plainly, distinctly, and audibly, that all the people may hear and understand.'¶ Thus what Mr. MacColl considers a choice between reading four chapters and reading two is really a pledge to read the four in church in addition to the two for private improvement. All things considered, this is rather hard upon Mr. Gladstone.

The next point is of more intrinsic importance.

The Puritan party at the Savoy Conference made an objection to the 'ornaments' rubric.' What this was and how it was dealt with let a writer tell, who has shown how little he likes either the Privy Council or the Public Worship Regulation Act.

'At the Savoy Conference of 1661,' writes the Rev. Canon Trevor, ¶ 'a different construction was first heard of' [*i.e.*, one which regarded the rubric as making legal the vestments, &c.]. 'The Puritans objected that the rubric, as it had stood ever since the accession of Elizabeth, "seemeth to bring back the cope, alb, and other vestments forbidden by the Common Prayer Book, 5th and 6th Edward VI." This language by no means implies that such was then the force of the rubric, or that any intention existed of making it so for the future. On the contrary, the objection assumes that the vestments were at the time illegal, and desires they may not "be

\* 'English Church Furniture,' p. 30. The spelling we have modernised.

† Brook's 'Privy Council Judgments,' p. 119.

\* 'Lawlessness,' p. 32. † Ibid., p. 76.

‡ 'Is the Church of England worth preserving?'—'Contemporary Review,' p. 217.

¶ Brice, 'Law of Worship,' p. 512. ¶ Ibid.

§ 'On the Eucharist,' p. 278.

brought back" by an undesigned construction. And there was good reason for such an apprehension, if Elizabeth's rubric, hitherto limited by the Advertisements and Canons, should be now re-enacted *absolutely* by Parliament. The remedy, of course, was to alter the rubric, but this was not what the objectors wanted. They demanded its entire *omission*, which would have left the Liturgy with no provision for any officiating vestments at all. It was, in fact, a further attempt to get rid of the *surplice*, to which they had before excepted unsuccessfully; and the bishops accordingly insisted on retaining the rubric for the sake of the surplice, without condescending to notice the *ad invidiam* argument about other vestments.

'In point of fact, however, the rubric was not retained after all. It was exchanged for another framed in the very words of the Proviso, in Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity. But it is often overlooked that these words were not adopted without inserting a limitation directly to the point of the Puritan remonstrance. The insertion is shown in the italics:—"And here it is to be noted that such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof, *at all times of their ministration*, shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI." Brief as this insertion is, it cannot be supposed to have been made without a motive, at a time when all change was so jealously resisted. Neither will any one who has observed the nice and marvellous accuracy of the revisers in their choice of words and the composition of sentences, overlook the importance due to the precise terms and place of the interpolation. If the intention had been to restore the eucharistic vesture of 1549, the wording should have been "*at the several times of their ministration*," or at least, "*shall be retained and be in use at all times of their ministration*." Rather, indeed, the old rubric would have been left as it had stood ever since the accession of Elizabeth, and as the bishops at first declared that it should still stand. The subsequent alteration is of itself evidence that on further consideration some different order was felt to be requisite.

'By substituting the words of the Act for that of the rubric in the old Book, three changes were effected at once. (1) The "ornaments" became the nominative case, instead of the "minister;" (2) The separate mention of the Communion Service was omitted; (3) The words "in use," inserted in the old rubric before "authority of Parliament," were removed. But this was not all: having made the ornaments the subject of the sentence, the revisers proceeded further to define them by introducing words of limitation. These, again, after the invariable manner, are taken from the old rubric, but still rejecting the separate mention of the Communion which there preceded them. Lastly, the words were introduced at the exact part of the sentence where, by the laws of grammar,

they refer to the *ornaments*, and not, as in the old rubric, to the *services* at which they are to be used.

'Coupling all this nice and careful recasting with the objection which we know to have been made at the Savoy Conference, and the force which really belonged to it, apart from the artifice of the objectors, we cannot escape the construction, that what is really enacted is that the ministerial ornaments *at all times of ministration*—as distinguished from the special vesture of the Communion—shall be retained and be in use; *viz.* as directed by the canons then and still in force. These are the proper ecclesiastical authority, and there was no occasion for the rubric to say anything more. For the vestment itself a parliamentary enactment was required to oblige the parish to provide it.

'This view is strengthened by the ornaments being restrained to such as "*were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament*," instead of to such as "*were in use by the authority of Parliament*," in the second of Edward VI.

'On any other construction it is impossible to understand the motive, object, or even existence, of this rubric. It conceded nothing, guarded nothing, explained nothing; but only wasted a good deal of pains to say what was already more clearly said in the rubric it supplanted.'

The mistakes made by Mr. MacColl in dealing with the part of the Purchas judgment that relates to this incident are astonishing.

1. The learned Judge of the Arches had no suspicion that the Puritans were excepting against a rubric that had existed ever since the time of Elizabeth; he thought they saw a new danger in a new and untried form. The Privy Council pointed out the mistake. Strange to say, Mr. MacColl never, through the pages that he spends on this point, gets the benefit of this correction; he never sees why the Bishops treated the dispute as one relating to the surplice. The Puritans had a century's experience of the rubric; if it had brought back the vestments in any case they would not have been content to say 'seemeth to bring back;' they would have said that it had brought them back in sundry cases, an argument much more to their purpose. His wrath is generally in an inverse ratio to the strength of his position; here it is vehement. 'Really, my Lord, this seems to me to be equivalent to saying that the Bishops were fools.' In short, he simply misunderstands the whole matter. 2. Immediately after, he says, 'the question of the Eucharistic vestments was not then before them.' It was the very question asked. 3. The Bishops' reply is "simply equivalent to saying, 'We are quite aware that this rubric will legalise

the use of the Eucharistic vestments, and we have justified their use in the general answer which we have given you." \* We leave it to the writer himself to choose from his own armoury of censure the proper words of condemnation for such a gross misstatement. 4. "But," say the Judicial Committee, 'the Bishops, after declaring they would not alter the rubric, did, as a matter of fact, alter it in the interest of the Nonconformists in such a way as to preclude the revival of the vestments.' † The Judicial Committee said nothing of the sort; they seem to have guarded themselves with care against it. Their words are misquoted. After mentioning the arguments drawn from changes in the rubric, they only add: '*Whatever be the force of these two arguments, the fact is clear that the Puritans objected to a rubric different from this, and that after their objections this rubric was recast and brought into its present form.*' ‡ Elsewhere they return to the subject, and add, 'whether this be so or not.' § 5. "The Privy Council in the *Purchas* case ruled that the 25th Clause of Elizabeth's 'Act of Uniformity,' the rubric of 1559, the rubric of 1604, and the rubric of 1662 'obviously' do not 'mean the same thing.' || In spite of the marks of quotation there are no such words in the judgment. 6. "It is hardly possible to read two consecutive pages of their judgment and not perceive [*sic*] that they were utterly at sea on the subject on which they were adjudicating, otherwise they could scarcely have felt free to adopt 'positive and negative conclusions' which to ordinary intellects appear mutually destructive." ¶ The conclusions here are that the rubric *does* refer to the Act 2 & 3 Ed. VI, and *does not* refer to canons or injunctions sanctioned previously by Parliament. Mr. MacColl knows they are not mutually destructive. Here are four misquotations at least.

Readers are weary; but worse charges remain behind. It is laid down in the *Purchas* case that the effect of Elizabeth's 'Act of Uniformity,' and of the Injunctions and Advertisements arising out of it, was to banish from the Church in a few years the vestments belonging to the mass, as chasuble, tunicle, and alb, and to leave the surplice as the dress of the minister for all ministrations, with the cope on certain occasions in cathedrals and collegiate churches. If this were not so, an essential portion of the Pur-

chas judgment would be overthrown. We do not say that the decision as to the vestments would have to be reversed; that would depend upon the relation of the Act of 1662 and the Canons of 1603. But the notable theory of a maximum and minimum of ritual, intended by Queen Elizabeth to subsist side by side, would receive some countenance, and this the Privy Council has not accepted. The evidence for the disappearance of the 'vestments' is very strong. First, it is impossible to believe that in a reign so absolute the Advertisements, while prescribing one kind of habit for ministers, should leave them free to use another kind, associated in the minds of the whole people with the mass. Next, it is certain that the existence of any such practice would have caused those who stumbled even at the surplice to break out into the strongest lamentations and protests, whereas there is a general silence on the subject. Next, we have evidence that commissions were issued to make away with all the vestments, &c., that belonged to Popery, and from Mr. E. Peacock's book we can see how they performed their work. Next, there are extant the Visitation Articles of several bishops under Queen Elizabeth, which show that every clergyman was expected to wear a surplice in his ministrations, and of course everyone who complied could not also wear the other or Popish vestment, at the same time. Lastly, there is much evidence still extant, to show exactly what it was which the Puritan party feared, and what they desired. In particular the 'Zurich Letters,' published by the Parker Society, are a most interesting and most complete body of evidence on the subject, none the less valuable that the testimony is unconscious. We do not stand alone in saying that the disappearance of the chasuble, alb, and tunicle from the English Church was completely effected during the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign. No other opinion is consistent with the known facts of the case. It is true that Elizabeth, placed in the midst of difficulties as great as any sovereign has ever had to encounter, acted with caution, with seeming vacillation, with inconsistency, with tortuous policy, and Fabian delays. 'Her finger was always on the public pulse,' says Mr. Green. But the march of events was in one direction always, in spite of many doublings and turnings. When she was asked by the dying Mary to give a pledge as to the religion of the country, her reply was: 'As to religion I promise this much, that I will not change it, provided only it can be proved by the Word of God, which shall be the only foundation

\* 'Lawlessness,' p. 89. † Ibid., p. 89.

‡ Brook's 'Privy Council Judgments,' p. 175.

§ Ibid., p. 183.

|| 'Lawlessness,' p. 84.

¶ Ibid., pp. 86, 86.

and rule of my religion.\* 'The Queen,' writes Jewel to Peter Martyr, soon after her accession, 'though she openly favours our cause, yet is wonderfully afraid of allowing any innovations. . . . She is, however, prudently, and firmly, and piously following up her purpose, though somewhat more slowly than we could wish.'† Determined that the Reformed religion should prevail, averse to sudden changes, afraid as much of the violence of the Puritans as of the doctrine and usages of Rome, she pursued a policy of moderation in spite of pressure from both sides, such as exactly reflected the tone of the Book of Common Prayer.

Mr. MacColl would traverse almost the whole of this account. According to him the vestments and ornaments were to be preserved 'till better times,' and the churchwardens were made responsible for their safe custody. 'We shall not be forced to use them,' wrote Sandys to Parker, 'but that others in the meantime shall not convey them away, but that they shall remain for the Queen.'

'A most incomprehensible provision if it was intended to abolish them altogether. What on earth was the Queen to do with them? Was she to convert them into dresses for herself or for her courtiers?'

The writer of such puerilities shows that he knows little of the financial relations of a Tudor Queen and her people. He would be astonished to hear that the Bishop of St. Asaph (Goldwell) fled from home and see because he owed the Queen 300*l.* and dared not face his Royal and ruthless creditor. The ornaments to be dealt with were of considerable value, and it was not likely that they would be left to be wasted by the various churchwardens. Mr. MacColl is clear that all through the reign of Elizabeth both uses prevailed, although no attempt was made to enforce the use of the vestments of the mass. He thinks that the Advertisements had no legal authority before 1603, if then. The Queen, he thinks, left it to the Bishops on their own authority to enforce so much of the ritual of the first Prayer-Book of Edward as they could, including, we presume, the whole of the vestments of the mass; a supposition the absurdity of which is shown by anticipation by Bishop Cox, when it was suggested that 'some made an improper use of the name of the Queen; 'just as if there were any persons in England who would dare to frame laws by their private authority, and pro-

pound them for the obedience of their brethren.\* Coming after much that is mere blustering, and much that is mere blundering, to the real point, that of showing that somewhere or other at least the vestments were in use under Elizabeth, Mr. MacColl relies on three passages in the 'Zurich Letters,' and if these be all that can be produced, the case is practically closed.

The first passage is in a letter from Zanchius to Queen Elizabeth, written from Heidelberg in 1571.

"The most holy and consecrated vestments of the clergy are now resumed." Now the Eucharistic vestments—that is the chasuble, alb, and tunicle—were always consecrated; the surplice as such was not.†

Zanchius does not give these words as his own at all. 'I seem,' he says, 'to see and hear the monks calling out from their pulpits, and confirming their people in this ungodly religion by Your Majesty's example, and saying, "What? why the Queen of England herself, most learned and prudent as she is, is beginning by degrees to return to the religion of the holy Roman Church, for the most holy and consecrated vestments of the clergy are now resumed." ' So that for a witness to the facts that the vestments of the mass were in actual use in England, we are offered a piece of rhetoric which a gentleman in Germany thinks that a monk will one day use.‡

The next argument for supposing that the Eucharistic vestments were used in Elizabeth's reign is even more unfortunate. Beza writes to Bullinger, in September 1566, complaining, among other things, that 'of those very few teachers of the pure Gospel, some are turned out of their offices, and others even thrust into prison, unless they will swear that they will so inviolably approve all these things as not to impugn them by word or action; and will resemble also the priests of Baal in their square caps, bands, surplices, hoods, and other things of the like kind.' And the word hoods is in the original Latin '*casulis*.'§

'Here, then, we find,' says Mr. MacColl, 'indisputable evidence that chasubles were in use two years after the publication of the Advertisements.'¶

He has avoided quoting the whole passage, and taken only the last clause, for even he shrank from the full absurdity of the statement that ministers had been sent

\* Sandys to Bullinger, 'Zurich Letters,' 1st Series, p. 4.

† 'Zurich Letters,' 1st Series, p. 10.

\* 'Zurich Letters,' 1st Series, p. 236.

† 'Lawlessness,' p. 66.

‡ 'Zurich Letters,' 2nd Series, p. 343.

§ *Ib.*, p. 130.

¶ 'Lawlessness,' p. 60.

to prison for not wearing the chasuble, a garment of the mass, just after the Advertisements. His ambition has overleaped itself: he only wanted to prove that the vestments of the mass were permitted; he has 'indisputably proved' that they were compulsory, and that clergymen who would not wear them were occasionally sent to prison! This, as every reader of the 'Zurich Letters' knows, is utterly impossible—even ludicrous. The mode in which the writer got into such a position may have some little interest. Why does he go to a foreigner, domiciled in Geneva, to know what is taking place in England? By that means it might be proved, upon French testimony, that Englishmen sell their wives at Smithfield; although there is no such custom, and indeed no Smithfield either. Is it simply to get in this word *casulis*? In July of the same year Coverdale and others wrote to this same Beza and others, and they say nothing at all of chasubles. 'It is now settled and determined . . . that out of doors must be worn the square cap, bands, a long gown, and tippet; while the white surplice and cope are to be retained in divine service. And those who refuse to comply with these requirements are deprived of their estates, dignities, and every ecclesiastical office, namely, brethren by brethren and bishops, whose homes are at this time the prisons of some preachers.\*' Why did not Mr. MacColl quote that? It is written by Englishmen, from London, in July, and Beza's version from Geneva in the following September. There was no time for a crop of chasubles to spring up. The former is consistent with history; the latter, at least as our author understands it, was not. But he has probably achieved some other mistakes even on this limited field. The chasuble was, 'as Zanchius calls it, a peculiarly "sacerdotal vestment."†' Zanchius never mentions it at all; and whatever may have been the old English use, Beza knew very well a different story about *casula*. 'Cucullum nos esse dicimus quam alio nomine casulam vocamus,' says *Theodemar Abbas*; so that the *casula* may have been the hood after all. It means 'a little hut;' and a glance at Ducange (*casula*) shows that it was once 'a garment with a hood,' covering one like a little house; and as for its being sacerdotal, deacons and subdeacons wore it as a garment.‡ It is highly probable, indeed, that the reference here is to the outdoor clerical

s. Wiburn visited Beza in this same

summer;\* and left with him, and afterwards with Bullinger, an account of the condition of the English Church.† On comparison of Beza's letter with 'The State of the Church of England,' by Wiburn, preserved in the 'Zurich Letters,' there can hardly be a doubt that the document which Wiburn left is still before us: it corresponds with the letter both in matter and arrangement. This was the principal source of Beza's facts, and it is decisive enough:—

'29. In every church throughout England during prayers the minister must wear a linen garment, which we call a surplice. And in the larger Churches, at the administration of the Lord's Supper, the chief minister must wear a silk garment which they call a cope. And two other ministers, formerly called the deacon and subdeacon, must assist him to read the epistle and gospel.

'30. The Queen's Majesty, with the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, may order, change, and remove anything in that Church at her pleasure.

'31. In their external dress the ministers of the word are at this time obliged to conform themselves to that of the popish priests; the square cap is imposed upon all, together with a gown as long and loose as conveniently may be, and to some also is added a silk hood.‡

The third and concluding argument against the dictum of the Privy Council that 'there is abundant evidence that, within a few years after the Advertisements were issued, the vestments used in the mass entirely disappeared,' is drawn from a letter of Lever to Bullinger, § in which he says that some are using the Popish habits, 'and wear them, as they say, for the sake of obedience.' It is needless to consider what the Popish habits were; for Mr. MacColl has had the misfortune to select a letter written in July 1560, which cannot well prove the effect of the Advertisements, for the excellent reason that the Advertisements did not come into existence until several years afterwards!

Here there are three authorities to prove that the Advertisements did not cause the suppression of the chasuble, alb, and tunicle. The first is a misquotation from a foreigner; the second is the testimony of a foreigner, which is at variance with the sources from which that foreigner must have drawn; the third is utterly irrelevant, being written long before the Advertisements.

Glancing farther on, we see that the com-

\* 'Zurich Letters,' 2nd Series, p. 121.

† Ibid., 2nd Series, p. 128.

‡ Ibid., 2nd Series, pp. 361, 362.

§ Ibid., 1st Series, p. 84.

edy 'broadens slowly down' into complete farce.

'There is in the north transept of Southwell Church a recumbent effigy of Archbishop Sandys (who died in 1588), wearing the following vestments:—a long tunic with tight sleeves, somewhat like an alb, but falling over the feet; a chasuble, a doctor's hood with good sized tippet, and a small ruff round the neck. The chasuble is a peculiar one. It reaches to about the middle of the leg in front, and is cut square. On the arms it comes about as far as the elbows; and it is so long behind that it would trail on the ground, and is turned back under the figure. It has no orphreys, and is fringed all round. Now, the question is, Does this represent the dress actually worn by Sandys? *Prima facie*, I should be inclined to say, No. Sandys was a Puritan, and took part with those who opposed the vestments. But his opposition was not violent, like that of Hooper and others, and his promotion affords evidence that he knew how to temper his Puritanical proclivities with discretion. One thing, at all events, seems clear. The effigy cannot be a copy of the ordinary Eucharistic Vestments, for those on Sandys' tomb are by no means ordinary. Not only is the shape of the chasuble peculiar, but the collocation of vestments is such as no sculptor would have employed if he had not seen them in actual use at the time. On the other hand, it is such a *mélange* as a man like Sandys might be likely to invent for himself. Anyhow, if the dress depicted on his effigy was not worn by him, it must have been worn by some one at the time; for the sculptor would hardly have invented it, and there was certainly no ancient model of which it could be a copy.'

Archbishop Sandys, the friend of Bulringer, was about as likely to invent a '*mélange*' of vestments, as John Knox was to import a dance from Spain and to dance it with Queen Elizabeth. Let us extract some argument out of this bald, disjointed chat. On Bishop Monk's effigy in Westminster Abbey is a mitre. *Prima facie* we should suppose he did not wear it; he was a scholar, and not likely to do unusual things; still he was a man who may have tempered scholarship with indiscretion; therefore, no doubt he went to his stall in the Abbey in a mitre. If he did not, some one else did; for the sculptor would hardly have invented it. And then this singular chasuble! Archbishop Sandys must have worn the Eucharistic Vestments, for here is a vestment which (we freely grant) is by no means ordinary, and it is worn in such a curious 'collocation,' being under what it ought to be over, and having no orphreys, and an awkward caudal arrangement, being 'turned back under the figure.' The one

true solution never strikes us that, being so utterly unlike a chasuble that a sculptor could hardly have invented it, and being worn in such a curious 'collocation' as no chasuble ever was worn, it is not a chasuble at all, and was not intended for one. Here, then, is the argument. Sandys must have retained Eucharistic Vestments, because there is on his tomb something quite unlike them. By that sort of argument anyone, except a naked savage, can be proved to have worn them.

It is needless to go on. The feeling of the day is against vivisection. Wherever a mistake can be made we get it. Wherever a fact might be admitted against the author we go without it. As to the language applied to the Privy Council, the writer, guided by an instinctive feeling of what might be said of him, forestalled it by distributing all round his vigorous blows: 'Gross ignorance—blunders extraordinary—outrage on law, logic, and history—hard to speak with patience—my Lord, this is scandalous,' &c. This stratagem of the cuttle-fish has answered: the waters are darkened. Ritualist newspapers call on the Bishops to answer the criticisms, though it is not clear why Bishops should defend the Law Courts. Even a journal so well-informed as the 'Spectator,' though it guards itself, is a little staggered, and thinks that if all this is true, Ritualists have had hard measure. Mr. Gladstone, who quotes one of Mr. MacColl's worst mis-statements, hints that historical inquiries about the rubrics 'have never yet emerged from the stage of chaos.\*' But Bishops and Law Courts may spare their pains. There is no case to answer. The writer, of whom we would fain think well, will turn to better things; and this book, weighted with unconscious unveracities enough to sink an argosy, will subside to the bottom, and the sea of history will show no trace of its wreck. But the Church of England, in her hour of trouble, needs other counsel and more prudent aid. It is not needful to say with Mr. MacColl, and of him, that 'Carelessness is a crime.' But, perhaps, the day may come that he will regret, as men with any generosity do regret, that to a strife already too hot he has brought words of anger; and by plunging unprepared into a difficult controversy, has left the prevailing confusion worse confounded.

In truth, the state of religion in England in Elizabeth's reign is painted in almost every page of the 'Zurich Letters' with singular distinctness. Many of the writers

\* 'Contemporary Review,' p. 215.

were morbidly sensitive to every breath of Popery. Had a chasuble but rustled in one church, we should have heard of it. Had the slightest pressure been brought to bear on any class of clergymen to wear the abhorred garments of the mass, the mutterings and grumbings wherewith they greeted the poor simple surplice would have shrilled into a universal wail. Over and over again they tell us most distinctly what was required of them. They rejoiced at many things; but 'that little silver cross, of ill-omened origin, still maintains its place in the Queen's Chapel.'\* 'I smile when I think with what grave and solid reasons they will defend their little cross.'† But God was good to us about the crucifixes; and 'only the Popish vestments remain in our Church, I mean the copes.'‡ The very vestiges of error should be removed, 'now I wish we could effect this in respect to that linen surplice; for as to matters of doctrine, we have pared everything away to the very quick.'§

'Lo! good news was brought me, namely, that the crucifix and candlesticks in the Queen's Chapel are broken in pieces, and, as some one has brought word, reduced to ashes.'||

'Respecting the subject of the habits, I wish you would again write me your opinion, either at length, or briefly, or in one word, first, whether that appears to you as indifferent which has been so long established, with so much superstition, and both fascinated the minds of the simple with its splendour, and imbued them with an opinion of its religion and sanctity; secondly, whether at the command of the Sovereign (the jurisdiction of the Pope having been abolished), and for the sake of order and not of ornament, habits of this kind may be worn in Church by pious men lawfully and with a safe conscience. *I am speaking of that round cap and Popish surplice which are now enjoined us, not by the unlawful tyranny of the Pope, but by the just and legitimate authority of the Queen.*'¶

Bishop Horne speaks of

'The Act of Parliament for repressing the impiety of the Papists, which passed before our return, by which, *though the other habits were taken away, the wearing of square caps and surplices was yet continued to the clergy*, though without any superstitious conceit, which was expressly guarded against by the terms of the Act.'\*\*

'The religion of Christ is settled among us; the gospel is not bound, but is freely and

faithfully preached. As to other matters, there is not much cause for anxiety. There is some little dispute about using or not using the Popish habits, but God will put an end to these things also.'\*

'The contest about the linen surplice, about which I doubt not but you have heard either from our friend Abel or Parkhurst, is not yet at rest. That matter still somewhat disturbs weak minds. And I wish that all, even the slightest vestige of Popery, might be removed from our churches, and, above all, from our minds. But the Queen at this time is unable to endure the least alteration in matters of religion.'†

'Nor is it true that we have obtruded anything upon our brethren out of the Pope's kitchen. The surplice was used in the Church of Christ long before the introduction of popery.'‡

Bullinger, answering Bishop Horne, says, 'I do not approve of the linen surplice, as they call it in the ministry of the Gospel, inasmuch as these relics, copied from Judaism, savour of Popery.'§ Wiburn, describing the state of the Church, says: 'In every church throughout England, during prayers the minister must wear a linen garment, which we call a surplice. And in the larger churches, at the administration of the Lord's Supper, the chief minister must wear a silk garment which they call a cope.'||

Did Mr. MacColl know of these passages, or did he not know them? Did he know them and refrain from quoting? or did he overlook a hundred such places in his one-sided survey? At any rate they prove what no one whose mind, when not pre-occupied by a theory, can doubt at all, that the vestments had gone; that the surplice had become a trouble to the extreme party, a trouble renewed from time to time; and that the terror felt by many of 'the dregs of Popery,' 'of Judaism,' 'of the Lernaean hydra, or the tail of Popery,' was inspired by the surplice and cope, and not by the chasuble and alb. If we had nothing but the letter of Bullinger to Bishop Horne,¶ that point would be established. These men, so sharp-nosed to detect a single crucifix in the Queen's Chapel, so full of joy at its removal, so well informed upon all that went on around them, could not possibly have boasted of the Church's peace and of the purity of doctrine, if the dresses and ornaments of the mass had still remained.

\* 'Zurich Letters,' 1st Series, p. 55.

† Ibid., 2nd Series, p. 68.

‡ Ib., p. 74 (Sandys). § Ib., p. 100 (Jewell).

¶ Ib., p. 122 (Parkhurst).

|| Ibid., 1st Series, p. 134 (Humphrey), 1563.

\*\* Ibid., 1st Series, p. 142 (Horne), A.D. 1565.

\* 'Zurich Letters,' 1st Series, p. 146 (Horne) January 1566.

† Ibid., pp. 148, 149 (Jewell), February 1566.

‡ Ibid., p. 286 (Cox), 1571.

§ Ibid., 2nd Series, p. 357.

|| Ibid., 2nd Series, p. 361.

¶ Ibid., 2nd Series, p. 841.

The fiction of a number of persons keeping up in English parish churches Romish usages at and after the publication of the Advertisements, is utterly exploded by an hour's examination of the 'Zurich Letters.' As to Mr. MacColl's share in this matter, we will only repeat that either he knew these passages or he did not. And all the time that he is leading forth in pomp his ragged regiment of misquotations, he keeps up a *fanfare* of noisy abuse, to disguise the absurd weakness of his force.

We have confined ourselves mainly to the first 100 pages of Mr. MacColl's 'Lawlessness.' Worse far than his misquotations and misrepresentations is his suppression of the evidence, so very full and striking, of the abolition of the vestments of Elizabeth's reign. He passes dry-shod over a score of places where it is said expressly that the surplice and the cope and the outdoor habits were alone in question, to dip into some place where an obscure expression gives him a bare chance of supposing that the chasuble, &c., are alluded to.

In short, there are several points in the 'vestments' question which are now closed for all unprejudiced people. That they disappeared from all churches in the time of Elizabeth; that the Advertisements made them unlawful from 1564 to 1603; that the Canons of 1603 made them equally unlawful thenceforth; that Bishop Wren, at the restoration of Charles II., found that 'there is somewhat in that Act (2 Edward VI.) that now may not be used,'\* thus admitting

\* This form of expression throws light upon the use of the word 'retained,' in the ornaments rubric. How could things be *retained*, it is said, which the Commonwealth had swept away since 1645? It might equally be asked how Wren, writing about 1660 ('Fragmentary Illustrations,' p. 45), before any fresh legislation had wiped away what the Commonwealth had done, could speak of the Act of Edward as in force. 'The very words, too, of that Act (2 Edw. VI.), for the Minister's Ornaments, would be set down, or to pray to have a new one made; for there is something in that Act that now may not be used.' The explanation in both cases is probably the same. All Churchmen thought that their Prayer-Book had been unlawfully suppressed during the Protectorate, and recognised the suppression as little as possible. The legislature did the same. No one would gather from the language of the 'Act of Uniformity' about the Prayer-Book of Elizabeth, that it had been suppressed from 1645 to 1660, by Act of Parliament. It provides (§ 32) that the Prayer-Book 'heretofore in use' . . . 'shall be still used and observed in the Church of England.' Whatever difficulty hangs about the word 'retained,' applies as strongly to 'shall be still used.' There had been an interruption from 1645 to 1660; then the book came into use again. By the time the new Prayer Book was prepared,

the force of the intervening legislation. All these ought to be taken for settled questions.

Some argument might still be sustained upon the question whether the 'Act of Uniformity' (13 & 14 Charles II.) did not revive the rubric of Edward VI., and no doubt upon that point we shall have enough. Mr. Droop's excellent pamphlet throws much new light on the subject. We leave it, with one remark. If the Advertisements were recognised as good in law when they were published, and also in the Canons of 1603; and if the Canons of 1603, so far as they touch the ornaments rubric, were a lawful exercise of the powers conferred on the Sovereign by the Act of Elizabeth, then the Advertisements and Canons would remain in force, unless the 'Act of Uniformity' of Charles II. showed an intention to repeal them and all previous legislation. The 24th clause, on the contrary, shows an intention to preserve, and not to repeal former legislation.

So far the prospects of the new Court, of obtaining obedience to its decisions from the extreme party, do not seem very promising. Mr. MacColl, indeed, does not seem likely to find any Court to suit him. The change from a mixed Court of Appeal to a Lay Court will not suffice; he is as vigorous in denouncing the judgment of a Lay Court in the Gorham case as those of the mixed Court which decided the cases of Mr. Macdonochie and Mr. Purchas. That others are making up their minds in the same direction will hardly cause surprise. Reasons are being given for refusing obedience which it would be easy to refute; but if they were torn away a fresh crop would spring up. But there are many thousands of sensible men among the parochial clergy; and this is a moment when good sense is more precious than rubies. They will do well to consider anew the position of the Church of England, and of the clergy who have taken offices within her since the year 1840.

The union of Church and State implies a surrender on the part of each of some rights, for the sake of a great mutual benefit. In preserving the parochial system, by which each clergyman has a monopoly of the conduct of public worship, according to the rites of the Church of England; by which he is put in undisputed possession of the chief, and often of the only, house fit for worship within the parish; the State restrains in a sense the liberties, and lowers the relative position of other religious teachers. The

the former one was again in use, and had been so for at least one whole year; and neither 'retained' nor 'still used' was inappropriate.

clergyman whose position she protects may be quarrelsome, meddlesome, or inefficient; his teaching may be that of a small minority of his people, and not of the majority; and yet his position is assured by the law, and though an apostle himself should come within the borders of that parish, he could not open his mouth in the parish church to teach without the permission of two authorities—the bishop and the clergyman, on pain of violating the law and committing an act of schism. This system is the law of the Church; but the State defends and upholds it, and provides a method for restraining any clergyman from violating it; and any layman she restrains at least by this consideration, that he is doing something which in a clergyman would be a penal offence. The outposts of the parochial clergyman's position are guarded by the enormous legal expenses which attend any assault upon it. Upon the whole, it may be said that there is not at this moment in any Church in the world, a position of such exceptional privileges as that of the rural rector or vicar. The laity freely own, even in times when their feelings are tried by controversy, that this position has with its immunities many hardships, and that upon the whole the clergy are devoted to their duties, and liberal far beyond the fair proportion to their means. Still the privileges are great, and are without a parallel; and the exercise of Church discipline is rendered more difficult thereby.

In securing to every incumbent, church, parsonage, endowment, exclusive parochial rights, the State does, and ever must, take some securities from those whom she so protects. We are not about to embark in that momentous controversy between the things of Cæsar and the things of God. But this much we dare to say—that no recent legislation, and certainly not the Public Worship Regulation Act, has made any such change in the relations of Church and State as to offend by legitimate scruples the conscience of any one who for the last generation, say since 1840, has been holding an official position in the Church.

The acts of interference of Parliament with the law of the Church as affecting public worship have necessarily been many and great. By the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth the Justices of Oyer and Determiner, or the Justices of Assize, were empowered to hear and determine offences connected with the Prayer-Book, and the Bishop or Archbishop was empowered at his pleasure to join himself to the justices or to the justice of assize to hear and determine as to offences of that nature. This was in ef-

fect the creation of a mixed Court by Act of Parliament. Power was also given to the Queen, with the advice of her own Commissioners or of the Metropolitan, to make orders modifying the ornaments rubric, and also to ordain further ceremonies and rites.\* Appeals had been taken away from the Pope by a statute of Henry VIII., and transferred to the King, whose Commissioners or delegates were to determine causes appealed from the Archbishop's Court. The delegates were usually a mixed Court of clergymen and laymen, and their decision was by statute final. All this machinery was created by statutes of the realm. Those who treat the present Court of Final Appeal as an ecclesiastical anomaly, a plant of monstrous growth, forget that the Court of Delegates was in all essential features the same; that too was a mixed Court of clerics and laymen. Those who pretend that the modern Court was never intended to take cognizance of matters touching doctrine and ritual, forget that it was intended to replace a Court which had cognizance of all causes that could emerge from the Court of the Archbishop; causes of doctrine included. The Judicial Committee, established by two statutes of William IV., replaced another Court for ecclesiastical appeals, also founded on statutes. Any clergyman who has taken holy orders or preferment since 1840 has accepted his position knowing that he must rest for the ultimate vindication of his rights upon a Court established not by Convocation but by Parliament.

Acts that have affected more or less the law of worship in matters not sanctioned by Convocation have been very numerous. The Act of Uniformity of Charles II. prescribed a most stringent form of assent to the Book of Common Prayer, and deprived *ipso facto* without the intervention of the spiritual Courts the clergyman who neglected or refused to use it; allowing, however, the ordinary to judge of any alleged impediment that might excuse from compliance. It has been made probable by Mr. Milton, in his interesting letters in the 'Times' last year, that even in the Prayer Book itself one or two alterations were made, and those not unimportant, after it left the hands of the Convocations. Nor can it be said that the arrangements were such that the Synod of the nation, its two Convocations, were fully, freely, and completely consulted in that measure, so as to show that Parliament deferred to their authority and wished to register their acts. When Lords and Commons differed as to a

\* 1 Eliz. ch. 2, sects. 17, 18, 25, 26.

proviso of great moment to the Church, which was in substance that clergymen should not be deprived for refusing to use the sign of the cross and the surplice, Parliament itself settled the difference between the Houses, although the consequence was the removal from their benefices of a great number of the clergy, without trial or appeal. Whilst certain points were reserved for, or referred to, Convocation, this was not. By the Act of Uniformity, incumbents not reading at certain times the forms of prayer prescribed by the Prayer Book, could be haled before two justices and fined. Two modern Acts of great importance to the Church, the Clerical Subscription Act and the Table of Lessons Act, have been passed since the revival of Convocation. The form of clerical subscription, which prevailed from 1662 to 1866, had been to many an offence and a snare. It was passed in all the bitterness which the Puritan severities had inspired; it was as much a stroke of vengeance as a security for worship. Attempts to modify or soften it were vain. As the right to benefices and posts of dignity rested upon that declaration, a material change in it was of deep concern to the Church. Yet it was not to Convocation that the duty was entrusted of devising a new form, which, while binding men to a loyal use of the Prayer Book and to an acceptance of its doctrines, might stop short of requiring assent to 'all and everything' contained in that large and various book. A Royal Commission dealt with the subject, and the Act founded on their report was passed with an amount of agreement that has seldom awaited an ecclesiastical measure. The Table of Lessons Bill was founded in like manner upon the report of a Commission, and this too has met with a general acceptance, notwithstanding the respite of seven years accorded to the scruples of a few. There was no disposition in either case to prevent Convocation from expressing its opinions, nor is there much doubt that the strong opposition of Convocation to either measure would have ensured its rejection. Parliament alone could undo what Parliament had done. And when it was necessary to resort for advice as to the best mode of undoing, Parliament did not turn to Convocation, because she did not believe that that body would best reflect the mind of clergy and laity alike. In each case that was done easily by the advice of a well-chosen and really representative Commission, which if it had been left to Convocation would probably have failed. Convocation, if we remember right, has been thrice formally consulted in the constitutional manner

since its revival. A royal licence was issued for altering the 29th Canon; another, during the late Parliament, for the revision of the rubrics; and a third in the present Parliament for the same purpose. As yet none of these has been carried to a successful issue.

The Clergy Discipline Act of 1840 completely remodelled the Church Courts and their procedure; and it is needless to observe that Convocation had no hand in that measure. The Bishop could not proceed in his own Court without a preliminary Commission—a cumbrous and foolish process, by which it was secured that no cause could come up for judicial hearing until it had first been dealt with in a less judicial manner, at a considerable additional cost. A new Bishop's Court was created, consisting of the Bishop and three assessors. Peculiar places and preferments were included in the Act, by which many jurisdictions were restrained and abolished. When a cathedral visitor proceeded to deprive, under his ancient jurisdiction as visitor, he found that he must proceed by the Act, or not at all. For a Court of Final Appeal all charges for offences against discipline were to be tried before a newly arranged Committee of the Privy Council. It is evident that this Act remodelled the legal procedure as to Church discipline from top to bottom. A previous Act (1 & 2 Victoria, ch. 106) had materially affected the position of the Bishops in reference to the Archbishop, by giving the right of appeal in various cases from the one to the other. It also created new offences and altered procedure.

Such, then, is the position of the English Church as to its discipline. A clergyman can only enter on his benefice after he has made certain statutable declarations. As a condition of tenure of his benefice, he must conduct the public services according to Statutes of Uniformity. Nor can he be removed from it, except by a certain process defined in an Act of Parliament. On the last Sunday in June several clergymen, we are told, rehearsed to their congregations their reasons for refusing to recognise the Judge under the Public Worship Regulation Act. They are worthy to be recited at length:—

'1. Because the new Judge was created by the sole authority of Parliament, in order to decide Spiritual suits and to inflict Spiritual censures. 2. Because the new Judge was created without the consent and against the will of the Church, so far as it was formally expressed; apart from all authority from Convocation; and in defiance of a Resolution of the Lower House. 3. Because the constitutional rights of Convocation have thus been

violated and denied; and the Clergy have been deprived of their prescriptive rights by the House of Commons, from which they alone, as an order, are excluded. 4. Because, for certain causes, the Act virtually suppresses the Diocesan Courts, and, for all causes, actually suppresses the Provincial Courts. 5. Because, by the operation of the Act, the Spiritual Jurisdiction of the Episcopate is in some cases practically suspended, and in others absolutely abolished. 6. Because, by the office of the new Judge, the Spiritual rights of the Priesthood are infringed both in the Courts of first instance and in those of appeal. 7. Because the Act (j.) violates the laws of Canonical Discipline even to a greater extent than the bill originally introduced by the Archbishops; (ij.) creates a new Court for the decision of questions not only of Ceremonial but also of Doctrine, by enacting that the new "Judge shall become *ex officio*" the "Official Principal of the Arches' Court of Canterbury," and that "all proceedings thereafter taken before the Judge . . . shall be deemed to be taken in the Arches' Court of Canterbury;" and (ii.) furnishes unbelievers with a weapon of offence against Catholic faith and worship.

THE DECISIONS, THEREFORE, OF THE NEW JUDGE CANNOT IN CONSCIENCE BE RECOGNIZED AS POSSESSING ANY SPIRITUAL CHARACTER, VALIDITY, OR AUTHORITY BY ENGLISH CHURCHMEN.

Whether it was legal in clergymen to make such a publication in church, lawyers will probably have no doubts; but the 'Catholic party' have got far beyond asking the consent of their Bishops in such matters.

But the reasons themselves, like a bad weapon, are more dangerous from their recoil than from their missile. They threaten to deprive the Church at once of many of those who have just found out the unsuspected taint in their position. 'Created by the sole authority of Parliament.' This applies against the preliminary Commission, the Bishop's Court, and the Court of Final Appeal, of the existing Church Discipline Act. Every clergyman admitted since 1840 has, by the declaration under his hand, and by his oath of obedience to the Bishop, bound himself in solemn compact to the laws of a Church which, to this extent at least, rests on a Parliamentary foundation. 'Created without the consent and against the will of the Church.' So was the Clergy Discipline Act, with which the recent Act has to be construed and used. 'The constitutional rights of Convocation have been violated and denied, and the clergy deprived of their prescriptive rights;' but we have seen that, from the reign of Henry, down through Elizabeth and Charles II., to the present reign, Parliament has exercised

this right of dealing with Ecclesiastical Courts and procedure. Lord Selborne, no mean authority, has told us that this has been the case. 'Suppresses the Diocesan Courts;' but the present constitution of those Courts is Parliamentary, dating from the 3rd and 4th of the Queen. If the Public Worship Act does transfer certain cases from this modern Court to the provincial Court, it gives a large compensation; for it revives to a remarkable degree the personal action of the Bishop, which is older by far than the power of his Court, and commits to him a discretion so large that it can only be expected to continue so long as it shall be most wisely exercised; for it is nothing less than the power of closing the door to a suitor who alleges a grievance, and who must go away without redress if the Bishop only will it. 'Suppresses the Provincial Courts.' We were at first at a loss to find a meaning for this objection; but it seems that to have one Judge for two provincial Courts suppresses them both. In that case the Arches' Court has been in a state of suppression ever since Sir Robert Phillimore became Judge of the Admiralty; unless, indeed, an ecclesiastical Judge may be allowed to recreate himself with salvage and collisions at sea, whilst he may not try ecclesiastical causes in any Court but one. The Court of York has been still longer under a condition of suppression; for the present head of that Court is Official Principal, Vicar-General, and Chancellor of the Diocese. There are cases where four or five judicial offices have been concentrated in the same hands, and no one suspected that the Judge's powers in each office were suspended by the fact of his holding the rest. One may fairly ask by what Canon of the Church, under what principle, for what reason, a Judge forfeits his position and suppresses his Court, by holding two offices. The modern stomach is squeamish about pluralities; the ancient organ had a power of digestion that would have astonished Rabelais.

'The spiritual jurisdiction of the episcopate is in some cases practically suspended, and in others absolutely abolished.' For an explanation of this remarkable statement the reader must turn to a paper by the Rev. Orby Shipley, out of which these reasons appear to have been constructed.\* He is not very clear. 'The Bishops have been deprived by the authority of Parliament, not only without the consent, but against the will of the Church, of the legal jurisdiction which is essential to the due and full performance

\* 'Contemporary Review,' June 1875, p. 140.

of their episcopal office. Such jurisdiction involves doctrine, and discipline, and ceremonial.' We assume that here the personal jurisdiction of the Bishop is at least included, otherwise the objection is only the same as that which sees some wrong done to the diocesan Courts; we mean that jurisdiction by which the Bishop himself decides in doubtful and disputed cases arising out of the rubrics, determines the disposal of the alms, admits candidates to holy orders and clerks to benefices, holds visitations, orders the worship in churches and the like. But if a blow has been struck in that quarter who should rejoice more than the Rev. O. Shipley? Here is his own language as to the so-called Catholic revival. It has been 'systematically, actively, ceaselessly opposed by the English Bishops.'

'Every single Bishop,' Mr. Shipley thinks, 'during the last forty years, twenty years, ten years, has pronounced more or less *ex cathedra* against one or more points of doctrine, ritual, or practice of the Catholic faith, as restored point by point to the English Church.' 'Workers in the Catholic revival have now, alas! to show obedience to the Church in spite of the Bishops.' 'The continued disappointment of years has made us almost indifferent and callous to episcopal opposition.' 'An order whose admonitions, and whose "judgments," are not "godly," how is it possible to "obey reverently," and to follow with glad mind and will?' 'It becomes a question, which of the two are to be obeyed—God in the person of His Church, or man under the aspect of a chief shepherd.' 'I appeal to members of the Society of the Holy Cross' [by the way, we wonder under what Synod or Canon or Act of Convocation that branch of our Church system grew up] 'to declare whether or not this Catholic revival has not as a whole prospered . . . not by reason of episcopal support, but in direct opposition to almost every single Bishop who has unfortunately come across its divine course.' \*

Does Mr. Orby Shipley now come forward, after penning these and other like words, and bewail the diminished powers of those whom he thus describes? Is he really weeping or laughing at the success of years of reviling of and resistance to the episcopal body generally and individually? It requires no great research into Catholic principles to tell him that a movement carried on 'in direct opposition to every Bishop' is *ipso facto* condemned by the Church; and that 'showing obedience to the Church in spite of the Bishops' (and in spite as we all know of the legal deci-

sion of Church Courts) is to the mind of a Churchman mere nonsense, to serve as a cloke for wilfulness, disobedience, and division. There has been a constant effort, by the two extreme parties, to reduce the authority of the Bishop to the precise level of that which he could maintain by means of his Court. The party to which Mr. Shipley belongs has done this with a violence of language, a licence of speech to which the other can 'make no claim at all. The result has been that in the recent crisis the proposal to revert to the episcopal power, to determine the disputed questions of ritual, met with no consideration. And yet Lord Selborne's Bill was more true to primitive Church principles than any other of the schemes that came to the surface. It is part of the duty of a Bishop in the course of his visitations to declare the law and give directions for its observance. When this has been done of late years, the extreme party have taken shelter behind the Church Discipline Act, adopting a Parliamentary protection from the catholic duty of obedience. Mr. Shipley and his friends have to some extent prevailed; the direct power of the Bishop is somewhat abridged. They may safely doff the crape and weepers and drop the white handkerchief of official mourning. They have been telling us for years their opinion of the defunct.

Something, however, has survived, and it is not inconsiderable; and we cannot admit that there is so much cause for grief, even on the part of more dutiful children. A power is given to the Bishop which, if wisely used, may yet be the means of healing many a breach. The Bishop may refuse to send on the plaint for hearing, stating in writing his reasons for the refusal. And he may also act as arbitrator between the parties if they agree to accept him; and upon them his decision shall be binding, though not of course upon others. Whether a persistent refusal to allow a statute to operate would be protected by law we do not know; but a power almost without parallel has been intrusted to the Bishops, and there is no reason to doubt that it will be used so as to bring about a settlement of disputes without resort to the Courts.

'The rights of the priesthood,' it is said, 'have been infringed.' This is explained to mean that the new Act of Procedure was passed by a House from which the clergy are excluded, and that the Convocation in which they are represented had no share in passing the measure. 'The clergy will now execute their sacred functions under the jurisdiction of a secular Judge, who interprets spiritual law by the

\* These passages are collected in 'Facts and Testimonies touching Ritualism.' London, 1875, p. 137.

sole authority of the temporal power.\* What constitutes a secular judge? Here is an eminent lawyer, appointed to administer ecclesiastical law in two ecclesiastical Courts, and appointed by the two highest ecclesiastical officers. The only secular quality about him is that he is a layman. But in what respect is he more 'secular' than all the Deans of the Arches since 1840? The present Dean is actually a secular Judge, in the Admiralty Court. The procedure of the Court has been regulated and affected by the Clergy Discipline Act, and to that extent the word 'secular' may be applied to the existing Courts, though with doubtful accuracy. But that the new Judge will be, when the Act comes into full operation, a secular Judge in any sense in which the present Judges of the provincial Courts are not secular we fail to perceive; and there has been no serious attempt to prove it. Let us be quite accurate. So long as the new Judge shall not have become, by vacancies, the Judge of the two provincial Courts, it must be admitted that Parliament has created a new Court with a limited jurisdiction. That it has not desired to exercise such a power in a wanton spirit of change, is proved by the arrangement that the new Judge shall become Judge of ecclesiastical Courts that already exist, so soon as circumstances permit; and this transition will probably be completed in a few months from the present time. When that shall be accomplished, every loyal and scrupulous clergyman will have the satisfaction of knowing that he is obeying a Church Court, not, indeed, one which, as Mr. Shipley says, 'synchronizes with Christianity,' but still, with all the claims of a high antiquity to recommend it. In the law of the Church the Public Worship Act has made no change whatever. If it can be proved that recent decisions as to incense and vestments are wrong, then it must be proved under the old law, and, if it cannot be proved, the failure will rest with the old law, for there is not one word in the Act to alter the law itself. It is an Act to regulate procedure only. Convocation cannot complain of attempts to improve procedure. That body has admitted, again and again, that the procedure under the Church Discipline Act was cumbrous, costly, ruinous. This had arisen, not so much from what the Act did, as from what it failed to do. It brought all cases affecting the clergy under one mode of treatment, but it did not simplify the old procedure of

the Church Courts; and, in consequence, the costs of a modern suit, pursued with all resources and defended through all delays, would have served to purchase a respectable landed estate. Convocation has, again and again, condemned that state of things. It will now come to an end. Sensible men will rejoice at this, and will not endeavour to cast discredit on a change merely because it is effected by that Parliament which alone has power to make the needful alteration, and which has already made so many of a similar nature.

'Ought we to obey the new Court?' asks Mr. Shipley. There is an easy way of avoiding this question, and all the scruples that it seems to give rise to. We recommend a return to first principles. The usage of refusing to obey the Bishop till he has resorted for compulsion to the ecclesiastical Courts; this, at least, is not coeval with Christianity; nor has it any sanction from Catholic antiquity. The clergy have little business with the Courts of Law. In better times the Bishop gathered his clergy together, heard their complaints, took counsel with the wisest whom he could select, as to difficult matters, and then gave his decisions and directions thereon; and these were binding on the clergy, unless, within a given time, they appealed to the Archbishop. This was the ancient practice. This, if Queen Elizabeth would have given her sanction to the *Reformatio Legum*, would have been the undoubted law of the Church of England at this moment; and this, even without that sanction, has survived in some measure in the shape of episcopal visitations. 'Ought we to recognise the Bishop? is a question precedent to the other.' *Quid iniquius, quam velle sibi obtemperari a majoribus, et nolle obtemperare majoribus?* asks Augustine. What can be more unfair, if we may attempt a modern application, than to exact from one's parishioners a deferential obedience to every whim and fancy, and to refuse obedience to the Bishop's lawful admonition? If conscience will not suffer a resort to a Parliamentary Court, the office of a Bishop is older than Parliaments; and by resorting to the Bishop for directions the difficulty may be avoided. The clergyman and the court need never come into contact; the question need never be answered. If such a proposal sounds absurd, this only shows how far the ship has drifted from her moorings; it is quite consistent with Catholic ideas. The avowal of Mr. Shipley that he has been pushing on his Order of the Holy Cross, with every Bishop opposed to him is a naive confession of disobedient wilful

\* 'Contemporary Review,' June 1875 (Rev. O. Shipley).

ness, which no 'Catholic' could attempt to defend. It is, of course, conceivable that there may be a Church whose laws are not worthy to be obeyed, whose Bishops have no claim to be recognised, wherein there is no course open but to follow one's own ideas of what might be good laws; but the responsibility of abiding in such a Church would be great indeed. Admitted to a benefice by a statutable declaration, the benefice itself having perhaps been created by a statute, and endowed, perhaps, by an Ecclesiastical Commission which has, in virtue of a statute, stripped Bishops and Prebendaries of ancient endowments for the purpose; protected by a Discipline Statute which has created a new jurisdiction and has absorbed all the powers of archidiaconal and peculiar courts; amenable to a machinery of preliminary commissions, Bishops and Assessors, Appeals to Privy Council, all of them parliamentary more or less, an incumbent discussed with gravity before his congregation, a few Sundays back, the question, 'Ought we obey the new Court?' Is it that the new Court is the last feather on an overstrained back? Is it that we fear that the new Court will possibly give judgments that may clog the wings of the 'Catholic revival'?

We are very far from casting ridicule on the honest scruples of those who think that churches should regulate their own affairs. We value and respect their conviction, which has always prevailed, and has always borne a wholesome part, in the compact, never quite complete in harmony, between Church and State in various ages and nations. The theory of a 'free Church in a free State' has much to attract, even though attempts to realise it have met with imperfect success. The constitution of the Church of England does not lend itself readily to such a theory, nor, indeed, to any theory whatever. Her history, like that of the free people whose love she has secured; like that of the soil in which the foundations of her churches are sunk, abounds in seeming anomalies, in parts and organs that remain after their use has gone, in throes of transition, in marks of change by fire and by water, in tokens of ruin and defeat, which have proved steps to victory and germs of new life. Thereby she suits the heart and the moods of a people careless of theoretical symmetry, careful only for practical use. She has struck blows for freedom. She has suffered with the nation itself from the weight of a Tudor hand. She shared the eclipse of the monarchy under the Stuarts, and came back to be the spoilt darling of the nation when the sun

broke forth again. The English people have given her in bad times a love that she did little to justify; in better times they have pardoned her strifes and her wilfulness, cheerfully acknowledging, even over-estimating, the services she was rendering to the cause of civilisation and education, and to the immortal spirits to whom she administered the word of hope. The debates on the Public Worship Act in the House of Commons were a noble example of a generous moderation. Many a hard thing might have been said that was restrained; many a voice might have been raised in hostility, and might have wounded deeply, which chose the more excellent alternative of silence; and the greatest assembly in the world did itself honour by its demeanour towards an institution in which it saw mirrored so much of the nation's own history and struggles, which it felt to be so large an organ of the religious life of England. The Church has ever had a hand to prop the throne; she has seen that monarchy and liberty are no antagonists:—

*'Fallitur, egregio quisquis sub principe credit  
Servitium. Nunquam libertas gratior extat  
Quam sub rege pio.\*'*

If her constitution lacks symmetry, so does the national constitution; so do the scarped and primeval mountains of the north; but all have strength notwithstanding. Symmetry is an easy and attainable grace; recent constitutions, as in the French revolutionary time, would be sure to have it. The reproach that we are now parliamentary, now primitive; now governed by *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, now by *La Reine le veult*, may be brought against us. But had not the Church of England been bound up so closely with the nation, we might now have found ourselves under the infallible rule of an Italian ecclesiastic; or our religious life might have been fretted and frittered away in the pettiness of a hundred sects, proud each of a self-government which had all too little to govern. The standards of Church doctrine have remained more sacred from alteration through the three centuries of her reformed life, than those of Rome—with the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and of Infallibility, that have strained so hard the allegiance of many a faithful son—than those of the freest sects, whose flickering, waning lights of doctrine have perhaps borrowed some principle of continuity from the steady lamp which the Church has kept shining constantly over

\* Claudian.

the waves of change. Her Articles of Religion stand unaltered since 1562; her Prayer Book, in all essentials, has remained unaltered as long a time. Is it wise? is it grateful towards the Providence that has led her safe so far upon her way to complain that she has been under the government of Parliament, if Parliament has practised a forbearance, and given an example of conservatism such as synods perhaps would not have been able to exhibit? Mr. Gladstone has drawn a picture of the Reformation under Elizabeth which would leave it doubtful \* what the Reformation was or how far it went. Such language may suit the imaginative pages of Mr. MacColl; it seems hardly worthy of so illustrious a writer. It is very well to represent Elizabeth as a sly ritualist, who allowed her Bishops to suppress chasubles and albs, whilst she herself favoured 'a maximum of ritual;† but those who sketch a picture so grotesque must be well emancipated from all responsibility for accuracy. *Non capit regnum duos.*‡ When that royal huntress was afoot, woe to the dog that would run its own prey. The thought of pursuing a different ritual from that which the Queen favoured, would have made Parker or Jewell grow somewhat pale. Elizabeth was not a religious woman; she was a queen. Here is the last new picture of her:—

'Many points weathered, many perilous ones,  
At last a harbour opens; but therein  
Sunk rocks—they need fine steering. Much  
it is

To be nor mad nor bigot—have a mind—  
Not let Priests' talk, or dream of worlds to  
be,

Miscolour things about her—sudden touches  
For him, or him—sunk rocks; no passionate  
faith,

But—if let be—balance and compromise;  
Brave, wary, sane to the heart of her—a  
Tudor

School'd by the shadow of death—a Boleyn,  
too,

Glancing across the Tudor—not so well.†

Because she acted warily, it does not follow that she acted inconsistently. Because her policy was cautiously and slowly matured, it was not necessarily indefinite. To rule England well she would have altered her plans in many respects. All the more important is it to observe what she really did, because it will be an index of what the nation required, in the judgment of a most cautious and politic woman. Towards the creed and

worship of Rome her demeanour was unmistakable. Statutes, injunctions, advertisements, the letters of the time, all showed that the Mass and all that belonged to it, were vigorously removed. On the other hand it is equally clear that no amount of pressure from the Puritan side—no alarmist letters from Switzerland or Germany, would induce her to degrade to the level of slovenliness and licence the worship of the English Church. Her bishops and clergy at home soon learnt that arguments on that side were useless: they must wear the surplice in church and the out-door garb of ecclesiastics, or depart. Foreigners, from safe distance, uttered remonstrances: the Queen took them for what they were worth. The clergy conformed, and accepted surplice and cope, gown and square cap; and the arguments by which they defended this course to their brethren over the sea, show that her subjects trusted her, and knew that she would not go back from the real principles of the Reformation. With disorder and fanaticism she had no sympathy. Archbishop Grindal did not assist in suppressing irregular meetings, called prophesyings; he was disgraced, and continued in inactivity to the end of his life. 'Our Queen, who is in general most benign, was somewhat offended with him. She is herself chastising the papists and contentious in good earnest. She will have all things done with order and decency.' So writes Bishop Cox. The type and pattern as preserved in the Church of England in that reign has never since been obliterated or even changed. Its uniformity of worship, its clear severance from Rome and from all that belongs to it, its suspicion of all irregular ministrations, and of all novel and unclassified efforts of enthusiasm; for good, and sometimes for evil, it has kept them all. The divines of the time of Charles, and those of the time of James II., were free from the tendency to Romanism, and they held the enthusiasm of the conventicle in abhorrence. Long after the personal impress of Elizabeth's hand had worn off, the Reformed Church of England preserved the twofold character that it had received in her reign. This is a proof, not of her power, but of her perspicacity; she understood what the mind of England was, and endeavoured to guide the needful changes in the constitution of the Church into the forms most suitable to that mind.

That Church has now reached a great crisis of her history. To extenuate her dangers would be worse than waste of words. The year that has been given for re-consideration seems to have been lost, and

\* 'Contemporary Review,' July, p. 219.

† Seneca in Thyesta.

‡ Tennyson's 'Queen Mary.'

demands made are as great as ever. The indisposition to submit to law or discipline, whether it was more or less, does not seem to have altered much in the year ending in this July. On our table lies a little work on the Church Catechism, illustrated with rude cuts; it was published early in this year. The story of Daniel is introduced into it; how 'Darius and his Privy Councillors' made a decree which Daniel did not obey. A figure of a herald blowing the trumpet to announce the decree, is introduced. Do our eyes deceive us? The arms of the United Kingdom are blazoned on the banner of the trumpet; and the herald is in ecclesiastical attire, and bears some resemblance, as acute friends discover, to the present Primate of all England. The application is sufficiently pointed; it is hardly, however, complete. The British Daniel will obey nothing. It is not merely 'Darius and his Privy Councillors,' but the entreaty of his Bishop, and the united voice of many Bishops that he is determined to resist. What does the British Daniel require? He insists on using Altar Lights, the use of Incense, the Eastward Position, Wafer-Bread, the Mixed Chalice, and the Vestments: some of these are of more importance than others in his eyes, but he will abandon none of them, and the Altar Lights, the Eastward Position, and the Vestments are imperative at once and in all cases. Whether a clergyman says prayers turning to the East, and whether he wears a white surplice and a chasuble of purple and gold, would seem to be in itself a matter of perfect indifference. Good prayers are good under any colour and in any posture. Mr. Gladstone, in his important paper, recommends that these questions should be divested of all devotional or doctrinal significance. But if they have no doctrinal significance, what significance have they? What has convulsed the Church so long? Is it a mere question of taste and harmonious colouring that we deal with as the 'vestments question'? This of course it would be absurd to suppose. We are accustomed to symbolical acts, and words, and things. To sit in the presence of a king, to pull down a national flag, to wear the uniform of a regiment to which you do not belong, to appear at court in a smock-frock, or at Church in a racing-jacket; these are all acts which may be conceived, by way of intellectual exercise, to have no significance in themselves; but unless all agree so to regard them, there will be grave consequences from the acts, and it is impossible to prevent them. When some veracious persons assure us that they kneel and stand in a particular position be-

cause it is the position proper to a sacrificing priest, it seems only bare justice to give them credit for a serious purpose in what they do; and when they add that their only reason for wearing a dress is that that too is suitable to a sacrificing priest, they are entitled to be heard as to that explanation also. On the other side, when thousands of persons sign memorials to Queen and Prime Minister, and Bishops and Convocations, deprecating these things for the very same reason as that for which they are insisted on, the probability is that the world has made up its mind to regard these things as doctrinal symbols, and not as things in themselves. And in that case there is no gain at all in the endeavour to regard them in a different light. It is the pastime of the child who shuts his ears with his palms and lets in the noise in little jerks. If our future depends upon a common agreement that vestments mean nothing but æsthetics and decorum, and that the eastward position is a convenient one for a minister who leads his people, and stands facing the same way for that purpose, the issue is decided already as far as these points are concerned.

If, however, these are but symbols, and that which lies beneath is important, then one element in the dispute is to ascertain which of the parties has usage and law on its side. The so-called Catholic revival has been condemned, in several of its usages, by the Convocations, by the Bishops, by Parliament, by the Courts of Law; one or all of these may review the opinion already formed: but the matter stands so at present. The acts claimed to be done, and the things claimed to be used, are changes; and those who uphold them are bound to show some authority or other besides their own will. If individual will is law, then the licence must go much farther than it has gone. If A may introduce a vestment, X may drop out the Athanasian Creed. If A may stand with his back to the people in the Consecration Prayer, X may sit at the reception of the elements. It will be said that A contends that his usages are warranted by the rubrics; but so long as he stands alone in that opinion, and the Courts are against him, that cannot be proved. What the Law Courts may do in future it would be alike uncertain and improper to predict. No doubt it is conceivable that the vestments and other usages may be legalised hereafter by a reversal of decisions already given; but upon the whole this is not the general expectation. In the meantime these usages are insisted on against the Courts, against the opinion of Convocation more than once expressed, against the opinion of

the Bishops, against the express declarations of both Houses of Parliament, and against the convictions of an overwhelming majority of the laity of the Church of England.

Who, then, is on the other side? An active and determined party, very desirous of these changes. It has a right to urge its opinions, and to procure, if possible, by all lawful means a change in the law of the Church. A few words in a rubric or two would give what is sought for. But is there any Church in the world, any religious community, any civil organisation, which could afford to allow a party within it to break continually the laws and rules of the society, by way of procuring their ultimate alteration, in defiance of the remonstrances of the governing body and of the decisions of those who interpret the rules? Surely such a condition of things would be regarded anywhere else as the forerunner of dissolution.

Amongst other consequences it involves an abandonment of the principle of uniformity, which has been the law of the Church of England for more than three centuries, and which has been distinctly and emphatically put forth as her principle at each successive review of her Book of Worship. It governed Queen Elizabeth, as it governed the House of Commons in the time of Charles II., when they rejected the King's proviso for relaxing the enactment as to the cross and surplice. It may be said that we are not bound by the past, and that in a period of great religious activity and freedom we cannot expect a principle to hold which was suited to the absolute rule of a Tudor Queen or the cruel temper of a reactionary Parliament after a Revolution. Are there, however, more than two ways in which the difficult problem of adjusting the worship of a national Church can be solved? Such a Church will comprehend persons differing widely upon doctrines, even upon doctrines that they consider vital; and this is the state of things which constitutes the difficulty. Variety in the details of services, a power to abridge in one place what is fully used in another; these may be accepted by all, simply because there is no doctrine involved in them, but only decorum and convenience. It is only essential that the limits of variations should be well defined. But we have to deal with considerable varieties of doctrine. One of the two solutions of the difficulty would be that of complete uniformity—that of providing a liturgy, carefully drawn up, that it may be 'common ground upon which all Church people may meet, though they differ about some

doctrines.' \* The other would be that of absolute freedom, so that any congregation which could agree upon a form of worship might have the use of the national Churches and a share of the endowments. The latter method would be so difficult to work that it need not occupy our limited space at present, especially as it is not contended for by any considerable section for the Church. What can be said for the former? This, at least, may be said, that it has served so far to bind together in one bond, and not an unsubstantial or unreal one, the three great parties of the Church for some time past. The Evangelical section does not heartily like some expressions in the Baptismal service; the High-Church party may have wished for changes in the Communion Office; but they have found it possible, with the help of the service, to surround with due regard and reverence that solemn act of our religion. In a given parish the clergyman proposes to introduce an organ, to fill his windows with stained glass; and these changes, fairly understood, do not at all violate the compact on which several parties have brought themselves within the Act of Uniformity, and have tacitly agreed to worship. But the clergyman adopts a new posture, and replaces the familiar surplice by an alb and a coloured vestment. One must be very innocent of past religious history if one expects this to be done without exciting alarm, even if no explanation be given of the well-intending innovator. But if he explains that he wishes thereby to revert to the first Prayer Book of Edward; to the names of 'Mass' and 'Altar;' to a higher doctrine of the Holy Communion; to a doctrine which requires acts of adoration to be done towards the consecrated bread and wine, in virtue of what they have become by consecration, then all those who earnestly deprecate these doctrines, on finding themselves implicated in a service which sets them forth, will inquire why the former state of things has passed away and the service in which they could join has been changed to one which they cannot accept. Some very liberal or very moderate bystander says, that after all it is not necessary to give these things a doctrinal significance; that a position towards the east is as good as one towards the south, or better; and that purple satin and orphreys are more stately than white linen; and proposes a treaty of peace, on the ground of regarding all these matters from the æsthet-

\* Brook's 'Privy Council Judgments,' p. 232 (Bennett's case).

ical point of view. Is that course fair and practical for all parties? The reluctant parishioner naturally considers that such a construction is forced and artificial, and that if he complies with the new practice he will be accepting rather the explanation of the person who introduces it, than that of the kind adviser who, for the sake of peace, would overlook the interpretation altogether. It must be borne in mind, too, that in a great majority of cases there is not much choice of churches. In great towns the parochial may be replaced by the congregational system. In the country that cannot be. When Convocation discusses, as the Convocation of Canterbury has been doing this month, what may be done with the consent of the Bishop and the congregations, putting the parishioners aside, it is gliding away from the idea of a national Church to that of a voluntary body. It seems utterly hopeless, then, however well meant may be the advice, to ask the Church or the country to discharge the present controversy of all doctrinal significance. And the only present solution of the question, how to keep persons differing in doctrine so far united that they can worship and act together, is that of a liturgy wisely and moderately drawn, which shall serve to express the religious hopes and conscience of as many as possible, together with a general resolution to uphold that standard of worship loyally. We agree that a Church cannot subsist by prosecutions; these are the crisis of a disease. If people cannot agree to use one common Book of worship, from other considerations—as, for example, that ‘the Church of England is worth preserving’—they will not be compelled by Courts; and some kind of severance and sundering there is sure to be, whether it comes soon or late.

Readers of this Review will not suspect us of indifference to the union of Church and State; to that great constitutional principle which has done so much for religious knowledge, for civilisation and toleration in the past, and which may be expected yet to be so useful to the country in spite of present perils. But when we are menaced with disestablishment, unless we fulfil some impossible conditions, then, however high the authority, however sincere the conviction, and however moderate the words of the adviser, it becomes needful to answer that possibly the surest way to precipitate disestablishment might be to say and do foolish things in the fear of it. Somewhere in the scale must be the point at which the price of establishment might be fixed too high. It would certainly be too dear at the price of continued anarchy. It would be too dear at

the price of the perpetual presence of an active party pushing on a series of changes, the extent of which was unknown to itself, and threatening disestablishment as the penalty for any attempt to restore discipline against it. Throughout the Church there is more disposition towards toleration than ever there was before; but the most effectual enemies of toleration are those who avow their intention to take advantage of it for their own private views.

No one can tell us how far we are going; and this is one great reason for the alarm that has existed. Contrast the present demands with the utmost that the Caroline High Churchman required, and we shall see the difference. Bishop Wren, setting down in 1660 his suggestions for rubrical improvements, places the priest ‘standing at the north of the table’ in the Holy Communion Office; it is only for two prayers, the prayer of Humble Access and the Consecration Prayer that he is allowed to be ‘before the table,’ and when the distribution is ended he is to stand ‘at the table as he did at first.’\* Amidst applause, a well-known clergyman † at a recent meeting of the Church Union Society announced that no such limitation as that could be accepted; that the eastward position throughout must be insisted on. Mr. Orby Shipley supplies, ‘for the use of members of the Church of England,’ these and many like stanzas:—

‘O Mary, heaven is bright with thee,  
Earth’s Queen and Lady of the Sea,  
Imperial next to Deity:  
Behold to thee ourselves we vow;  
Our suit in grace vouchsafe us thou,  
A spirit nerved for victory.  
‘O Virgin glorious, full of might,  
Virgin of virgins passing bright,  
Made brighter by maternity:  
That so to both thy Son and thee  
Well pleasing may our service be,  
Win for us inward purity.’ ‡

\* See ‘Fragmentary Illustrations,’ by the Lord Bishop of Chester. London, 1874. Pp. 74, 80, 81, 83.

† ‘To say that the eastward position is not applicable to the earlier part of the Eucharistic Service, but should be allowed only in the latter part of the Eucharistic Service, is certainly an ominous utterance at the present time. It is impossible we can accept that view (loud applause). We can never consent to such a division of the Eucharistic Service. It is one whole; we cannot disconnect the offerings at the commencement from the consecration at the latter part of it—we cannot but regard it as one priestly act throughout; and we cannot but hold that the mid-altar position is the only true and Catholic position of the offering priest, throughout the entire Service.’—*Rev. J. Carter*, of Clewer, June 15, 1875.

‡ ‘Invocation of Saints and Angels.’ London, 1869.

If this is the doctrine of the Church of England, what was it that the Church called 'a fond thing,' vainly invented . . . repugnant to the Word of God'?

We have no intention of discussing in this paper the doctrine of the Eucharist, and we should be sorry to use a word to wound the feelings of any of those who regard that Sacrament with loving reverence, yet whose views upon it may differ from those of the Church of England. But the change that is now taking place is not a return to primitive truth, but to medieval superstitions and confusions. A controversy in the columns of the 'Times' in the month of January last revealed this in a painful manner. The Ritualist party were alleged to be teaching some of the leading doctrines of the Romish Church. Canon Liddon undertook to repel this calumny. Pressed with a passage or two that taught Transubstantiation and Invocation of Saints, he replied that he could not be responsible for a few casual and inexact expressions. When the quotations were multiplied, he said that if he were to hold such doctrines he should retire from the ministry of the Church of England.\* The principal members of the extreme party, led by Dr. Pusey, have all along distinguished between their doctrine and the Tridentine, inasmuch as this holds a change of the bread and wine, and that sets forth that the elements are not changed, but that the Body and Blood are present after consecration 'under the form of bread and wine.' But this limitation is fast disappearing, as Monsignor Capel has shown; and Transubstantiation in its simplest form is taking its place. The refined and subtle minds which delight in such distinctions may think themselves able to carry a theory whereby the Great Sacrifice shall be at once complete and continuous; wherein the Sacrament shall become by consecration the Body broken and the Blood poured out, and at the same time become Christ Himself living and glorified; they can explain to themselves how the act that the priest performs is the same with the Sacrifice of Christ, and yet not a new sacrifice, so that there are two, nor yet the former one continued, so that it was not on Calvary complete. Common minds will be unable to follow them; and we must make our account with a revival of all the errors that gathered round the Romish Mass. And it is a fact established that Transubstantiation, the doctrine which Canon Lid-

don says he could not adopt without leaving the ministry, is adopted in books of devotion that are sold by tens of thousands, that are pushed into circulation not merely in towns, but among simple rural people.

The view of the Ritualists, who at present stop short of Transubstantiation, is open to a difficulty which Romanists have escaped from. If after the words of consecration 'the common bread and wine is no longer bread and wine, but the Body and Blood of the Lord,' then no question can arise of idolatrous worship of bread and wine, because the substance of bread and wine is no longer there. But if the substance of bread and wine is present still, and the Body of Christ present under their form, and men adore Christ under their form, doing acts of homage towards them, it will be impossible to distinguish this from idolatry, for the creatures of bread and wine are still there. It is no doubt pleaded that the worshipper looks beyond and under the elements to Him who is present under their form. By like arguments Cicero and others justified the old worship of Greece and Rome. Transubstantiation is refuted in its premiss, not in its conclusion. 'Of course,' says Dr. Pusey, 'if God so willed and declared it, there could be no difficulty in believing that He annihilated the substance of bread and wine, while preserving every property of them to the senses.\*' The properties of bread and wine are all by which we know them to be bread and wine, and we submit that God could not ask us to believe that something was and was not bread at the same time. He cannot ask the mind that He has created to contradict itself. This is quite different from a belief in mysteries that are above the understanding. Surely all of us will some day see that the grand and simple lines, with which the Church of England has delineated her doctrine, are in every true sense 'higher' than the strange mixture of philosophy and biblical criticism, of mysticism and materialism, with which the Church of Rome has presented it. Dr. Vogan, in his 'True Doctrine of the Eucharist,'† a work worthy of the day when theology flourished in the Church of England, has examined with great patience and candour the various statements of this doctrine that Anglican writers have used; and he has thus proved how essentially modern is the doctrine of which Ritualism is the expression. There is little desire at present, as it seems, to scrutinise severely the incautious expressions into which the very fervour of de-

\* 'Times' newspaper, January 8 and 13. The correspondence was continued through that month, and was very voluminous.

\* 'Doctrine of the Real Presence,' p. 158.

† London, 1871.

votion may lead some. But we think there is a very positive determination not to allow the Communion Office to be tampered with in order to get room for the revival of a doctrine not expressed there already. That which, by the law of the Church, is not to be 'reserved, carried about, lifted up and worshipped,' has been often 'lifted up and worshipped,' and sometimes 'reserved and carried about.' These are acts and not metaphysical expressions. The laity are obliged to consider them, and they do not like them. Of all remedies one of the most unpromising seems to be the proposal to 'consider that no doctrine is involved.'

Mr. Gladstone exhorts that there may be no prosecutions; or else the National Church must fall. Surely no menace was ever more gently urged, and yet it is a menace. The English Church, we are told, is in a great strait. Bishops are not learned; and judges are but lawyers; and, therefore, there are no Courts competent to take cognisance of such questions as are raised at present.\* Prosecution will lead to secessions, secession means

\* The distinguished writer has not only stated the difficulty of acquiring knowledge on these subjects, but he has also illustrated it. In three cases he has condescended on particulars, and in all three there is reason to fear he has been mistaken. 'It appears rather difficult to sustain the proposition that the surplice when used excludes all the more elaborate vestments, since we find it actually prescribed in one of the rubrics at the end of the Communion Office in the Prayer Book of 1549, that the officiating minister is ordered to "put upon him a plain alb or surplice with a cope."\*' This proposition has never been sustained: on the contrary, it is admitted that surplice and cope are to be worn together in cathedrals; and all that this rubric shows is that either alb or surplice might be worn with the cope according to King Edward's First Book. 2. 'Mr. MacColl cites a remarkable example; namely, that while the rubric required the priest to read daily four chapters of Holy Scripture, the Advertisements aimed at enforcing only two.† We have already observed on this: it is a pure mis-statement of Mr. MacColl's, in whose haphazard assertions Mr. Gladstone seems to place too implicit faith. Besides the four chapters read in the 'Common Prayer,' the minister pledged himself to read two for private study. 3. 'The Purchas judgment states that the law required the use of copes in cathedral and collegiate churches, and generally treats authorised destruction as evidence of illegality; but it appears that the Queen's Commissioners at Oxford, in 1573 . . . ordered in the college chapel at All Souls, that all copes should be defaced and rendered unfit for use.‡ This does not contradict; it confirms. The writer has elevated college chapels into collegiate churches. They are carefully distinguished in the Canons of 1603, Canons 17 and 24, and in the 1st Section of Charles II.'s Act of Uniformity.

\* 'Contemporary Review,' p. 216.

† Ibid. p. 216.

‡ Ibid. p. 217.

disruption, and disruption, ruin. In Sheridan's burlesque, when everyone is about to stab everyone else, a beef-eater cuts the dangerous threat by bidding them, 'In the Queen's name, drop your swords and daggers.' When real swords are drawn, even the beef-eater may fail. We repeat that we deprecate prosecution as much as the eminent statesman whom we have quoted. A return to the moderation and good sense, to the law-abiding instinct, that have characterised the English laity at all times, is far more to be desired than a successful trial and a trenchant judgment at the end. If we may venture to advise the clergy, we think that the increasing interval of separation which divides the clergy from the Bishops on the one hand, and from the manlier of the laity on the other, has caused them to forget that any change, to be sound and permanent, cannot be confined to the parochial clergy only. It has been, on the whole, a great advantage that the English clergy has been so closely allied to all classes in the English nation. From various causes this state of things has changed, and the tendency to form the clergy into a class distinct from the laity, with strongly marked peculiarities, has already done much to diminish their influence.

We are not disposed to follow the eminent person whom we have been quoting into the region of prophecy. What may be in store for the Church of England is known, perhaps, to none of us. It has been remarked, in comparing the death of Charles I. with that of Louis XVI., that it was more difficult and more awful to break through the 'divinity that doth hedge a king' in the first case than in the second. One Church has been disestablished in our time, and with that dread experience it must be easier for men to take a calm measure of the second operation. There are prophecies that tend towards their own fulfilment; and we might have preferred perhaps some other prophet. Sincerely believing that the advice Mr. Gladstone gives is offered in a spirit of loyalty to the Church, and with a conviction that she is 'worth preserving,' at least for the present, we must observe that we do not accept his description of the present position. She is not in that condition of deadlock that the next attempt to turn must break the machine. She has been brought safely through worse tribulations. We doubt whether her destined duty towards the nation is fulfilled. Her life in past ages has not been dependent on the instruments that it has had to use in passing. She can be indifferent to the taunt that 'Gospel light first shone from Boleyn's eyes.' She does

not owe her wise and moderate constitution to the hard and irreligious woman under whose reign it was consolidated. She has no debt to the easy-going voluptuary under whom our present Prayer Book was last revised, any more than to his unscrupulous and intolerant Parliament. Even a period of lifeless inactivity, when she was a Church without missions, without education, without influence on the country, did not destroy her. What she can afford to dare and to lose is not quite so easy to estimate as some think. Her past history teaches us that her fortunes have been above the times, and that she has been appointed by the Power that controls human affairs, to fulfil a great purpose. Whether she has done that work, and may no longer occupy her national position, is a question which is not left wholly to man to determine. But this is sure, that the duty of every one of her members is to consult for what is best for religious truth and religious freedom, without much respect to the probable effect on the question of disestablishment. So consulting, the people are not likely to be more content than they are at present with pale copies and faint imitations of Romish worship. They are convinced that those who are seeking to romanise the Church are but a

handful: but this is not a numerical question. The reason of our existence as a Church is that we could not away with the medieval superstitions, and that we appealed from the Creed of Rome to the Creed of the Apostolic time. If there were but ten or five—and there are hundreds—we should be justified in our alarm and distress; for the change that is attempted is fundamental. The laity of England last year did, in such ways as were open to them, assert that unless some remedy were found for this disorder, the national Church must fall. Mr. Gladstone has just supplied the other horn to our dilemma; if anything is done for a remedy the Church must also fall. Well: with death on either hand, it is conceivable that the Church might be paralysed into inaction; but it is not what history leads us to expect. The nation has never loved Rome and does not love her now; and what she would not deliberately accept she cannot allow to be forced upon her by a few. Leaving to God the consequences of a righteous determination, she will remember and be true to her past principles, and will say, ‘We will not suffer the laws and principles of the Church of England to be changed at the private will of any.’



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ART. I.—*Mémoires du Duc de Saint-Simon. Publiés par MM. Chéruel et Ad. Regnier, fils, et collectionnés de nouveau pour cette édition sur le manuscrit autographe. Avec une notice de M. de Sainte-Beuve.* Paris, librairie Hachette et C<sup>ie</sup>. 1873-1875 (Nineteen volumes, without the Index).

WE wonder why the ingenious gentleman who recently published a series of essays on 'famous books' little read, did not include the *Memoirs of Saint-Simon*, one of the most striking specimens of the class. Considering their wide-spread renown and extraordinary merit, it is quite startling to find how few, at least in this country, of even the cultivated or literary class, have attempted a regular conscientious perusal, or indeed have done more than glance over a few chapters in an idle desultory way. The portentous length, the vast extent of ground to be got over, is one reason. Nineteen volumes, averaging from 450 to 500 closely-printed pages each, are enough to stagger the most eager amateur of bygone scandal or the most resolute searcher after the neglected truths of history.

But there have been other reasons for the tardy acceptance of these memoirs, for their long-delayed and still limited popularity, besides their length. They present in this respect a curious contrast to the memoirs which have made most noise in our time—memoirs written in obvious imitation of them, and, falling as far short of the almost avowed model in knowledge of subject, insight into character, fine observation, and descriptive or analytic power, as in piquancy and originality. Mr. Charles Greville's *Journals* were published within ten years of his death, when the scandals they com-

memorated were fresh, at least fresh enough to injure or annoy: when the abundant depreciation and abuse could be keenly felt by the victims or their families, and as keenly relished by contemporaries always more alive to satire or censure than to praise: when envy, jealousy, ill-nature, vanity, morbid love of gossip, every weakness or bad quality of the human heart or mind (not excepting disloyalty), could be called into action to create a factitious interest in a book.

Now, the *Memoirs of Saint-Simon* do not come down further than 1723: he did not die till 1755; and immediately after his death, the Government laid an embargo on them on the plea that, he having filled a diplomatic mission, they must be partly of an official character. During many years it was only by special favour that friends of the minister for the time being obtained a sight of the manuscript, which consisted of eight large folio volumes of very close writing, all in the author's own hand. Partial access was permitted to Duclos and Marmontel, in their capacity of historiographers; and M. de Choiseul lent some of the volumes to Madame du Deffand. According to the Marquis de Saint-Simon, 'it was only in 1788, and on the eve of the revolution, that the Abbé Soulavie obtained leave to make some extracts and publish some fragments: a supplement, which he added in 1789, was followed by some other publication equally truncated.\*' According to

\* Advertisement to the edition of 1842, edited by the Marquis de Saint-Simon, the representative of the family through a collateral branch, and the possessor of the original manuscript. All Saint-Simon's manuscripts were left by will to a cousin of the same name, the Bishop of Metz, without specifying the *Memoirs*. Sou-

Sainte-Beuve, 'it was starting from 1784 that the publicity of the memoirs began to make progress; but timidly, stealthily, by disconnected anecdotes and by bits. From 1788 to 1791, then later in 1818, there appeared successively extracts more or less voluminous, mutilated, and garbled.' The Marquise de Créquy, apropos of one of these compilations, wrote, February 7, 1787, to Senac de Meilhan: 'The "Memoirs of Saint-Simon" are in the hands of the censor; of six volumes they will hardly make three, and it is enough.' Again, September 28, 1788: 'I apprise you that the "Memoirs of Saint-Simon" are out, but much mutilated, if I am to judge of what I have seen in three great green bundles (*tapons*), and there were six. Madame de Turpin died: there I stuck fast: it is badly written, but our taste for the age of Louis XIV. renders the details precious to us.'

In much the same tone Madame du Deffand had written to Walpole (December 2, 1770): 'The Memoirs of Saint-Simon are always amusing; and as I prefer reading them in company, the perusal will last long. It would amuse you, though the style is abominable and the portraits ill drawn. The author was not a man of talent (*homme d'esprit*), but as he was *au fait* of everything, the things he relates are curious and interesting; I wish I could get you the reading of them.'

Few writers suffer more than Saint-Simon from being read in fragments; his effects depend on the fulness and completeness of his narratives and delineations; and we are therefore not surprised at the disadvantageous impression of the general public at the earlier periods of their acquaintance with him. But Madame du Deffand's estimate was formed from the original manuscript; and we know no plausible mode of accounting for it except that suggested by Sainte-Beuve, who remarks that 'the style of Saint-Simon was too pointedly revolting to the habits of written style in the eighteenth century, and was spoken of pretty nearly as Fénelon spoke of the style of Molière and "this multitude of metaphors not far removed from *galimatias*." All the fine world of that time had done their rhetoric more or less in Voltaire.'

In other letters, Madame du Deffand's

admiration rises to enthusiasm: she tells Walpole that, if present at the readings, he would experience ineffable pleasure, that he would be fairly beside himself with delight; although she must have known that Walpole, the most fastidious of critics, was the least likely of the whole round of lettered correspondents to be amused by ill-drawn portraits in an abominable style. Voltaire, too, piqued by a contemptuous reference to himself, or foreseeing how much his superficial '*Siècle de Louis XIV.*' must eventually suffer from collation, did his best to undermine the coming influence and authority of the memoirs, by announcing an intention to refute on their publication everything that had been inspired by prejudice or hate. Had he lived to execute this intention, he might certainly have hit many blots which the author has frankly told us would probably be discovered in his work. In a *Conclusion*, which might serve for a preface, he says:—

'Next for impartiality: this point, so essential, and regarded as so difficult, I fear not to say impossible, for one who writes what he has seen and mixed in. We are charmed by straightforward and true people: we are irritated by the rogues who swarm in courts; we are still more so against those who have injured us. The Stoic is a fine and noble chimera. I do not then pique myself on impartiality, it would be vain. . . . At the same time I will do myself this justice, that I have been infinitely on my guard against my affections and my aversions, and most against the latter, so as not to speak of the objects of either without the balance in hand, to exaggerate nothing, to distrust myself as an enemy, to render an exact justice, and place the purest truth in broad relief. It is in this manner that I feel confident I have been entirely impartial, and I believe there is no other mode of being so.'

Saint-Simon lived thirty-two years after the conclusion of the memoirs, and was constantly employed in correcting and completing them. They contain no flying rumours: no transitory impressions: no hasty, ill-considered, inconsistent views of men or events. He sets down nothing that he has not carefully verified or thoroughly thought out.

'As regards the exactitude of what I relate, it is made clear by the memoirs themselves: that almost all is taken from what has passed through my hands, and the rest from what I have known through those who had managed the things I report. I name them; and their names as well as my intimate connection with them are beyond suspicion. That which I have learned from an inferior source, I mark: and that of which I am ignorant, I am not ashamed to own. In this fashion the memoirs

lavié's principal publication was *Œuvres complètes du Duc de Saint-Simon, contenant ses Mémoires sur le règne de Louis XIV., sur la régence du Duc d'Orléans et sur le règne de Louis XV., etc.* 13 vols., 8vo. Paris, 1790. In the '*Biographie Universelle*' it is termed 'the most precious and the only authentic publication of this *littérateur*.'

are authentic at first hand. Their truth cannot be called in doubt; and I believe I may say that there have hitherto been none comprising a greater number of different matters, more weighed, more detailed, or forming a more instructive or more curious group. As I shall see nothing of it, this concerns me little; but if these memoirs see the light, I doubt not of their exciting a prodigious revolt.'

If they had been published in full at any period prior to the revolution of 1789, the revolt, the outcry, with the resulting sale and circulation, would have been prodigious. But they were kept back till not only the personages who figure in his pages, but the society, the class interests, the entire state of things of which he treats, had died out or been swept away: till their attraction was purely historical or literary, without a wounded self-love or a gratified vanity to add to it. The publication of the first complete edition was not commenced till 1829.

'The sensation,' says Sainte-Beuve, 'produced by the first volume was very lively; it was the greatest success since that of Walter Scott's novels. A curtain was suddenly withdrawn from the finest monarchical epoch of France, and we were present like spectators at the representation. But this success, interrupted as it was by the revolution of 1830, was obtained more in the so-called world (of Paris) than in the public, which it reached at a later period and by degrees.'

This edition satisfied the public demand till 1842, and one cause of its limited success was the erroneous principle on which it was based. In neglect or defiance of Buffon's maxim, '*Le style, c'est l'homme*,' the editors had taken upon themselves to correct the style to the extent of destroying its individuality and materially impairing its force. There can be no stronger proof of the enormity of their error than the marked rise in the reputation of the writer in exact proportion as he was allowed to speak in his own pointed, coloured, incisive, picturesque, tangled, and irregular language, through which the meaning flashes like lightning through clouds. Observing this, the editors at length made up their minds to present him, as Cromwell insisted on being painted, with his blotches.

'This new edition' (so runs the advertisement) 'is not a simple reproduction of that which was published in 1856-58. M. Ad. Regnier, fils, sub-librarian of the Institute, has made, to establish the text, a scrupulous revision of the autograph manuscript of the author, which has been followed throughout with the greatest fidelity. Even where in this manuscript the errors were evident, he has only corrected them by warning the reader each

time by a note; and he has placed between brackets the words which Saint-Simon had omitted through haste. The expressions, the turns, the inaccuracies, which might offer difficulty, are explained by notes. In a word, this new edition may be considered as the most exact reproduction that has hitherto been made of an author who, in spite of his grammatical irregularities, has deserved to be placed in the number of the great writers of France.'

To convey an impression of his peculiarities we shall translate as literally as is consistent with a due regard to idiom; and it should be kept in mind that he was fully conscious of his defects. The last paragraph of the *conclusion* runs thus:—

'I was never of an academic turn, and I have been unable to get rid of the habit of writing rapidly. To render my style more agreeable by correcting it, this would be to recast all the work, and this labour would be beyond my strength, it would run the risk of being "*ingrat*." To correct well what one has written, one must know how to write well; it will easily be seen here that I have had no right to pique myself on it. I have thought only of the exactness and the truth. I venture to say that both are found strictly in my memoirs, that they are the law and the soul of them, and that the style merits a benign indulgence on their account. There is so much the more want of it that I cannot promise it better for the continuation which I propose to myself.'

This paragraph will be found to have an important bearing on a question touching the plan, commencement and completion of the work, which was raised by the publication of Dangeau's Journal with the so-called Additions by Saint-Simon.\* Beginning with 1684, and ending with the author's death in 1720, this journal comprises a brief barren record of the incidents of each day noted down each evening. 'It is difficult' (remarks Saint-Simon) 'to conceive how a man could have the patience and the perseverance to write such a work every day for more than fifty years,† so meagre, so dry, so constrained, so cautious, so literal, to write only rinds of the most repulsive aridity.' Saint-Simon states that he did not see the journal till after Dangeau's death; and it did not come into the possession of the Duc de Luynes, who gave him his interleaved copy, till 1729, six years after the formal conclusion of Saint-

\* *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau, publié en entier pour la première fois par MM. Soult, Dusieux, de Chennevières, Mantz, de Montaignon, avec les Additions inédites du Duc de Saint-Simon, publiées par M. Feuillet de Conches.* Dix-neuf tomes. Paris, 1854-1860.

† To account for this discrepancy, it has been suggested that Dangeau may have kept a journal prior to the date of that which has been preserved.

Simon's Memoirs, and thirty-eight years after their commencement.

Nothing is more common than for a man partially to resume a subject on which he has already written, or on taking up the life or diary of a contemporary, to dash off notes in amplification or correction of statements that excite or irritate him. Swift's marginal notes on Burnet are a familiar example. The perusal of Dangeau's Journal must have recalled many a half-forgotten episode, or occasionally opened a flood-tide of associations, which Saint-Simon hastened to fix without pausing to see whether this was not a superfluous labour. It would be, when so carried away, that he would be most liable to repetition or irregularity.\* 'When,' says Sainte-Beuve, 'he writes notes and commentaries on the Journal of Dangeau, he writes as one does for notes, flying (*à la volée*), heaping up and crowding the words, wishing to say everything at once and in the shortest space. I have elsewhere compared this petulance and this precipitation of things under his pen to an abundant spring struggling and bubbling through a narrow channel.' Speaking of the effect of an abundance of ideas on style, Swift says: 'So people come faster out of a church when it is almost empty than when a crowd is at the door.'

It may readily be granted that, in the final revision of his memoirs, Saint-Simon turned these notes to account or borrowed some dates and facts from the journal; but that these notes or additions were the basis of his memoirs, or that he was indebted to any appreciable extent to Dangeau for their conception or mode of execution, strikes us to be an utterly untenable theory. Yet the editors of Dangeau (five in number) concur in stating that 'the additions of Saint-Simon form incontestably the first thought of his magnificent memoirs;' and amongst other startling propositions in Mr. Reeve's elaborate essay, entitled 'Saint-Simon,' in his 'Royal and Republican France,' we find that 'without Dangeau the Memoirs of Saint-Simon would perhaps never have existed in their complete form:' that 'these notes (the additions) must be regarded as the basis of the memoirs;' and that 'the fact that the memoirs were written subsequently to the additions is proved by innumerable circumstances to which we shall presently have occasion to refer.†

\* He occasionally relates the same incidents twice over in the 'Memoirs'—e.g., the quarrel between Louis and Louvois about the window.

† 'Royal and Republican France: a series of Essays reprinted from the "Edinburgh," "Quarterly," and "British and Foreign" Reviews. By Henry Reeve, Corresponding Member of the

The passages cited by Mr. Reeve to prove that the memoirs were constructed upon the alleged basis are, 1st, an extract from Dangeau in which he dryly recapitulates the proceedings at Versailles on January 1st, 1696: 2nd, an extract from Saint-Simon's notes, in which apropos of a name, Lanti, he runs off into some biographical details about the Duke Lanti and his family: 3rd, an extract from the memoirs in which the pedigree and connections of the same family are recapitulated and (referring to a well-known fact stated in the journal but not mentioned in the notes) the usurpation of a privilege is explained. Now why might not Saint-Simon have written the passages in the memoirs before he saw the journal? and why forty years afterwards might he not have hastily scribbled off a note in which the same topic is introduced? or what, in any alternative, would be the amount of his obligation to Dangeau? But Mr. Reeve thinks this specimen decisive and enough. 'It would be tedious,' he continues, 'to pursue this species of comparison any further, but every page of these vast collections might furnish similar examples. Dangeau supplies the simple fact, succinctly stated with chronological accuracy, and we believe that Saint-Simon seldom names a person or relates an occurrence (except those personal to himself) which do not occur in Dangeau's Diaries; but he immediately amplifies the event. He breathes life into those dead figures.'

There is absolutely nothing in this coincidence, considering that the two men were dealing with the same period, the same society, and the same class of occurrences. Moreover, as put by Mr. Reeve, the constantly recurring coincidence proves too much. 'Are we to consider as posterior to the perusal of the journal, and first suggested by it, all those portions of the memoirs which treat of persons or occurrences mentioned by Dangeau? If so, how much original matter would be left?'

After some depreciating remarks on Dangeau, Saint-Simon adds:

'With all this, his memoirs are full of facts not noticed in the gazettes; they will gain value as they grow old; they will be of great use to any one who seeks to write with more solidity for an accurate chronology and to avoid confusion.'

Here Mr. Reeve thinks he has Saint-Simon on the hip. 'It is impossible,' he says, 'to

French Institute. In two volumes. 1872.' The essay on Saint-Simon is reprinted from the 'Edinburgh Review' for January, 1864. It is therefore weighted with the double authority of a widely-circulated Review and a distinguished name in literature.

acquit him of some want of candour in this reference to a work by which he himself largely benefited. Nobody would infer from this passage, and indeed the discovery has only been made very recently, that Saint-Simon alludes to himself in the sentence we have printed in italics. He it was who, undertaking to write the history of the period with greater solidity, condescended to borrow from Dangeau at least the chronological order of his narrative. But before we enter upon the proof of this curious species of plagiarism (if so it can be called) we must trace the history of the journal itself.\*

To assert that Saint-Simon largely benefited by the work is begging the whole question. In saying that it will be of great use for an accurate chronology, he merely means, of great use in verifying dates. How does this show that he borrowed the chronological order of his narrative? And what is that chronological order? Neither more nor less than the ordinary succession of days, months, and years. Can this be a subject of copyright? Is it not common property? As well accuse a writer who was verifying dates of plagiarising from the Court Circular or an almanack.

Strange to say, Mr. Reeve, who lays so much stress on coincidence and chronological order, has fallen into a chronological error which materially affects his calculation. 'It may deserve to be noted that the Memoirs of Saint-Simon are not the memoirs of his life, nor did he ever intend that they should embrace the whole of that protracted period. They commence in 1695 with his entry into public life; they end in 1723 with the death of the Regent. The whole extent of them, therefore, is confined to twenty-eight years; although Saint-Simon lived thirty-two years after the event at which he brought them to a close.' They commence with his entry into public life (*i.e.* the army) early in 1691. The event at which he brought them to a close occurred on the 21st December, 1723. They therefore comprise thirty-three years, wanting two or three months. Mr. Reeve also states that 'the first ten chapters of the memoirs are remarkably incoherent, as if the author had not yet settled the plan he was finally to adopt.' These ten chapters include 1691, 1692, 1693, and part of 1694, years which Mr. Reeve ignores altogether in his computation. They include the fractions which Saint-Simon submitted to the Abbé de la Trappe, with a tolerably clear indication of his plan. The Memoirs prior to 1695 comprise fourteen chapters, filling 220 pages.

It is admitted that 'the materials to be found in the additions were by no means

all employed in the composition of the memoirs; on the contrary, the earlier [was it earlier?] work is a store of fresh matter frequently of the liveliest interest.' Surely if the additions had formed the basis of the memoirs, most of this matter of the liveliest interest would have been worked up in them; and the residuum would hardly have invited the editorship of a highly distinguished man of letters like M. Feuillet de Conches.\*

There is extant a letter from Saint-Simon to the Abbé de la Trappe, dated the 29th March, 1699, in which, after referring to a former communication to the effect that, for some time past, he had been working on 'a set of memoirs' of his life, he requests advice as to the best manner of speaking of himself, and encloses his narrative of the Luxembourg suit as a specimen—

'This, I think, is the sharpest and bitterest thing in my memoirs, yet I have endeavoured to adhere to the most exact truth. I have copied it from them where it is recorded here and there, according to the time at which we pleaded, and I have put it all together; and instead of speaking openly, as in my memoirs *themselves*, I name myself in this copy as I name others, so that I may hereafter keep it and use it without appearing to be the author. I have also added two of my portraits as specimens of the rest.†

This letter and the specimens prove incontestably that, as regards form, method, and substance, the memoirs for the first eight years were originally composed as they were definitively left, and there is no ground for supposing that a different method was adopted for the rest. It is also clear that the change from the first person to the third was confined to the narrative of the Luxembourg suit. Yet Mr. Reeve, commenting on this letter, says: 'It may be inferred also, that although his memoirs were

\* 'We publish the additions of Saint-Simon to the Journal of Dangeau. These have been sometimes inserted in his memoirs, but modified, and most frequently Saint-Simon has not reproduced them. The additions of Saint-Simon, which we publish, are thus in very great part unpublished.'—*Advertisement of the Editors of Dangeau*. This goes far to decide the question.

† In reference to this communication, Mr. Reeve says: "It is one of the strangest facts of this history that the tremendous revelations of the courts of kings and of the heart of man which lay buried for nearly a century from the world, should have been whispered for the first time in a cell of La Trappe." Saint-Simon's confidential communications with La Trappe ended with the life of his friend, the founder, who died October 26th, 1700; so that, if these tremendous revelations were first whispered at La Trappe, they could hardly have been suggested by Dangeau.

noted at the time in the first person, he afterwards, in recopying them, adopted the third person, and fused the separate passages of the narrative together. In the additions to Dangeau, he always speaks of himself as the Duc de Saint-Simon; but in the final copy of the complete memoirs he again uses the first person throughout in speaking of himself.' Saint-Simon distinctly states that the labour of recasting what he wrote was beyond his strength; yet, according to Mr. Reeve, he must have recast his writings three or four times over, besides changing the person throughout from no apparent motive but caprice, and then changing it back again.

Rogers during the latter years of his life devoted so much time and care to rewriting and correcting his verses with a view to the preservation of his fame, that he was compared to an old bear keeping itself alive by sucking its paws. Horace Walpole got back the originals of his letters to Sir Horace Mann, carefully collated them with the copies he had regularly kept, added a few touches, and left a fair transcript (mostly in his best handwriting) for posterity—represented as we write by the fair owner of Strawberry Hill, who is obliged to keep the precious deposit under lock and key, lest sundry passages, never yet profaned by print, should be surreptitiously copied by some unprincipled guest and connoisseur.

Saint-Simon, judging from the condition of his manuscript, followed a similar course: he sometimes availed himself of subsequently acquired knowledge to complete a biographical notice of an historical summary; but to contend that, because an occurrence posterior to 1730 is mentioned or introduced, the whole or the greater part of the memoirs must have been written subsequently to that date, is what Partridge would call a *non sequitur*: a logical device of which we have had abundant examples in this controversy. Saint-Simon mentions Voltaire as 'devenu grand poëte et académicien.' Voltaire did not become an Academician till April 1746. Are we to conclude that the Memoirs were not in existence before then?

Mr. Reeve writes with confidence and authority: French critics of note have taken the same side; and Saint-Simon's place in literature depends on the adoption or rejection of their theory. We had therefore no alternative but to state and examine the grounds on which it rests.

Although Saint-Simon, contrary to his avowed intention in 1723, left his memoirs incomplete, they comprise all the stirring and active passages of his life; and a brief

recapitulation of these strikes us to be the best mode of conveying a correct impression of his character and position, an accurate understanding of which is indispensable to a just appreciation of his writings.

He was born, he tells us, on the night of the 15th January, 1675, the only son of Claude, Duc de Saint-Simon, peer of France, by a second wife, Charlotte de l'Aubespine. The title he bore from his birth was Vidame de Chartres, and he was brought up with the greatest care by his mother, a woman of sense and virtue. She made it (he says) her especial care to save him from the common fate of young men of assured rank and fortune, who, becoming their own masters at an early age, are thrown upon the world without natural protectors or advisers. Her anxiety on this score was enhanced by the advanced age of his father (nearly seventy at his birth), and the state of the family, which consisted of a paternal uncle eight years older than the Duc, and two maternal uncles, the one disreputable and the other ruined.

'She exerted herself to raise my courage, and excite me to become capable of repairing by my own energies voids so difficult to surmount. She succeeded in inspiring me with a great desire of it. She was not seconded by my taste for study and the sciences; but that which was innate in me for reading and history, and consequently to do and become something by emulation and the examples that I found in it (i.e. history), compensated this coldness for letters; and I have always thought that, if they had made me lose less time in the one (letters), and made me make a serious study of the other (history), I should have been able to become something in it.'

This passage exhibits his exact state of mind and manner of writing at the commencement of the memoirs, before he had acquired the confidence in which he was by no means deficient in after-life, or the vigour, fertility, and variety of expression which throw confused metaphors and harsh phraseology into the shade.

'This reading of history, and especially of particular memoirs of our own history of the later times since Francis the First, inspired me with the desire of writing those of what I might see, in the desire and hope of being something, and of knowing as well as I could the affairs of my time. The inconveniences did not fail to present themselves to my mind; but the firm resolution to keep the secret to myself appeared to me to provide for all. I accordingly began in July, 1694, being *mestre de camp* of a regiment of cavalry of my name, in the camp of Guenischeim (Germersheim), on the old Rhine, in the army commanded by the Marshal Duke of Lorges.'

In a subsequent passage he states that the direct inspiration came from the Memoirs of Bassompierre. He entered the army in 1691, in his sixteenth year, more (he confesses) from a wish to get rid of his master in philosophy than from military ardour. The siege of Mons, formed by the King in person, had attracted all his young contemporaries for their first campaign; and what piqued him most was that, conspicuous amongst these was the Duc de Chartres, eight months younger than himself, with whom he had been partially bred up and had contracted as close an intimacy as the difference of rank allowed. After vainly trying his mother, he obtained the concurrence of his father, by representing that the King, having undertaken so great a siege this year, would repose the next, and that thus a brilliant opportunity would be lost or indefinitely postponed. It was then the rule for all young men of rank who entered the service, with the exception of the princes of the blood, to serve a year in one of the two companies of mousquetaires, and then as captain of a troop of cavalry or subaltern in the King's own regiment of infantry, before they were permitted to purchase a regiment. The first step, therefore, was for his father to take him to Versailles and present him as a candidate for a nomination in the mousquetaires. The King, remarking his slight stature and delicate appearance, objected that he was too young; to which it was adroitly replied that he would serve his Majesty the longer, and thereupon his father was requested to name which regiment he preferred, and the nomination followed in due course.

We do not see how the siege of Mons could be employed as an argument, for it took place in the spring of 1691; and he complacently records that, when he was a mousquetaire of three months' standing (in March of the following year), he mounted guard at Compiègne and was apprised of the royal intention to take the field again.

'My joy was extreme, but my father, who had not counted on this, repented having been overpersuaded by me, and made me feel it! My mother, after a little temper and pouting at my having been enrolled against her wish, was unwearied in bringing him to reason, and in having me supplied with an equipage of thirty-five horses or mules, and with wherewithal to live honourably on my means morning and evening. It was not without a provoking *contratemps* which fell out precisely twenty days before my departure.'

The family steward had levanted with fifty thousand francs due to tradespeople

whom he had returned in his accounts as paid.

Saint-Simon's equipment is prominently introduced by Lord Macaulay in his animated and ornate description of the siege of Namur. 'A single circumstance may suffice to give a notion of the pomp and luxury of his (the French king's) camp. Among the musketeers of his household rode, for the first time, a stripling of seventeen, who soon afterwards succeeded to the title of Duke of Saint-Simon, and to whom we owe those inestimable memoirs which have preserved, for the instruction and delight of many lands and of many generations, the vivid pictures of a France which has long passed away. Though the boy's family was then pressed for money, he travelled with thirty-five horses and sumpter-mules.\* All the particulars of his first campaign are interesting:—

'The King started on the 10th May, 1692, with the ladies, and I made the journey on horseback with the troops and all the service, like the other mousquetaires. I was accompanied by two gentlemen; the one, of long standing in the family, had been my governor, the other was my mother's equerry. The King's army was encamped at Gevries; that of M. de Luxembourg almost joined it. The ladies were at Mons, two leagues off. The King brought them to his camp, where he feasted them, and then treated them to the sight of the most superb review that probably has ever been seen of these two armies drawn up in two lines.'

The tents of the Court, pitched in a meadow, were well-nigh inundated by the rain, which, he says, descended in torrents during the whole of the siege, greatly enhancing the reputation of St. Médard (the French St. Swithin) whose feast-day is the 8th of June. The soldiers uttered imprecations against the saint, and made a search for his images, of which they broke or burnt as many as they could find. The roads became impassable for carts or carriages, and Luxembourg's army was reduced to the same extremity for want of corn and forage as the English before Sebastopol. To lessen their privations, orders were given to the cavalry of the household to carry them sacks of grain, a duty which they deemed degrading to their dignity as a privileged corps. The first party told off for it positively refused; and

\* 'History,' vol. iv., p. 268. It appears from p. 65 that William's head-quarters were enlivened by a crowd of splendid equipages, and by a rapid succession of sumptuous banquets. In Shadwell's 'Volunteers,' the representative character has a train of cooks and confectioners, a waggon-load of plate, a rich wardrobe, and tent furniture chosen by a committee of fine ladies.

the second were on the verge of mutiny, when the young Vidame sprang from his saddle, shouldered a sack, and laid it across the crupper of his horse. Clapping him on the shoulder and naming him, the commandant loudly demanded which of them could feel hurt or dishonoured by doing what was not disdained by the eldest son of a Duke, and his example was emulously followed by the troop. When this affair was reported at head-quarters it attracted the favourable notice of the King, who during the rest of the siege made a point of saying something civil to the young mousquetaire whenever an occasion offered. The citadel, which held out three weeks longer than the town, surrendered July 1st, 1692, and the Court returned to Versailles.

‘On the third of May, 1693, the King announced that he was going to Flanders to take the command of one of his armies as before; and that same day,’ says Saint-Simon, ‘about ten in the evening, I had the misfortune to lose my father, who was eighty-seven, and was dead almost as soon as he was taken ill: there was no more oil in the lamp.’ His feelings and proceedings on this event are thus related:

‘I heard the sad news on returning from the *coucher* of the King, who was to purge the next day. *The night was given to the just sentiments of nature.* The next day I went betimes to find Bontemps (first valet-de-chambre), then the Duc de Beauvillier, who was in waiting and whose father had been the friend of mine. M. de Beauvillier showed me a thousand kindnesses with the princes whose governor he was, and promised to ask the King for my father’s governments for me on opening the King’s curtain. He obtained them at once. Bontemps, much attached to my father, hastened to tell me in the tribune where I was waiting; then M. de Beauvillier himself, who told me to be in the gallery at three, where he would send for me and have me introduced through the Cabinets, when the King had done dinner.

I found the crowd had left the chamber. As soon as Monsieur (the Duke of Orleans), who was standing at the foot of the King’s bed, perceived me, “Ah!” he exclaimed aloud: “M. le Duc de Saint-Simon.” I approached the bed and made my acknowledgment by a low bow. The King inquired how this misfortune had happened, with much goodness for my father and myself; he knew how to season his favours. He spoke to me of the sacrament, which my father had been unable to take. I replied that only a short time since he had made a retreat of some days to Saint-Lazare, where he had his confessor and fulfilled his devotions; and I spoke of the piety of his life. The colloquy lasted some time, and ended by exhortations to continue to act wisely and well, and that he would take care of me.’

It would seem that there was little time to

lose or devote to the just sentiments of nature, for during a preceding illness of the father many had asked the King for his governments; d’Aubigné, Madame de Maintenon’s brother, amongst others, to whom the King replied with unwonted sharpness, ‘Has he not a son?’

Starting with the reflection that birth and property do not always go together, Saint-Simon proceeds to explain how his father, having begun as a page to Louis XIII., rose to high favour, obtained valuable employments, and was created duke and peer. The stepping-stone of his fortunes was his adroitness in enabling the King, who was passionately fond of hunting, to change horses without putting foot to ground. This was effected by placing the tail of one parallel to the head of the other. Saint-Simon mentions this service with no apparent consciousness that it might equally well have been performed by a groom; and he relates an instance of his father’s undue eagerness to curry favour, which a son bred in a purer atmosphere, or more sensitive to the family honour, would have been glad to suppress. The King was enamoured of one of the maids of honour, Mdle. d’Hautefort, and was constantly talking about her to Saint-Simon *père*, who (says the son) could not understand how a king could be so pre-occupied by a passion and make no attempt to gratify it.

‘He attributed it to timidity; and on this principle, one day when the King was speaking passionately of this young lady, my father proposed to be his ambassador, and bring the affair to a speedy conclusion. The King let him say on; then assuming a severe air: “It is true,” he said, “that I am in love with her; that I feel it; that I seek her; that I take pleasure in talking about her, and that I think of her still more. It is true, also, that all this comes to pass in me, in my own despite, because I am a man and have this weakness; but the more my quality of king gives me extraordinary facilities for gratifying my passion, so much the more ought I to be on my guard against the scandal and the sin. I pardon you this time on account of your youth; but let me never hear you address similar language to me again if you value my affection.”

‘It was a thunderclap to my father; the scales fell from his eyes; the idea of the King’s timidity in his love disappeared in the brightness of a virtue so pure and so triumphant.’

Although Saint-Simon labours hard to make it appear that his father, on being made duke and peer, was rather *arrivé* than *parvenu*, this was not the opinion of contemporaries. Malherbe thus mentions his first promotion in a letter to Peiresc, 19th December, 1626: ‘You have heard of the dis-

missal of Barradas (first equerry to Louis XIII.). We have a Sieur Simon, page of the same stable, who has taken his place. It is a young lad of eighteen or thereabouts. The bad conduct of the other will be a lesson to him, and his fall an example to do better.'

His father's death proved no interruption to his military duties. Immediately after the fulfilment of the last offices, he started for Mons where the army was to muster, being now a captain in the Royal Roussillon regiment of cavalry.

'The King set out on the 18th May (1693) with the ladies, made a halt of eight or ten days with them at Quesnoy, then sent them to Namur, and went on the 2nd June to place himself at the head of Marshal Bouffier's army, with which, on the 7th, he occupied the camp of Gembloux, so that his left was close to M. de Luxembourg's right, and people could pass from one to the other in safety. The Prince of Orange was encamped at the abbey of Parc in such a manner that he could not receive supplies, and could not move out without having the two armies of the King upon his hands. He hastily entrenched himself, and thoroughly repented of having suffered himself to be so promptly driven to the wall. It has been ascertained since that he wrote several times to the Prince de Vaudemont, his intimate friend, that he was lost, and that he could only escape by a miracle. His army was inferior to the least of the King's, both of which were abundantly supplied with equipages, provisions, and artillery, and, as may be believed, were masters of the campaign.'

Such being the position with the whole season for active operations before him, on the 8th June, the day after his arrival in camp, Louis suddenly announced to Luxembourg that he should return in person to Versailles, and that the bulk of the force under Bouffiers would be sent to Germany under Monseigneur.

'The surprise of Luxembourg was unparalleled. He represented the facility of forcing the entrenchments of the Prince of Orange; of completely defeating him with one of the two armies, and following up the victory with the other. . . . But the resolution was taken. Luxembourg, in despair at seeing so glorious and easy a campaign, went down on both knees before the King, but could obtain nothing. Madame de Maintenon had vainly endeavoured to hinder the King's journey; she feared the absences; and so happy an opening of the campaign would have detained him long to gather the laurels himself; her tears at their separation, her letters after his departure, were the most potent, and carried the day against the most pressing reasons of State policy, of war, of glory. . . .'

'The effect of this retreat was incredible, even amongst the common soldiers and the

people. The general officers could not be altogether silent, and the rest spoke loudly of it with a licence which could not be restrained. The enemy neither could nor would restrain their surprise and their joy.'

Lord Macaulay, citing Saint-Simon—who is indeed the sole well-informed and trustworthy authority for the facts—contrives to give them a turn so as to palliate the bad strategy of William, and put the worst possible interpretation on the weakness of Louis. 'William' (he says) 'had this year been able to assemble in good time a force, inferior indeed to that which was opposed to him, but still formidable. With this force he took his post near Louvain, on the road between the two threatened cities (Liège and Brussels) and watched every movement of the enemy.' This gives no notion of the dangerous position he really occupied. As regards the motive of Louis' retreat: 'The ignominious truth was too evident to be concealed. He had gone to the Netherlands in the hope that he might again be able to snatch some military glory without any hazard to his person, and had hastened back rather than expose himself to the chances of a pitched field.\*

Nor was this, Lord Macaulay adds, the first time that His Most Christian Majesty had shown the same kind of prudence. Seventeen years before, when opposed to the same antagonist under the walls of Bouchain, a similar opportunity offered of ending the war in a day. 'The King called his lieutenants round him, and collected their opinions. Some cowardly officers, to whom a hint of his wishes had been dexterously conveyed, had, *blushing and stammering with shame*, voted against fighting. It was to no purpose that bold and honest men, who prized his honour more than his life, had proved to him that on all the principles of the military art he ought to accept the challenge rashly given.' This, again, is a passage from Saint-Simon, coloured and exaggerated. He states that 'Louvois, to intimidate the council, spoke first, like a reporter, to dissuade the battle.' Three out of the four marshals present agreed with him; and in recommending the bolder course, the Marshal de Lorges, Saint-Simon's father-in-law, stood alone. The retreat on this occasion was generally attributed to Louvois, of whom Madame

\* Vol. iv. pp. 401-403. Burnet says that 'the French king, seeing that the practices of treachery on which he chiefly relied (for taking Liège), succeeded so ill, resolved not to venture himself in any dangerous enterprise, so he and the ladies went back to Versailles.'—*History of his own Time*, vol. iii. p. 153

de Sévigné writes in the same year (1676) 'Aire is taken; it is M. de Louvois who has all the honour. He has full power, and orders the advance and retreat of armies as he thinks fit.'

After describing the manner in which Louvois was wont to dictate to commanders like Condé and Luxembourg, Lord Macaulay says that he had become odious to Louis, and to her (Madame de Maintenon) who governed Louis. 'On the last occasion on which the King and the minister transacted business together, the ill-humour on both sides broke violently forth. The servant in his vexation dashed his portfolio on the ground. The master forgetting (what he seldom forgot) that a king should be a gentleman, lifted his cane. Fortunately his wife was present. She, with her usual prudence, caught his arm. She then got Louvois out of the room, and exhorted him to come back the next day as if nothing had happened. The next day he came, but with death in his face. The King, though full of resentment, was touched with pity, and advised Louvois to go home and take care of himself. The next day the great minister died.' The authorities cited are Dangeau and Saint-Simon, and not a hint is given of the slightest doubt as to the facts. But Saint-Simon tells a totally different story, and dates the scene of violence in 1689 (two years before the death of Louvois), after the proposal of Louvois to burn Trèves had been set aside by the King.

'Some days afterwards, Louvois, who had the fault of obstinacy, and who had been led by experience not to doubt of carrying his point, came as usual to work with the King at Madame de Maintenon's. Towards the end of their business he said, that feeling scruples to be his Majesty's sole reason for not consenting to so necessary a measure, he had taken the responsibility on himself, and had already dispatched a courier with an order to burn Treves immediately.

'The King was at the moment, and contrary to his disposition, so transported with anger, that he caught up the *pincettes* (tongs) from off the fireplace and was about to throw himself on Louvois but for Madame de Maintenon, who threw herself between them, exclaiming: "Ah, Sire, what are you about to do?" and took the *pincettes* from his hands. Louvois, however, made his way to the door. The King shouted after him to come back; and called out, with flashing eyes: "Dispatch a courier instantly with a counter-order, and let him arrive in time, and understand that you shall answer for it with your head if a single house is burned."

There was no need of a counter-order, for the courier had been told to wait till after the interview; and the statement that

the order had been actually sent was a trick of Louvois to secure the King's acquiescence in a foregone conclusion. He made his position worse with Madame de Maintenon by inducing Louis to leave her and the rest of the ladies at Versailles, when he undertook the siege of Mons in 1691; 'and,' adds Saint-Simon, 'as it is the last drop which makes the cup overflow, a trifling occurrence at this siege completed the ruin of Louvois. The King, who piqued himself on his knowledge of military details, found a cavalry guard badly placed, and placed it differently. In going the rounds the same day after dinner, he chanced to pass before this same guard, which he found badly placed as before. Surprised and annoyed, he asked the captain who had placed him where he was, and was told Louvois. 'But,' rejoined the King, 'did you not tell him that it was I who placed you?' 'Yes, Sire.' The King, piqued, and addressing his suite, exclaimed, 'Is not that Louvois all over? He thinks he understands war better than I do.'

Saint-Simon was strongly prejudiced against Louvois, and says he was the author and soul of all the ruinous wars; one motive being to discredit Colbert (who was obliged to find the money) by their expense, and another to make himself necessary to the King. Thus, Saint-Simon attributes the war of 1688 to a quarrel about a window at the Petit Trianon, which the King declared to be out of proportion with the rest, whilst Louvois maintained the contrary. The King referred the point to Le Nôtre, who decided in his Majesty's favour; but Louvois still held out, and provoked the King into the use of angry and peremptory language in the presence of the workpeople and the suite.

'Louvois, who was not used to be treated in this fashion, returned home in a fury, and like a man in despair. Saint-Pouange, the Telladets, and the few familiars of all his hours, were alarmed, and eagerly wished to know what had happened. He at last told them; said he was a lost man, and that for some inches in a window the King forgot all his services, which had been to him worth so many conquests; but that he would see to it, and get up such a war as would make the King have need of him, and let alone the trowel. He then gave way to a torrent of reproaches and rage. He was as good as his word; he kindled the war by the double election of Cologne; he confirmed it by carrying fire and sword into the Palatinate, and by giving free scope to the project against England,' &c. &c.

Louvois died at Versailles on the 16th July, 1691.

'I met him the same day,' says Saint-Simon, 'as I was coming away from the King's dinner. M. de Marsac was talking to him, and he was on his way to Madame de Maintenon's to transact business with the King, who was afterwards to walk in the gardens, where the people of the Court were permitted to follow him. About four o'clock in the afternoon, I went to Madame de Châteauneuf's, where I learnt that Louvois had been taken slightly ill at Madame de Maintenon's; that the King had insisted on his going home; that he went home on foot, when the illness suddenly got worse; that they hastily gave him some medicine which he threw up, and died in the act of calling for his son, Barbezieux, who had not time to reach him although under the roof at the time.'

Dangeau's entry for July 16th, 1691, begins: 'The King worked in the afternoon with M. de Louvois, and about four o'clock perceived that M. de Louvois was ill. He sent him home.'

Saint-Simon, who watched the King closely at the promenade after this event, thought he perceived symptoms of relief and elation in his Majesty's manner, and states that Louvois was to have been arrested and conducted to the Bastille within twenty-four hours had he lived; yet his immediate successor was his third son, the Marquis de Barbezieux, a young man of twenty-four, with marked disqualifications for the post. When these were pointed out to the King, he replied: 'I formed the father and I will form the son.'

There is a remarkable passage in Madame de Sévigné's letters in which she mentions the death of Louvois as that of a man whose power was at its zenith, who was the centre of all things, who was cut off in the act of bringing plans of vast importance to maturity. 'Ah, mon Dieu,' she fancies him exclaiming, 'donnez-moi un peu de temps: je voudrais bien donner un échec au duc de Savoie, un mat au prince d'Orange. Non, non, vous n'aurez pas un seul, un seul moment.'

Louvois evidently understood his royal master, and risked little by contradicting him: the particular scene of violence mentioned by Lord Macaulay could have had no connexion with his death; and there is no more ground for believing that he died from mortification at ill-treatment by Louis, than that Dr. Johnson was driven saddened and half broken-hearted from Streatham by Mrs. Piozzi.

When the King and the ladies returned to Versailles, Saint-Simon remained with the army, and was present at the battle of Neerwinden (Landen), of which he has left an animated and detailed account. Al-

though he was in five charges, and behaved with gallantry, he was passed over in the distribution of regiments vacated by the battle, and soon afterwards bought one for 26,000 livres; the purchase system being then in full force, not only for commissions in the army, but for all sorts of offices and places, civil and military.

In the course of the following year he engaged in an affair which, as he says, made a great noise and was followed by (as regards him) most momentous results. Indeed, it influenced the whole of his life, and places in the strongest light the inherent weakness of his character. The Marshal Duc de Luxembourg, who had hitherto been content to take precedence as eighteenth amongst the dukes and peers, suddenly laid claim to stand second on the strength of the Dukedom of Piney, which had come to him by a doubtful descent through females. Saint-Simon stood twelfth amongst those affected by this claim; and considering the recent date of his creation and his youth, there was no intelligible motive, beyond restlessness and vanity, for his coming forward as the champion of his order. But he took the lead of the opposition from the first, threw his whole soul into the cause, and attached a degree of importance of his own personal share of it, which went far to justify the sarcasm of Marmon- tel, that he (Saint-Simon) saw nothing in the nation but the nobility: nothing in the nobility but the peerage; and nothing in the peerage but himself. The principal persons concerned or interested, the comparative eagerness and lukewarmness of the dukes, the quality of the tribunal, the various kinds of influence brought to bear, the Court intrigues, the plots, the under-plots, the chicanery of the judicial proceedings—all these, as handled by him, present a succession of dramatic groups and incidents, which must be read in full to be appreciated. In selecting specimens we feel as if we were cutting out heads from an historic picture, yet portraits like those of Harlay (the First President) and Luxembourg strike by their force and individuality when they stand alone.

'He (Harlay) was learned in public law. He was well versed in the principles of many systems of jurisprudence; he was on a par with those most versed in the belles-lettres; he was well acquainted with history; and above all, knew how to govern his Company with an authority which admitted of no reply, and which no First President had obtained. A pharisaical austerity, by the scope he gave to his public censures, made him an object of dread to parties, advocates, and magistrates,

so that there was no one who did not tremble to have to deal with him. Supported in everything by the Court of which he was the slave, and the very humblest slave of all in real favour, a most finished courtier, and singularly astute politician—all these talents he turned exclusively to his ambition of ruling and rising, and founding the reputation of a great man: without genuine honour; without morals in private; with none but outward probity; without even humanity; in a word, a perfect hypocrite, *sans foi, sans loi*, without God and without soul, cruel husband, barbarous father, tyrannical brother, friend of himself alone, wicked by nature—taking pleasure in insulting, in outraging, in crushing, and never in his life omitting an opportunity of so doing. A volume might be filled with traits of him, and all the more striking because he had an infinity of wit, the mind naturally turned towards it, and always sufficiently master of himself to risk nothing of which he might have to repent.'

The part taken by Harlay against the dukes was eminently displeasing to Saint-Simon, and the features of this portrait are evidently overcharged; but what he says of Harlay's wit, cutting sarcasm and sub-serviency, is substantially confirmed. An elderly lady of quality had christened him the old monkey. She had a cause which she gained; and on her calling to thank the President, he said: 'You see, Madame, that the old *he-monkeys* (*singes*) like to oblige the old *she-monkeys* (*guenons*).' During the reading of a report, a third of the members of his court were talking and another third asleep, when he said: 'If the gentlemen who are talking would do like the gentlemen who are sleeping, the gentlemen who are listening might hear.'

A wealthy financier in a famine was threatened by the First President with the gallows if he did not sell all his corn within a month. The financier complained to the King, who advised him to comply with the order, adding 'If the First President has threatened to hang you, depend upon it he will be as good as his word.' A similar story is told of the Duke of Wellington, when a commissary complained that Picton had threatened to hang him unless a certain number of bullocks were supplied within twenty-four hours.

In his finished portrait of Luxembourg, Saint-Simon struggled hard to overcome an avowed prejudice, and do justice to the illustrious commander under whom he had been proud to serve.

'A great name, great bravery, unrestrained ambition, *de l'esprit*—but an *esprit* of intrigue, of debauch, and of the great world—enabled him to surmount the disadvantage of a face and figure very repulsive at first, but

(what no one who had not seen him can comprehend) a face and figure to which one got accustomed, and which—notwithstanding a hump, moderate in front, but very large and very pointed behind, with all the rest of the ordinary accompaniment of hunchbacks—had a fire, a nobility, and a natural grace that shone in his simplest actions. . . . Nothing more just than his *coup d'œil*; nobody more brilliant, more self-possessed, more full of resource than he in presence of the enemy or on a day of battle—with an audacity, a *flatterie* (sic), and at the same time a *sang froid*, which enabled him to see and foresee everything in the middle of the hottest fire and the most imminent risk of failure; there it was that he was great. For the rest, indolence itself. Little exercise without great necessity; play; conversation with his familiars; and every evening a supper with very few, almost always the same, and if there chanced to be any town in the vicinity, care was taken that there should be an agreeable mixture of the fair sex. Then he was inaccessible to all, and if anything urgent occurred, it was for Puysegur to look to it. Such with the army was the life of this great general; and such also at Paris, where the Court and the fine world occupied his days, and his pleasures his evenings.'

It may prove not uninteresting nor unimportant to mark how far the brilliant historian, the studied and practised master of style, has improved upon this portrait from the pen of the grand seigneur, who disclaimed all the arts of authorship, and was accused of writing like a barbarian by two or three generations of critics.\*

'In valour and abilities Luxembourg was not inferior to any of his illustrious race. But, highly descended and highly gifted as he was, he had with difficulty surmounted the obstacles which impeded him in the road to fame. If he owed much to the bounty of nature and fortune, he had suffered still more from their spite. *His features were frightfully harsh; his stature was diminutive; a huge and pointed bump rose on his back.* His constitution was feeble and sickly. Cruel imputations had been thrown on his morals. . . . In vigilance, diligence, and perseverance he was deficient. He seemed to reserve his great qualities for great emergencies. It was on a pitched field of battle that he was all himself. His glance was rapid and unerring. His judgment was clearest and surest when responsibility pressed heaviest on him, and when difficulties gathered thickest round him. . . . He was at once a valetudinarian, and a voluptuary; and in both characters he loved ease. He scarcely ever mounted his horse. Light conversation and cards occupied most of his hours. His table was luxurious; and when he had sat down to supper it was a service of danger to

\* Chateaubriand said of Saint-Simon: 'Il écrit à la barbare pour l'immortalité.'

disturb him. . . . If there were any agreeable women in the neighbourhood of his camp, they were generally to be found at his banquets.\*

From the terms on which Saint-Simon stood with Luxembourg, we may be sure that he softened nothing; and Voltaire describes Luxembourg as 'always in love, and even often loved, although deformed (*contrefait*), and with a face little formed to please, having more of the qualities of the hero than the sage.' The only authorities quoted by Lord Macaulay, besides lampoons and caricatures, are Saint-Simon and Voltaire. Then why does he say that Luxembourg's features were frightfully harsh and his stature diminutive? or why exaggerate the hump?

In the 'Biographie Universelle,' the description of Luxembourg is that 'although *un peu contrefait*, he pleased by a physiognomy which revealed his soul.' William was reputed to have said: '*Je ne pourrai donc jamais battre ce bossu-là!*' 'Bossu!' exclaimed Luxembourg on hearing this, 'what does he know of it? He has never seen my back.' His death (of a pulmonary complaint) in 1695 was mourned as a national loss; but Saint-Simon regarded it from an exclusively personal point of view.

'M. de Luxembourg did not see, during his last illness, a single one of the dukes he had attacked, nor did any one of them press to be received. I neither went nor sent once, although I was at Versailles, and I must own that I appreciated my deliverance from such an enemy.'

The titles and rights of the Marshal Duke devolved upon his son, by whom the claim of precedence was revived and eventually established to the extreme surprise and lasting mortification of Saint-Simon, who, at the final hearing, lost all semblance of temper and self-command. He says that when Du Mont (the Luxembourg advocate) contended that resistance to the claim was disrespectful to the King—

'I started up to rush out, exclaiming against the imposture, and calling for justice on this scoundrel. M. de la Rochefoucauld held me back, and kept me silent. I was bursting with rage, still more against him than against the advocate.'

The celebrated D'Aguesseau, the Advocate-general, spoke last, and occupied a day in summing up the arguments on both sides.

'He rested the next day, and on Friday, April 18th, 1696, re-appeared to conclude. After keeping the audience a long time in suspense, he began to show himself; it was with

an erudition, a force, a precision, and an eloquence beyond compare, and concluded entirely for us.'

The judges unluckily concluded the other way, and Saint-Simon, after vainly endeavouring to stir up the other dukes to join in an appeal, drew up a memoir to the King, which was not presented because no other duke could be induced to join in it.

We are obviously indebted to the mortification inflicted by M. de Luxembourg's success for a malicious story of him, which illustrates the manners of the Court. The scene is a ball at Marly, to which he and his wife had been invited in consequence of the scarcity of dancers, she being a woman of irregular conduct who was commonly shunned by the respectable of her sex. 'Her husband was probably the only person in France who knew nothing of her goings on, and had not the slightest distrust of her.' He was suddenly required to take part in a masked ballet; and having come unprovided with a mask, requested his friend, the Prince de Conti, to supply him with one.

'Some time after the commencement of the ball, some of the dancers left the room and returned masked. I had just arrived, and I was already seated, when I saw, from behind, a quantity of muslin, surmounted by a stag's horns *au naturel*,—a whimsical headdress, so high that it caught in a lustre. Surprised at so strange a disguise, we began asking each other who it could be? and were remarking that this mask must be tolerably sure of his brows to venture to deck them in this fashion, when the mask turned, and M. de Luxembourg stood confessed. The sudden burst of laughter was scandalous. He took it in good part, and told us with admirable simplicity that it was M. le Prince who had fitted him out in this fashion. A moment after arrived the ladies, and a little later the King. This was a signal for the laughter to recommence, and for M. de Luxembourg to show off before the company with a delightful confidence. His wife, notorious as she was and knowing nothing of this masquerade, lost countenance, and everybody, dying with laughter, was looking at the pair. This amusement lasted all the ball; and the King, in excellent humour as he always was, laughed with the rest; and people were never tired of admiring a trick so cruelly ridiculous, nor of talking of it for many days in succession.'

Speaking of the mode of life at Marly, he says that there were balls every evening, which were kept up till eight in the morning; and that he and Madame de Saint-Simon never saw the light of day for three weeks. Practical jokes were a favourite amusement, with slight regard to consequences.

'Monsieur le Duc held the States of Bur-

\* Macaulay, Hist., vol. iv.

gundy this year in the place of Monsieur le Prince (de Condé), his father, who did not choose to go there. He here gave a great example of the friendship of princes, and a fine lesson to those who seek it. . . .

'One evening when he supped at home, he amused himself by plying Santeuil (famous for his Latin verses) with champagne; and from pleasantry to pleasantry he thought it a good joke to empty his snuff-box full of Spanish snuff into a large glass of wine, and make Santeuil drink it to see what would come of it. He was not long in learning: vomiting and fever set in, and in twice twenty-four hours the unhappy man died suffering the pains of the damned; but in sentiments of a sincere penitence with which he received the sacraments, and edified as much as he was regretted by a society little given to edification, but detesting so cruel an experiment.'

One of the regular butts of the royal family was the Princesse d'Harcourt, whom Saint-Simon describes as untidy and unwashed; a kind of white fury, and a harpy to boot, with the effrontery, the malice, the thievishness, the violence; *elle en avait encore la gourmandise et la promptitude à s'en soulager* &c. The Duke and Duchess of Burgundy were constantly playing tricks with this fair creature. One day they placed petards the whole length of the alley which led from the Château of Marly to the house where she lodged—

'She was horribly afraid of everything. Two chairmen were in attendance to carry her when she took her leave. When she was about the middle of the alley, and the whole party near enough to enjoy the spectacle, the petards began to explode, and she to cry for mercy, and the chairmen to make off. She struggled convulsively in the chair to the point of upsetting it, and shrieked like a demon. The company ran up to enjoy the scene, and hear her rail at all who approached her, beginning with the Duke and Duchess.

'Another time he fixed a petard under her seat in the saloon where she was playing at piquet; but, as he was going to set fire to it some charitable soul warned him that this petard would maim her, and prevented him. Sometimes they sent a score of Swiss with drums into her bedroom, who awoke her in her first sleep with this *tintamarre*.'

'All these different affairs,' says Saint-Simon, in reference to the proceedings in the Luxembourg suit, 'were nothing in comparison of another to which they gave rise, which inflicted the greatest wound the peerage could receive, and became its leprosy and its cancer.' This was the decisive measure suddenly taken by the King, by the advice of Harlay, to give the bastards (as they are plainly designated) precedence immediately next to princes of the blood. He ended, as is well known, by endowing them

with all the incidents of legitimacy, including the right of succession to the throne. The Duc du Maine, the oldest of the King's natural children by Madame de Montespan, was the prompter of the grant of precedence, and the first to claim the privilege. This alone was enough to mark him out as an object of peculiar dislike to Saint-Simon, who has a malicious pleasure in relating how, shortly after his elevation, the bastard *par éminence* came to grief.

In the campaign of 1695 Marshal de Villeroy had manœuvred so successfully, that it appeared impossible for Vaudemont and his army to escape; and on the 13th August a courier was despatched to Versailles by Villeroy to announce an assured victory. M. du Maine, who commanded the left, was ordered to begin the action; but he hesitated till the opportunity was lost; shed tears, sent for his confessor, and exhibited other signs of the most pitiable pusillanimity on the field. Knowing the excessive affection of the King for his craven son, Villeroy did his best to conceal or gloss over the cause of failure in his report, and the courtiers were equally cautious not to wound his Majesty's feelings; but suspecting that something was kept back, he at length, during a visit to Marly, contrived to extract the truth from a favourite valet-de-chambre.

'This prince, outwardly so calm, and so master of his slightest movements in the most moving circumstances, on this unique occasion succumbed. On leaving the dinner-table at Marly with all the ladies, and in the presence of all the courtiers, he saw a valet, in the act of removing the dessert, put a biscuit in his pocket. On the instant he forgets all his dignity, and lifting the cane, which had just been presented to him with his hat, rushes on the valet, strikes him, abuses him, and breaks the cane upon his back. To say the truth, it was slight and easily broken. Then still holding it, and with the air of a man who had lost all self-control, and continuing to rate the valet who was already far off, he traversed the small saloon and entered the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, as he often did at Marly after dinner. On coming out he met his confessor, and loudly exclaimed, as soon as he caught sight of the holy father, "*Mon Père*, I have given a rascal a sound beating, and broken my cane upon his back; but I do not believe I have offended God;" and then told him the pretended crime. All present were trembling still at what they had seen or heard from those present. Their fright redoubled at this revival; and the poor priest made it appear that he approved, in order to avoid adding to the King's irritation before the world.'

Some days elapsed before the real cause of this unbecoming burst of anger became known. Courtier as he was, the Duc d'El-

bœuf could not refrain from having a sly hit at the 'bastard' on this occasion. Towards the end of the campaign, he asked M. du Maine, before a large company, where he intended to serve during the following campaign, since, wherever it was, he should wish to serve there too; and, on being pressed for further explanation, he added, that with M. du Maine one was always sure of one's life. A similar sarcasm was levelled against an eminent member of the Bonaparte family at the commencement of the Italian campaign of 1859.

During all the winter of 1695 Saint-Simon's mother was trying to find him a good marriage; no very difficult matter, he insinuates, as he was regarded as a highly desirable match. 'I was an only son, and I had a dignity and establishments which also made people think much of me. There was some talk of Mlle. d'Armagnac, and Mlle. de la Trémouille, and many others.' At length the choice was considered to lie between two daughters of the Marshal de Lorges.

'The one (the eldest, aged seventeen) was a brunette with fine eyes; the other (aged fifteen), fair, with a perfect complexion and figure, a very pleasing face, extremely noble and modest air, and I know not what of the majestic by an air of virtue and natural sweetness. It was she, moreover, whom I loved the best, beyond all comparison, from the time I saw them both, and with whom I linked the happiness of my life, which she has solely and wholly constituted.'

The King approved the match on its being formally notified to him by the Marshal: the articles were signed, and the bridegroom-expectant was passing all his evenings at the Hôtel de Lorges, when all of a sudden the marriage was entirely broken off on some pecuniary misunderstanding which 'each interpreted in his or her own manner.' Happily, an uncle of the bride, an old master of requests, arrived from the country and removed the difficulty by paying the difference.

'It is an honour which I am bound to render him, and I have never ceased to feel deeply grateful. *It is thus that God brings to pass what pleases him by the least-expected means.*'

The marriage was solemnised at midnight on the 8th April, in the Chapel of the Hôtel de Lorges.

'We slept in the grand apartment. The next day M. d'Anneuil, who lodged opposite, gave us a grand dinner; after which the bride received all France on her bed at the Hôtel de Lorges, to which the forms of domestic life attracted the crowd, and the first who came

was the Duchess de Bracciano with her two nieces."

The Duchess had tried hard to secure him for one of the nieces, and came first to show that she was not piqued at the disappointment.

'My mother was still in her second mourning, and her apartments black and gray, which made us prefer the Hôtel de Lorges to receive the world. The day after these visits, to which only one day was devoted, we went to Versailles. In the evening it was the King's pleasure to receive the bride at Madame de Maintenon's, where my mother and hers presented her. On his way, the King spoke to me of her in a bantering tone, and he had the goodness to receive them with much distinction and praise.

'They were afterwards at the supper, where the new Duchess assumed her tabouret. On taking his place at table, the King said: "Madame, if you please to be seated." When his napkin was spread, seeing all the duchesses and princesses still standing, he rose from his chair and said to Madame de Saint-Simon: "Madame, I have already begged you to be seated;" and all who ought to be seated took their seats, Madame de Saint-Simon between my mother and her own, *who was after her.*'

In 1702 Saint-Simon quitted the service in disgust at seeing five of his juniors made brigadiers of cavalry over his head. It was not till after two months of wearing anxiety and frequent consultations with his friends that he resolved upon this step; and after sending in his letter of resignation, he waits at Paris to hear how it had been received by the King. Hearing nothing for eight days, he returns to Versailles on Shrove Tuesday, when he learns that the King, on reading his letter, had called up Chamillart (one of the Secretaries of State) to whom, after a short private conference, he exclaimed with emotion, 'Hé bien! Monsieur, here is another man leaving us.'

'I did not hear of anything else that fell from him. This Shrove Tuesday I reappeared before him for the first time since my letter on his retiring after his supper. I should be ashamed to tell the trifle that I am about to narrate if it did not help to characterise him under the circumstances. Although the place where he undressed was well lighted, the almoner of the day, who held a lighted candle at his evening prayer, gave it back afterwards to the first valet-de-chambre, who carried it before the King as he resumed his seat. He glanced round, and named aloud one of those present, to whom the valet gave the candle. It was a distinction and a favour which had its value; so adroit was the King in making something out of nothings. He only gave it to those who were most distinguished by dignity and birth, very rarely to inferiors in whom age and services sufficed. *He often*

gave it to me, rarely to ambassadors, except to the Nuncio, and in later times to the Spanish ambassador.

'You took off your glove: you came forward: you held the candle during the *coucher*, which was very short; you then gave it back to the first valet de-chambre, who, if he chose, gave it to some one of the *petit coucher*.

'I had purposely kept back; and I was much surprised, as were the bystanders, to hear myself named; and on future occasions I had it almost as often as before. It was not that there were not in attendance many persons of mark to whom it might have been given, but the King was sufficiently piqued to wish that his being so should not be perceived.

'This was also all I had of him for three years; during which he forgot no trifle, in default of more important occasions, to make me feel how offended he was.'

One of these trifles—no trifles in his eyes—was that his wife was once invited to Trianon, where she could go without him, and not invited to Marly, where etiquette required that the husband should accompany the wife. Over-eagerness to magnify his own importance seems to have blinded Saint-Simon to the inconsistency of his statement. If the King continued giving the candle to conceal his pique, why did he make a point of showing that he was offended? As for the three years, he states that he came to a full explanation with his Majesty, ending in a reconciliation, in the course of the year following, 1703.

There were certain feast-days on which, after mass and vespers, a lady of the Court *quétail* (made a collection for the poor), being named for that duty by the Queen or Dauphiness. The ladies of the House of Lorraine, who claimed to be on a level with princesses of the blood, evaded it as beneath them; Saint-Simon, conceiving that the duchesses were entitled to hold their heads equally high, got up a cabal to bring about a general refusal on their part; and the result was that the collection became irregular and bade fair to be discontinued altogether. On hearing this, the King vowed that rather than the custom should be given up, the purse should be carried round by the Duchess of Burgundy; and that as for Saint-Simon, 'he had done nothing since he quitted the service but study degrees of rank and get into squabbles with everybody; that he was the originator of all this; and that if he had his deserts, he would be sent so far off as to give no more trouble for a long time to come.' When his Majesty's words were reported to him, he requested an audience, in which he expatiated on the propriety of placing the duchesses on the same footing as the prin-

cesses, and of compelling all to carry round the purse when their turn came; professing at the same time his entire readiness to carry it himself or turn churchwarden for the nonce. The freedom of his language, he boasts, conciliated instead of offending the King; and the audience, prolonged as a mark of special favour to the unusual length of half an hour, was so successful that, after reporting what had passed to the older courtiers, he twitted them with not being equally free when their interests and privileges were at stake.

It was customary for the King at the communion to be attended by two dukes, or a prince of the blood and a duke; but if a *fil de France* was present, he alone performed the duty (holding up a corner of the cloth) which otherwise devolved upon a duke. The Duke of Orleans having acted without a duke, Monsieur le Duc (de Condé) assumed the same privilege, whereupon the ever-watchful Saint-Simon takes alarm. He first tries some other dukes, but their tameness and meanness of spirit, their *mollesse et misère*, baffled him.

'I guessed as much, and had at the same time written to the Duke of Orleans in Spain all I thought best adapted to pique him; and with reference to the preservation of his rank above princes of the blood, not to suffer them to place themselves on a level with him by this usurpation on the dukes. On his return, I got him to speak to the King. The King begged to be excused. . . . In a word, nothing was done, and so the matter remained. . . . Although often subsequently pressed to be present at the King's communions, and at times when there were no princes of the blood at the Court—for the bastards had not yet appeared there—I could never bring my mind to it, and I have never since attended them.'

• In spite of repeated warnings, Saint-Simon persevered in raising questions of this kind; and his dislike to Vendôme, who was highly favoured by the King, led him into the extraordinary imprudence of offering and making a wager that Lille, which Vendôme was to relieve, would be taken without a battle. That he won the wager was no excuse for making it—indeed, made matters worse; and he naturally fell under the imputation that the wish was father to the thought. The King's looks had again become cold, or rumours had reached him of a cloud gathering at Versailles, when, in 1709, he took counsel with his wife and the chancellor as to the prudence of withdrawing altogether from the Court, and residing permanently, or the greater part of the year, at his country seat. They strongly disapproved the project, which we suspect

he never seriously entertained; and emboldened by the success of his former audience, he applied to his friend Maréchal (surgeon-in-chief) to get him another.

'Maréchal thought a moment, then, looking me full in the face, "I will do it," he said with animation, "and in fact there is no other course open to you. *You have already spoken to him several times*; he has always been satisfied at these; he will not fear what you will have to say to him, from the experience he has had already. I do not answer for it that he will consent, if he is well determined against you; but let me alone to choose my time well."

Maréchal was as good as his word, and chose his time well for making the request. 'But,' replied the King, 'what can he have to say to me? there is nothing. It is true some trifles about him have come to my ears, but nothing of consequence; tell him to make himself easy, and that I have nothing against him.' On Maréchal's still pressing for the audience, the King resumed, with an air of indifference, 'Well then, agreed, when he will.' Some days having elapsed, Saint-Simon walked up to the King's table as he was finishing his dinner, and reminded him of his gracious promise.

'He turned to me, and with a polite air, replied: "When you will; I could very well at once, but I have business, and it would be too short," and a moment after turned to me again, and said: "But to-morrow morning if you choose."

The audience took place on the morrow, January, 1710; and after putting the best colour on the wager as implying no want of loyalty and patriotism, he began answering things which he supposed to have been repeated against him; to which the King, evidently attaching no importance to them, remarked that he had only himself to thank if evil tongues had been busy at his expense.

"This shows you," replied the King, assuming a truly paternal air, "on what footing you are in the world, and you must own that this reputation, you in some measure merit it. If you had never been engaged in affairs of rank, if at least you had not appeared so excited about those that have arisen, and about the ranks themselves, people would not have that to say of you."

When the audience ended, Saint-Simon felt so confident of the impression he had made, that he begged the King to think of him for an apartment to enable him to pay more assiduous court.

'The King replied that there was none vacant, and with a half-bow, laughing and gracious, walked towards his other cabinets; and

I, after a low bow, went out where I came in, after more than half-an-hour of the most favourable audience, and far above what I had ventured to hope.'

The Court went to Marly on the 28th of April, 1710.

'I had gone to La Ferté. Madame de Saint-Simon offered herself for this expedition. It was the first the King had made to Marly since the audience he had given me. We were of the party. I arrived there from La Ferté, and I have since missed but one till the King's death, even those which Madame de Saint-Simon could not join; and I remarked from this first that the King spoke to me and distinguished me more than people of my age without *charge* or familiarity with him.'

On Sunday, the 5th June, 1710, the King, on returning from mass through the gallery, called to Saint-Simon to follow to the cabinet; where he was informed that Madame de Saint-Simon had been chosen, as a mark of esteem for her virtue and merit, to be lady of honour to the future Duchess of Berry. Then, after saying all sorts of obliging things of Saint-Simon and his wife, the King, 'fixing him with a look and a smile meant to be winning,' added: 'But you must hold your tongue.' The salary and appointments were fixed on the most liberal scale.

'He (the King) took marked care to form for us the most agreeable apartment at Versailles. He turned out d'Antin and the Duchesse Sforza to make out of the two a complete one for each of us. He added kitchens in the court below, a very rare thing at the château, because we always gave dinners, and often suppers, the whole time we were at Court.'

He had clearly no reason to complain of the King, by whom he was almost invariably treated with considerate kindness and affability. We therefore read with surprise, in a carefully considered Essay, that 'it is not clear that he ever had more than three conversations with Louis,' and that the two-and-twenty years which he spent at that monarch's court 'were spent in what, in the language of princes, is called disgrace.'

Having got as much as he had any reason to expect from the old King, Saint-Simon began to turn his attention from the setting to the rising sun and fixed his hopes on the young Duke of Burgundy, the coming Marcellus of France, the son of the Dauphin (commonly called Monseigneur), on whom from early youth the proverb ran: 'Son of king, father of king, never king.' The event, remarks Voltaire, seems to favour the credulity of those who have faith in predic-

tions, for he died on the 14th of April, 1711.

Saint-Simon's description of the Court with its conflicting emotions when the heir-apparent was known to be at the last gasp, may be cited as one of the most favourable specimens of his style; and his own state of mind, which he frankly exposes, is well worth studying.

My first movement was to inform myself more than once, to withhold full belief in what I saw and heard; then to fear too little cause for so much alarm; finally to fall back on myself by the consideration of the suffering common to all men, and that I should some day or other find myself at the gates of death. Joy, however, pierced through the momentary reflections of religion and humanity by which I tried to check myself: my particular deliverance seemed to me so great and so unlooked-for, that it seemed to me, with an evidence still more perfect than the truth, that the State gained all by such a loss. Amongst these thoughts, I felt in my own despite a shade of fear that the dying man might recover, and I was extremely ashamed of it.

The new Dauphin did not live long enough to realise Saint-Simon's expectations, or place him in a condition to show what an amount of political sagacity had been rendered useless (as he plainly intimates) by misplaced jealousy and unmerited distrust. The prince died on the 12th of February 1712, and Saint-Simon lost not an hour in flinging in his fortunes with the Duke of Orleans, the future Regent. If the contemplation of virtue exercised a centripetal force in the one case, the contemplation of vice did not exert a centrifugal influence in the other, for Saint-Simon's adherence to the pupil of Dubois continued unshaken to his death.

He (the Regent) lived publicly with Madame de Parabère: he lived with others at the same time: he amused himself with the jealousy and spite of these women: he was not the less on good terms with all; and the scandal of this public seraglio, and that of the daily rihaldry and impieties of his suppers, was extreme and universally diffused.

Saint-Simon's solitary attempt to reform this mode of life was remarkable for the same spirit of indulgence that softened the reproof administered by the Scotch minister to Charles II. 'The King's passion for the fair could not be altogether restrained. He had once been observed using some familiarities with a young woman, and a committee of ministers was appointed to reprove him for a behaviour so unbecoming a covenanted monarch. The spokesman of the committee, one Douglass, began with a severe aspect; informed the King that great

scandal had been given to the godly; enlarged on the heinous nature of sin; and concluded with exhorting his Majesty, whenever he was disposed to amuse himself, to be more careful for the future in shutting the windows.\*

'Lent,' says Saint-Simon, 'had commenced, and I foresaw a frightful scandal, or a horrible sacrilege for Easter, which could not but augment this terrible scandal.' He, therefore, took the bold step of pointing out to the Regent the worldly consequences of profaning the Holy Week, feeling (he states) the hopelessness of producing an impression by dwelling on the outrage against religion and the offence in the eyes of God. On being asked what he had to propose, he replied that nothing was more simple. His Royal Highness had only to make a partial sacrifice of seven days, beginning with Easter Tuesday, which he was to pass at Villers-Cotterets in company with five or six agreeable persons of his choice. 'Walk, ride, drive, play, in short, amuse yourself; fast like the monks who made good cheer on Fridays when they fasted: don't remain too long at table, and restrain the conversation within the moderate bounds of decency; attend divine service on Good Friday and High Mass on Easter Sunday. This is all I require. Do this, and I will answer for it that all goes well.'

This was the substance of his advice, with which the Regent eagerly closed; but his *roués*† and mistresses took the alarm: the slightest self-restraint might end in a thorough reform: he was over-persuaded to remain in Paris, leading much the same kind of life; and his sole concession to prudence or propriety was a public attendance at High Mass.

There was another act of independence on which Saint-Simon prided himself, the refusal to address the Regent as *Monsieur*. He stood out, and stood alone, for *Monsieur*; and he explains at length his reasons for this preposterous singularity, of which the Regent took no notice. At a moderate estimate, more than a thousand pages of this publication are occupied by similar topics; by memoirs, protests, disquisitions, discussions and disputes about rank, title, seats, caps, modes of address and privileges. He had precedence on the brain; nature meant him for a master of ceremonies; and the gold stick or the white wand of a High Steward or Lord Chamber-

\* Hume, 'History of England,' ch. lxi.

† This term was first used by the Regent to describe the companions of his convivial hours.

lain would have gratified the dearest wish of his heart.

He was named a member of the Council of Regency, but declined any office of individual responsibility, and his exact position is hit off by M. Martin: '*Il s'y trouva, de fait, dans son vrai milieu, critiquant beaucoup et ne faisant guère.*'\* In his eyes all other measures were as nought compared with those for the humiliation of the Parliament, the degradation of the *légitimés*, and the elevation of the dukes. After giving an instance, far from convincing, of his constant postponement of all other considerations to the good of the State, he says:

'This is also seen in all I did to save the Duc du Maine against my two dearest and most lively interests, *because I believed it dangerous to attack him and the Parliament at once*, and because the Parliament was then the most pressing affair, which could not be deferred.'

To postpone an act of personal vengeance with the view of making it more sure—this, then, was his highest conception of public duty or self-sacrifice. We presume it was from a similar devotion to the good of the State that, at the commencement of the Regency, he insisted that the demands of his order should be considered prior to the discussion of any other business. In reference to an interview which he and some other dukes had with the Regent, he says:

'M. le Duc d'Orléans made us a discourse, well gilded, to persuade us to make no innovation on the morrow; representing the trouble which this might introduce in the greatest affairs of the State which ought to be settled, such as the Regency and the administration of the kingdom, and the impropriety which would fall upon all of us of stopping them, and at least retarding them—all for our particular interests.'

The most pressing affair for the Regent, the setting aside of the late King's will by a registered order or edict, raised instead of lowering the Parliament, and left the rank and precedence of the Duc du Maine and the other *légitimés* unimpaired. It gratified neither of what Saint-Simon terms his two dearest and most lively interests. The day on which his vengeance was complete, when his exultation rose to extravagance, was the 26th of August, 1718, the day of the famous *lit de justice*, in which the powers of the Parliament were restricted, and the 'bastards' (with the exception of the Comte de Toulouse) reduced to the rank of ordinary peers. Saint-Simon's description of the scene is his masterpiece; and the effect

is heightened by his account of the preceding deliberations in the Council, and the manner in which the train was quietly laid for the grand explosion, so that it should burst upon the surprised legists and bastards like a thunderclap. Speaking of the First President (de Mesmes), who rose to deliver a remonstrance, he says:

'The scoundrel trembled, however, in pronouncing it. His broken voice, the constraint in his eyes, the sinking and trouble visible in all his person, gave the lie to the rest of the venom the libation of which he could not refuse to his Company and himself. It was then that I tasted with inexpressible delight the spectacle of these haughty lawyers, who dare refuse us the salute, prostrate on their knees and rendering at our feet a homage to the throne, whilst seated and covered on the elevated seats at the sides of this same throne, these situations and these postures, so greatly disproportioned, alone plead with all the force of evidence the cause of those who, veritably and in effect, are *laterales Regis* against this *vas electum* of the *tiers état*!'

The reading of the third declaration or order was almost too much for him.

'Each word was legislative, and carried a fresh fall. The attention was general, and held every one immovable so as not to lose a word, with eyes fixed on the clerk who was reading. Towards the third of this reading, the First President, *grinding the few teeth he had left*, sank down with his forehead on his *bâton*, which he held with both hands, and in this singular posture heard to the end this reading, so crushing for him, so resurrectionary for us.

'As for me, I was dying of joy. I was afraid that I should faint: my heart, dilated to excess, no longer found enough room to expand. The violence I put upon myself, so as to let nothing escape, was infinite. Yet this torment was delicious. I compared the years of servitude—the sad days, when, dragged to Parliament as a victim, I had so many times served as a triumph to the bastards—the different degrees by which they had mounted to this height above our heads—I compared these, I say, to this day of justice and of rule, to this appalling fall, which with the same blow raised us by the force of the rebound. I recalled, with the most potent charm, what I had dared announce to the Duc du Maine the day of the scandal of the cap (*bonnet*) under the despotism of his father. My eyes witnessed at last the effect and the accomplishment of this measure. I felt indebted to myself; I thanked myself that it was by me it was brought about. I considered the radiant splendour in the presence of the King and so august an assembly. I triumphed; I was avenged; I swam in my vengeance. I enjoyed the full accomplishment of the most vehement and the most sustained desires of my life. I was tempted never to care for anything again.'

\* Hist. de France, vol. xv. p. 8.

'During the registration I cast my eyes round, and if I put some restraint on them, I could not resist the temptation of indemnifying myself on the First President. Insult, contempt, disdain, triumph, were darted at him to his very marrow from my eyes. He frequently looked down when he encountered my gaze; once or twice he fixed his on me, and I took pleasure in outraging him by stolen but black smiles which completed his confusion. I revelled in his rage, and found pleasure in making him feel that I did!'

There is a great deal more of the same sort; and all about matters which in no respect affected his real interest or honour, matters which a man of true dignity, even of his own frivolous generation, would have despised.

The last eventful episode in his public career was his Spanish embassy in 1721, which gave occasion for a disquisition on the institutions and manners of Spain to which he had already devoted a large part of a volume. It is replete with information, tediously spun out, as are the rest of his digressive lucubrations and summaries of events. These, although he took great pains with them, will not enhance his reputation, which must rest on his narratives, his descriptions, his historic groups, and, above all, on his analysis and delineation of character. Wonder is blended with admiration at the abundance and variety of his biographical sketches and portraits. They may be counted by hundreds, yet no two of them are alike: each has a physiognomy of its own, and is distinguished by the most unerring marks of individuality. This alone is a decided proof that they were drawn from the life. Invention and fancy are limited: nature is inexhaustible. He has been compared to Rubens for boldness of outline and richness of colouring; and he resembles Rembrandt in the artistic effects which he produces by strong contrasts of light and shade. The shade, however, is too frequently deepened by hatred, malice, and uncharitableness: the moral tone is low: we are disposed to agree with Sainte-Beuve that 'it is an immense and prodigious talent rather than a high and complete intellect;' and, taken in all, we can hardly understand how any reader, learned or unlearned, can warm or puff himself into enthusiasm for the author or the man. Here, however, we are again at variance with Mr. Reeve; and coupling the wide circulation of his views with the decided manner in which they are advanced, it would be a dereliction of critical duty, indeed hardly complimentary to him, to pass them over as of no account.

'The French of the present day,' he says, 'look on Saint-Simon with mingled and in-

consistent feelings. They are compelled to admit that the prodigious force and variety of his style raise him to the very highest rank in literature—as keen a wit as Molière; as fervent a Christian as Bossuet; as stern in his judgments as Tacitus; as fierce in his invectives as Juvenal.\*

Nor is this all. His writings are 'illuminated by the power of genius and the love of truth.' One of his portraits (the Duke of Burgundy) is termed 'magnificent,' and another (Fénelon) 'of transcendent beauty.' We are told that 'no one can read these memoirs without being struck with the unaffected piety of their author; that 'his nature was cast in a larger mould, and something of an heroic character mingled in all his thoughts;' whilst our commiseration is invoked for his unhappy fate in finding himself 'one of a flock of courtiers, whose highest ambition was to light the king to his bedroom, or to hold his shirt when he was dressing.'

But was not this Saint-Simon's highest ambition too? Was he not constantly fidgeting, fussifying, intriguing, quarrelling about forms and ceremonies? \*He would not attend the King's communion except in what he thought his proper place as duke. He would not allow his wife to join in a work of charity because it might compromise her dignity as a duchess; although he permitted her to retain her place as lady of honour in constant attendance on the Duchess of Berry, when that princess was leading a life of open and avowed licentiousness. In his '*Discours sur le Duc de Bourgogne*' he intimates pretty clearly that religion and Christian charity are very good things in their way, but may be carried too far in a prince.

'Therefore a less assiduous attendance at divine service all the Sundays and Feast days of the year would take nothing before God from Monseigneur of the chaste delight he finds in hearing His praises chanted.'

This savours more of Lord Chesterfield or Polonius than of Bossuet. Saint-Simon's visits to La Trappe were like those of a fine lady to her confessor, after which she feels eager and qualified to start fresh. Improving on Clermont Tonnerre, he believed in his inmost soul that *Le bon Dieu n'aura jamais le cœur de damner un duc et pair*. His want of self-knowledge, and his inordinate self-esteem, saved him from self-reproach. With the examples of Lionne, Colbert, and Louvois before his eyes, he accounts for his not occupying a higher place

\* 'Royal and Republican France,' vol. i. p. 155.

in the royal favour by laying down that Louis had an intuitive aversion for men of capacity and integrity who spoke their minds. His shortlived resolves to quit the Court were as unreal, and as barren of results, as Mr. Charles Greville's denunciations of the Turf. His actual retirement into private life (in 1723) was reluctant and enforced. Although he refused to accept shares in the Mississippi scheme from a shrewd anticipation of a crash, he received a large sum through Law as compensation for an inherited claim on the State that had lain dormant for nearly half a century.

The distinctive qualities of Tacitus and Juvenal are altogether wanting in Saint-Simon. He was not a deep thinker; he did not write to expose corruption or reform vice. He wrote to indulge his feelings; and he never meant what he wrote to see the light till the time at which it could be useful as a satire had long passed away. The persons he spared least were those who had wounded his vanity or offended his prejudices. The persons he praised most were those who had aided, obliged, or flattered him. This does not look as if he was uniformly actuated by the strong sense of justice or the pure love of truth. Piquancy of expression is his nearest approach to wit; and he had fortunately no humour, or he would have perceived the absurdity of much that he has usefully recorded from a conviction of its gravity. In delicacy (or indelicacy) he is about on a par with Swift, whose description of the Yahoos is the nearest literary parallel to Saint-Simon's account of the habits of some of the most distinguished personages who figure in his pages. We allude particularly to such passages as the sketch of the Duc de Vendôme's first acquaintance with Alberoni: the scene with the King and Madame de Maintenon in which the young and charming Duchess of Burgundy adopts a singular expedient for keeping herself cool at the theatre: that in which she is portrayed chatting with her ladies of honour before retiring to rest with the Duke, who is waiting for her; and the hurried visit of the Duchesse de Chevreuse to a chapel on the road from Paris to Versailles. Yet if such things had been suppressed, the picture of manners would have been incomplete.

With rare exception,\* his general reflec-

\* So true is it that we forget still less the injuries we inflict, than those even which we receive' (vol. i. p. 78). He has here hit upon the same thought as Dryden:—

'Forgiveness to the injured doth belong;

But they ne'er pardon who have done the wrong.'

tions are commonplace. He tells us absolutely nothing of the state or progress of art, science, literature, or philosophy. He seldom mentions a book, and only pays the tribute of passing praise to authors like Corneille, Racine, and La Bruyère, whose fame was established beyond dispute. He thus mentions Voltaire:—

'Arouet, son of a notary who was my father's and mine till his death, was exiled and sent to Tulle for very satirical and very impudent verses. I should not amuse myself by remarking so small a trifle, if this same Arouet, become great poet and academicien under the name of Voltaire, had not ended by being a kind of personage in the republic of letters, and even a kind of "important" amongst a certain world.'

In 1710, when the Duke of Burgundy, the grandson of Louis, was twenty-eight, Saint-Simon, at the request of the Duc de Beauvilliers, reduced to writing the heads of a conversation regarding the conduct and demeanour most appropriate for the prince. This '*Discours sur le Duc de Bourgogne*,' as it is entitled, contains not a syllable about political principles or measures; and was cautiously kept back from prudential reasons, which were equally strong against any oral or written communications to the same effect. He never specifies the subject of his conversations with the prince; but in proof of his liberality and comprehensiveness of view, Mr. Reeve says:

'Viewing with horror and aversion the ruinous decline of the monarchy, and anticipating from afar its dissolution if the course of events was not turned aside, he applied himself, in conjunction with the most illustrious of his friends, to form the political principles of the heir to the crown, the young Duc de Bourgogne, whose natural ferocity and pride had been effectually subdued by the benign authority of Fénelon. Was there another at the Court of Versailles who would have inculcated on the future Sovereign of France, that kings are made for their subjects and not subjects for kings; who would, in 1710, have pointed to the States-General as the sole hope of the nation, and have contended that the strength and security of the ruler lay in the constitutional limitation of his power?'

The author of 'Royal and Republican France' is here on his own ground, on which he may be supposed to see his way clearly; but, with all due deference, we submit that Saint-Simon did none of these things, and that one, at least, was already done to his hands. It was rather late in the day, considering the duke's age, to inculcate the doctrine that kings are made for their subjects and not subjects for kings, which had been familiar to him from boyhood,

which (in Saint-Simon's words) 'this Dauphin fully appreciated, and did not fear to assert openly and loudly.' It is the moral of 'Telemachus';\* and on hearing of the event which had so rapidly accelerated the approach of his pupil to the throne, Fénelon wrote to him: 'Il ne faut pas que toussoient à un seul; mais un seul doit être à tous pour faire leur bonheur.'

We know of no recommendation of the States-General by Saint-Simon in 1710; but in 1715, after the death of the Dauphin, and shortly before the death of Louis, he laid some schemes before the Regent-expectant which show the spirit in which he would have proceeded to reform the most crying abuses. The primary cause, the *fons et origo*, of them all, in his eyes, was the exclusion of the nobles from the principal departments of the State. Speaking of the Controller-General and the four secretaries, he says:

'He (the Duke of Orleans) was not less wounded than I at the tyranny which those five kings of France exercised at their will and pleasure in the King's name, and in almost all without his knowledge, and the insupportable height to which they had climbed. . . .

'My design, then, was to begin by placing the nobility in the ministry, with the dignity and authority that became them, at the expense of the gown and pen, and to conduct affairs wisely by degrees, and according to the opportunities; so that, little by little, this *roture* should lose all the administrations which are not purely judicial, and that great lords and all nobility should, little by little be substituted in all their employments, and always by preference in those which by their nature should be exercised by other hands, in order to subject all to the nobility in every species of administration, but with the precautions necessary against abuses.'

He proposed to begin by Councils formed of nobles, with an eminent noble for president.

The state of the finances was so desperate, that Saint-Simon, after giving the fullest consideration to the subject, comes to the conclusion that the most advisable course would be a national bankruptcy, to be declared by edict; and it was to shelter the Regent from the responsibility that he proposed to convoke the States-General, throw

all the odium upon them by getting them to pass the edict, and then send them about their business:

'Then I made him feel the address and the delicacy with which, above all things, it was necessary to make sure that the States should pronounce nothing; should decree nothing; should confirm nothing; that their acclamation should never be anything more than what is called *verba et voces*. . . . Thus the decoy (*leurre*) is complete; it is hollow throughout; the States-General acquire no rights from it; whilst the Duke of Orleans has all the essential through this specious and (to the nation) so interesting error. . . . The means of restraining the States, after having so powerfully excited them, appeared to me very easy. Protest, with confidence and modesty, that nothing is desired but their hearts,' &c.

He then proceeds to recommend tactics which might be called Machiavelian, but for their transparent simplicity and absurdity. In short, the enlightened high-minded statesman, as he has been termed, saw 'the sole hope of the nation' in a national bankruptcy and a shallow artifice. He expresses great disappointment when the Duke of Orleans, on becoming Regent, refuses to adopt this scheme. But in 1717, when the Duke, pressed by fresh difficulties, was disposed to have recourse to the States-General, Saint-Simon drew up a memoir (filling fifty pages) to prove that the golden opportunity had been let slip, and that the States might turn out dangerous and unmanageable:

'But besides the capital point of the relief of the people, which will put the whole kingdom on the side of the States, without weighing what is or what is not possible,—who can be sure of the number or the nature of the propositions which they may bring upon the *tapie*? The more violent the present situation, the more difficult the remedies, the more the blame of them is thrown on the past Government, so much the more will the States feel it incumbent on them to search for solid means of preventing their return; and through this desire so natural, even so just if it were within their province, so much the more will they try to give themselves authority for it. Now who can imagine, with any approach to precision, what means may be proposed? All that can be foreseen is that there are no possible means which would not weigh heavily on the royal authority, or which may not be put forward to bridle it.

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'We are not in England; and God preserve a guardian and conservator of the royal authority, so enlightened as your Royal Highness, from giving occasion for the usages of this neighbouring kingdom; from which our Kings have emancipated themselves for centuries, and of which ours would require a great account from you. No need of States-General to obtain aid from the peoples of France; the King,

\* 'Telemachus' says of Sesostris: 'Il ne croit être Roi que pour faire du bien à ses sujets.' The wicked kings in Tartarus are punished amongst other things for 'leur dureté pour les hommes dont ils auraient dû faire la félicité.' 'Telemachus,' we need hardly add, was written for the instruction of this prince. It was first published, without the consent of the author, in 1699, and immediately suppressed by Louis, who took offence at the liberality of the opinions, and imagined Sesostris to be meant for himself.

by himself alone, provides for it by his registered edicts and declarations.'

Surely this is plain enough. The bare notion of a limited monarchy or a constitutional government never crossed Saint-Simon's mind, except to be discredited and repudiated. The longing desire of his life was to suppress the Parliament, the only semblance of a constitutional check: the *lit de justice*, which called forth so much unseemly and ungenerous exultation, was a downright act of despotism; and the words which brought his heart to his mouth were '*Le Roi (a boy of eight) veut être obéi, et obéi sur-le-champ!*' He despised the people, and did not know what civil or religious liberty meant. When the Regent, vividly impressed by the vast amount of injury, the depopulation and impoverishment, inflicted on the kingdom by the expulsion of the Huguenots, proposed recalling and emancipating them, Saint-Simon vehemently objected on the ground that they would never be satisfied without equality, and that all the troubles resulting from their obstinate adherence to their peculiar opinions under successive sovereigns would be renewed.

Far from wishing for the re-establishment of the old aristocracy, Saint-Simon highly commends Richelieu for reducing them to what he terms their 'just measure of honour, distinction, consideration, and authority'—to a condition which no longer admits of their 'agitating' or 'speaking loud to the King.' When, therefore, Mr. Reeve compares the political principles of Saint-Simon to those of the Whig peers of 1688, the comparison is about as true as Mr. Disraeli's comparison of those same Whig peers to the Venetian oligarchy. When, again, Mr. Reeve appeals to Saint-Simon's proposal for convoking the States-General as a recognition of popular rights, he falls into an error analogous to that of the orator who called on the lieges to rally round their sovereign like the barons at Runnymede.

The terms 'magnificent' and 'transcendent beauty' are about as applicable to Saint-Simon's portraits as 'heroic' to his cast of mind. His portrait of Fénelon is principally remarkable for the artistic skill and felicitous language with which the praise is qualified and the attractive features are shaded off, so as to produce the impression of a courtier-prelate who blended the grand seigneur with the priest, was all things to all men, and had his thoughts fixed more on this world than the next.\* It is an ironical

portrait, not a captivating one; it conveys no sense of beauty to our minds: and we much prefer the portrait of the author of 'Telemachus' by La Bruyère, as both more pleasing and more true.

There is one consideration, however, which may help to console the most ardent admirers of Saint-Simon when they cannot get colder or calmer critics to keep pace with them in their enthusiasm. If he had been in advance of his age instead of being on an exact level with it, the representative of his order, the type of his class—if he had been a stern moralist, a philosopher who despised forms and ceremonies, or a farsighted high-principled statesman, he would not be the Saint-Simon who has descended to us: he would not, and could not, have composed the most curious and valuable passages of his *Memoirs*. This is as clear as that we should not have had Boswell's *Johnson*, or Pepys's *Diary*, or Walpole's *Letters*, without the foibles, vanity, egotism, affectation, and love of gossip, to which the rare flavour of their writings is as certainly owing as that of the *foie gras* to the diseased liver of the goose. We cannot have it both ways. Men of an heroic cast of mind, of commanding genius, of lofty ambition, of elevated views, will not make it the chief business of their lives to struggle for straws and feathers and complacently record the struggle: to chronicle the current scandals or fix the fleeting follies of a Court; and it is precisely because Saint-Simon was not a Molière, a Bossuet, a Tacitus, a Juvenal, or a felicitous compound of all four, that he occupies his peculiar place in French literature: that he is hailed at last, by almost universal consent, as the author of the richest, most suggestive, illustrative, entertaining collection of contemporary anecdotes, scenes and characters which any age or country has produced.

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ART. II.—1. *Dame Juliana Berners, Treatysc of Fysshynge with an Angle.* Wynkynde Worde. 1486. (Reprinted by Pickering in 1827.)

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de soin de captiver les valets que les maîtres, et les plus petites gens que les personnages. Il avait pour cela des talents faits exprès, une douceur, une insinuation, des grâces naturelles et qui coulaient de source, un esprit facile, ingénieux, fleuri, agréable, dont il tenait pour ainsi dire le robinet, pour en verser la qualité et la quantité exactement convenable à chaque chose et à chaque personne.'

\* To cite a paragraph: 'Plus coquet que toutes les femmes, mais en solides et non en mi-sères, sa passion était de plaire, et il avait autant

2. *Ulyssis Aldrovandi de Piscibus, Lib. V.* Bononiæ, 1513.
3. *Secrets of Angling.* By J. D., Esquire. London, 1652.
4. *Country Contentments.* By Gervase Markham. London, 1633.
5. *Barker's Delight, or The Whole Art of Angling.* London, 1657.
6. *Young Sportsman's Instructor.* By Gervase Markham. 1652.
7. *Izaak Walton's Compleat Angler.* 1st edition. 1653.
8. *Rural Sports (and Supplement).* By the Rev. W. B. Daniel. 4 vols. 4to. London, 1802.
9. *Recreations of Christopher North.* 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1865.
10. *The Practical Angler.* By W. C. Stewart. Edinburgh, 1867.
11. *A Handbook of Angling.* By Ephemeræ. 4th edition. London, 1865.
12. *Bibliotheca Piscatoria.* By T. Westwood. London, 1861.
13. *A Collection of Right Merrie Garlands for North Country Anglers.* Edited by Joseph Crawhall. Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1864.
14. *A Book on Angling.* By Francis Francis. London, 1872.
15. *The Angler Naturalist.* By C. Pennell. London, 1863.
16. *A History of British Fishes.* By W. Yarrell. 2 vols. 3rd edition. London, 1859.
17. *The Art of Trout Fishing on Rapid Streams.* By H. C. Cutcliffe. South Molton, 1863.
18. *An Angler's Rambles and Angling Songs.* By T. T. Stoddart. Edinburgh, 1866.
19. *An Angler's Rambles.* By Edward Jesse. London, 1836.
20. *Maxims and Hints on Fishing; also Miseries of Fishing.* By Richard Penn, Esq. London, 1855.
21. *The River's Side, or the Trout and Grayling.* By Sir R. Roberts, Bart. London, 1866.

It is now some thirty years since the art of Angling was noticed in our pages, and considerably more than a generation has elapsed since Sir W. Scott contributed to them his genial Essay on 'Salmonia.'\* Without attempting to rival that essay, which, for practical good sense, amusing anecdote, and native *bonhomie*, may always be read with satisfaction, an endeavour to chronicle the present aspect of the craft will be no un-

pleasing labour of love. The 'piping times of peace' which it has been England's good fortune to enjoy of late years, and the wider distribution of wealth, which has brought more leisure to the observant and meditative, have, as a natural consequence, produced an abundant crop of anglers. Large stores of experience have been garnered into numerous popular treatises, improved tackle and new processes of capturing fish have also been devised, so that the period for a reviewer to notice this activity seems to have come round once more. A brook that abounds in trout within thirty miles of London is now worth as much to its fortunate owner as was a salmon river in Scotland not so many years ago;\* and if fish might be credited with powers of divination—with that 'partem divinæ mentis et haustus æthereos' which Virgil attributes to bees—they might well tremble on the summer Bank holidays, when from every suburban station that leads to the Thames, or, for the matter of that, to any piece of free water near London, issue crowds of fishermen, from the adept equipped with Farlow's choicest tackle who aspires to deceive a burly Thames trout, to the apprentice whose ambition soars no higher than the capture of a bleak the length of his finger. The moralist, however, hails the sight with pleasure. It is a proof that contentment and a love of simple rustic joys are spreading amongst the masses—that the national character, in short, is softening—when so many people thus fly for recreation to angling. Indeed it would be treason to the gentle art itself and to its many eminent disciples in past days to suppose that this devotion did not ameliorate men's dispositions; for the fairest jewels in the crown of angling are the lessons of patience and good-will which it inculcates. An angler to be cruel, revengeful, revolutionary! As well might we look for urbane manners and unaffected kindly natures at an international cock-fight.

We must, however, refrain at present from fishing in stew or canal—from flinging line to the *Cyprinidæ*, the eel, or the pike. They afford their own pleasures to their votaries, but it still forms part of our old-fashioned creed that the nobler fishes, the *Salmonidæ*, are the peculiar quarry of the higher and finer natures among anglers. Of course we shall be told that such aristocratic sentiments are totally misplaced in the present

\* 'Angling,' 'Q. R.' vol. lxxvii. p. 182; 'Salmonia,' 'Q. R.' vol. xxxviii. p. 503.

\* A well-known fishing-tackle maker in London recently assured us that numbers of his patrons would gladly send a blank cheque to the owner of such a stream for him to name his own price, if they might have permission to fish in it.

reign of love, when secularists, Comtists, rationalists, *et id genus omne*, are shaking hands over the grave of exclusiveness under the crumbling fane of Christianity. We will give them our best hopes for the return of the Saturnian realms by their exertions. 'A new progeny is being sent down from lofty heaven' when such an alliance flourishes; but we shall crave shelter under the mantle of Dame Juliana Berners, the earliest patroness of fishing in England, who compiled her piscatory lore 'in a greter volume of dyverse bokys concernynge to gentyll and noble men,' in order that it might not come, 'if writ in a lytyll plaunflet, to the hondys of eche ydle persone whyche wolde desire it,' and the 'dysporte of fysshynge' thereby be utterly destroyed. It is quite possible also, we thankfully admit, to discover these higher natures amongst men who sit for hours 'dully sluggardised' in a Thames punt, waiting for the sullen barbel or bony perch to tug at their baits. As there are many within an ace of being horn poets, who possess all the elements of poetical discernment save the accomplishment of verse,—

Which in the docile season of their youth,  
It was denied them to acquire through lack  
Of culture, and the inspiring aid of books,  
Or haply by a temper too severe,  
Or a nice backwardness afraid of shame'  
—*Excursion*, Book I.

so there are multitudes of gentle anglers who would gladly fling aside float and gudgeon-rake and betake themselves to the higher mysteries of their craft, the capture by artificial lures of trout and salmon, did circumstances permit. Such kindly spirits, therefore, we gladly welcome to the charmed circle. But even with this modification angling for the *Salmonidæ* is too wide a subject. 'The salmon is accounted the king of fresh-water fish,' says Walton; it would be *lèse-majesté* for an angler to include him in an article with any other fish, though it be his own brother the trout. To trout-fishing alone, then, the following remarks will be directed, as far as the discursiveness natural to angling permits.

*Ab Jove principium.* Under a glass-case in the long corridor of the King's Library at the British Museum lies open the title-page of the book which, more than all others, has naturalised angling in England. Not, as it will shortly be seen, that it was by any means the first treatise published on that art in the vernacular, but because of its own intrinsic merits, which enable those who never intend to take rod in hand to enjoy its simple goodness and the atmosphere of peace which it creates for

the honest angler. It runs as follows: 'The Compleat Angler, or The Contemplative Man's Recreation; being a Discourse of Fish and Fishing not unworthy the perusal of most Anglers. "Simon Peter said, I go a fishing: and they said, We also will go with thee. John xxi. 3."' Above is a plate of dolphins, with strings of small fish hanging to their tails. In this thin volume of 1653 lies the secret of all the enthusiasm which for two centuries has turned so many men's attention to angling, caused the publication of a whole library of angling treatises, and still wields an irresistible spell over all meditative lovers of the country. The book was well-timed in its appearance. The hopes of constitutionalists were in abeyance for the present. After five months of vacuous speechmaking, which must have disgusted all sober men, the Barebones Parliament was dissolved by Cromwell, who assumed absolute power as Lord Protector. The fleet of Blake and the military despotism, which was daily gaining strength at home, showed the Royalists that their policy was to wait for better times. Acquiescing, therefore, in the inevitable, they returned to their country houses, nursed their dilapidated fortunes, and again devoted themselves to the pleasures of the chase and the angle.

Thus the 'Compleat Angler,' we may be sure, was eagerly welcomed in every old hall, and laid on the mantel-shelf along with Baker's 'Chronicle' and Gervase Markham's book on Farriery as the chief literary treasures of the country gentleman, who, like Sir Roger de Coverley in the next century, 'had in his youthful days taken forty coveys of partridges in a season, and tired many a salmon with a line consisting of but a single hair.\*' But this immediate popularity does not account for the estimation in which the book is still held. Hallam† well regards it as the beginning of the golden age of our literature—a work which has never since been rivalled in grace, humour, and invention. The 'Compleat Angler,' like Thomas à Kempis and a few other great names, is a book for all time. If the 'De Imitatione' has run through some 1850 editions, Jesse, Hawkins, 'Ephemera'—every distinguished disciple of Walton—has been ambitious to edit him with greater honour, culminating in the superb editions of Major and Sir Harris Nicolas, with Stothard's plates. The German 'Der Volkemene Angler' may be, as Mr. Westwood

\* 'Spectator,' No. 116.

† 'Lit. of Europe,' Part IV. cap. 7.

opines,\* the only foreign translation of him; but the reason is, partly because the delicacy of thought and language which marks the book, cannot be reproduced in a strange tongue, and partly because the sentiments which it breathes—at once elevated and simple, the most commonplace remarks flushing into poetry, and all alike richly coloured by the glow of peaceful contentment and true religion—are not strictly congenial to any but an English-speaking country. Thus our Transatlantic friends have their edition of the 'Compleat Angler,' and doubtless, ere long, considering how the acclimatisation of trout is flourishing in New Zealand and Tasmania, we shall hear of Walton being there also duly honoured.†

Many imitators of Walton's style have arisen, but none have caught his peculiar grace. One gaudy tint or too deep a shade, and the conception is ruined. Yet it is difficult to define exactly wherein this excellence consists. Perhaps it is the perfect form in which the most obvious reflection is cast, and the celestial radiance of simple faith and goodness in which Walton's idyllic pictures are set, which prove so irresistibly attractive to our worn-out age—to every age, in short, whose master-spirits love to withdraw for a time from the busy life of men to commune with their souls in the presence of nature. Walton's writing reminds us of some exquisite strain of Beethoven, 'a steam of rich-distilled perfumes;' or of our own Orlando Gibbons, at whose delicious thrills and outbursts and resonances all our deeper self is strongly perturbed, when next moment, lo! the organ ceases, and some homely measure soups so plaintively on the angler's reed-pipe, that while disenchanted, we are none the less delighted with the familiar notes. Much of his prose is as highly finished as an ornate

paragraph of Jeremy Taylor. Take the following passage, for instance; the charm of sublimity and yet of common life whereof we have spoken cannot be better illustrated:—

'But the nightingale, another of my airy creatures, breathes such sweet loud music out of her little instrumental throat, that it might make mankind to think miracles are not ceased. He that at midnight, when the very labourer sleeps securely, should hear, as I have very often, the clear airs, the sweet descants, the natural rising and falling, the doubling and redoubling of her voice, might well be lifted above earth and say, Lord, what music hast thou provided for the saints in heaven, when Thou affordest bad men such music on earth?''

Nothing is too homely for honest Izaak to dignify. When ought we to begin fishing? 'When the mulberry-tree buds,' he tells us. Again, most people have heard of the grayling, supposed to have been introduced into a few of our streams by the monks, much as Mary Queen of Scots popularly enjoys the credit of having turned the vendace (*Corregonus albula*) into the lochs in the neighbourhood of Lochmaben, where alone in the United Kingdom it is found—whereas it is, in truth, a lingering relic of the glacial age. 'St. Ambrose, the glorious Bishop of Milan, who lived when the Church kept fasting-days, calls the grayling "the flower-fish;" some say "that he feeds on gold," others "think that he feeds on water-thyme" † and smells of it at his first taking out of the water, and they may think so with as good reason as we do that our smelts smell like violets at their first being caught, which I think is a truth.‡ Who among the much-vaunted sensational poets of the day could thus draw inspiration from a fishmonger's counter?

Again, many versifiers have waxed eloquent on 'primrose-banks and meadows;' has any excelled Walton's sentiment—'I thought of them as Charles the Emperor did of the city of Florence, that they were too pleasant to be looked on but only on holidays'?§ As no one can profitably enter upon a discourse on fish and fishing without catching fire at the enthusiasm evinced by the patriarch of the art, we shall take leave to fan the flame with one more extract. Besides possessing a stately flow not inferior to Milton's prose, the passage is strictly relevant to our subject:—

'No life, my honest scholar, no life so happy

\* 'Bibliotheca Piscatoria,' p. 68.

† Walton may have taken the idea of his book from Roger Ascham's 'Toxophilus,' with its characters Philologus and Toxophilus. It was published in 1545, and it is noticeable, as a proof how little was thought of angling in the first half of the sixteenth century, that Ascham does not even mention it when he compares archery with other manly recreations. Walton might have applied to his favourite art the praise Toxophilus bestows on shooting—'If a man would have a pastyme wholesome and equal for euery parte of the bodye, pleasaunt and full of courage for the mynde, not vile and unhoneste to gyve ill example to laye men, not kept in gardynes and corners, not lurking on the nyght and in holes, but euermore in the face of men, either to rebuke it when it doeth ill or els to testifie on it when it doth well: let him seke chiefly of all other for shotyng.'—*Toxophilus*, p. 46, Ed. Arber.

\* 'Compleat Angler,' Part I. cap. i.

† In allusion to his generic name, *Thymallus*.

‡ 'Compleat Angler,' Part I. cap. vi.

§ Ibid. Part I. cap. v.

and so pleasant as the life of a well-governed angler; for when the lawyer is swallowed up with business, and the statesman is preventing or contriving plots, then we sit on cowslip banks, hear the birds sing, and possess ourselves in as much quietness as these silent silver streams which we now see glide so quietly by us. Indeed, my good scholar, we may say of angling, as Dr. Boteler said of strawberries, "Doubtless God could have made a better berry, but God never did;" and so (if I might be judge), "God never did make a more calm, quiet, innocent recreation than angling." \*

The same devotional spirit, which is here so conspicuous, comes out in Walton's 'Lives,' which, more than any other biographies with which we are acquainted, leave their impress on the reader. Happy the man whose life has caught something of this peaceful and contented disposition which belonged to him who has gratefully been called 'the common father of all anglers'!

Many distinguished men have had no history, and Izaak Walton is no exception. Nothing is really known of his life up to his twentieth year.† He is said, however, to have been born at Stafford in 1593. Some local antiquaries believe that a small half-timbered house at Shallowford, near Norton Bridge, in Staffordshire, was his birth-place.‡ He moved thence to the Royal Burse in Cornhill, built by Sir Thomas Gresham, and carried on the trade of a sempster or linendraper. It is known also that he lived in Clerkenwell; but there, too, his residence cannot be recognised. Having married a sister of the good Bishop Ken, he found great domestic felicity, which even his constant practice of angling does not seem to have impaired. His own virtues gradually secured him a large circle of friends amongst the eminent men of the day. Besides those commemorated in his 'Lives' may be mentioned Archbishops Usher and Sheldon, Bishops Morton, Morley and Barlow, Doctors Fuller and Hammond, Sir E. Sandys, and Mr. Cranmer. In the dearth of shrines sacred to Walton's memory, his disciples may venerate two or three localities which are associated with him, and fortunately two of these are found in London. How many anglers daily pass up and down Chancery Lane, wholly unconscious that their patriarch once lived in the seventh house on the left, walking up it from Fleet Street! A prosaic place it is indeed, wherein 'the violet of a legend might blow.' More romance

attaches to the other reminiscence of him. On Isaac Casaubon's tablet in the south transept of Westminster Abbey appears Walton's well-known monogram scratched thereon, with the date 1658, 'earliest of those unhappy inscriptions of names of visitors,' remarks the Dean,\* 'which have since defaced so many a sacred space in the Abbey.' We believe that Mr. Buckland was, appropriately enough, the first to point out this interesting memorial of the angler's sympathy with the simple scholar from whom it has been suggested he may have received his own christian name. Walton was buried in Winchester Cathedral in December, 1683, but his partner in undying fame, Charles Cotton, is connected with London by his death. He lies in St. James's, Piccadilly.

Save when dining with one of his patrons Walton probably never saw a salmon. He gives the second place amongst our native fish deservedly to the trout. Though no adept at fly-fishing (a defect in the 'Compleat Angler,' which in its fifth edition, published in 1676, Cotton remedied by the 'Second Part'), he yet mentions the artificial fly as the third mode of taking trout after worm and minnow fishing. Before treating of these, let us say a few words respecting the trout, the quarry of our ideal fisherman.

Omitting all consideration of the Fordidge trout 'that is accounted the rarest of fish,'† and the 'samlet or skegger trout,' the common trout (*Salmo fario*) specially claims attention. Known to every one by sight, he is at once recognised by the dorsal adipose fin as a member of that noble family the *Salmonidæ*, and is scientifically distinguished by the vomer ‡ being armed with two rows of teeth, without those which exist on the end of it in the true salmon, or on its mesial line, as in the salmon trout. Yarrell also gives the exact number of its fin-rays in order to distinguish the brook trout from its congeners; but in practice we have found this an unsafe criterion. The fact of its never migrating to salt water sufficiently marks it off from the salmon trout (*S. trutta*), and the bull trout or sewin (*S. eriox*), while the greater bulk and shape of the head in the Loch Awe trout (*S. ferox*) adequately characterise this inhabitant of the great lakes of Ireland and Scotland.

Apart from these relatives, the common

\* 'Compleat Angler,' Part I. cap. i.

† See 'Notes and Queries,' 4th S. xi. 21.

‡ See 'Notes and Queries,' 4th S. x. 520.

\* Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey,' 3rd. ed. p. 818.

† 'Compleat Angler,' Part I. cap. iv.

‡ Yarrell, 'Brit. Fishes,' i. p. 261.

trout is distinguished in every stream by manifold variations of form and tint. In rivers rushing over gravelly beds it arrives at the highest perfection of shapely outline and silvery glow, its golden sides changing into a rich play of greys and browns dashed with ruby spots, while in a moorland burn it becomes as dark as the peat itself. In a river flowing over, chalk, again, it acquires a whitish tinge, these variations showing that nature gives it this power of adapting itself to its surroundings as a providential means of preservation from its numerous enemies. No one but a practised angler is aware of the extent of these variations. 'Certainly,' says Walton, alluding to these differences, 'as some pastures breed larger sheep, so do some rivers, by reason of the ground over which they run, breed larger trouts,' and again, 'The Royal Society has found and published lately that there be thirty and three kinds of spiders, and yet all, for ought I know, go under that one general name of spider, so is it with trout.\*' The late Mr. St. John took a more philosophical view of the matter, and proved by experiment that the same trout could, in as short a space of time as thirty minutes, adapt itself to the colour of the rocks, &c., which surrounded it.†

'Put a living black burn trout,' he says, 'into a white basin of water and it becomes, within half an hour, of a light colour. Keep the fish living in a white jar for some days, and it becomes absolutely white; but put it into a dark-coloured or black vessel, and although on first being placed there, the white-coloured fish shows most conspicuously on the black ground, in a quarter of an hour it becomes as dark-coloured as the bottom of the jar, and consequently difficult to be seen.'

All anglers must have noticed how difficult it is to detect a trout in water save by the motion of its fins, so much does it assimilate itself to the tints of the ground on which it lives.

Misled by this habit of the fish, and looking to the different colours of its flesh when cooked (some being white, others yellow, and others again pink), some ichthyologists have proceeded to multiply the species of trout. We believe, however, that these differences mainly arise from the nature and abundance or scarcity of the creature's food, so that we agree with Mr. Francis's statement, † 'My conclusion is that Great Brit-

ain affords one species only, but countless varieties of the *Salmo fario*.'

Again, the trout presents a very different appearance when in perfect health gorging himself with May flies to his condition between November and April, when in most rivers he is occupied in continuing his species.\* Mr. Ronalds estimates that in the best condition a trout should measure from the nose to the fork of the tail twice as much as his girth, but this is frequently a fallacious measurement.† No rules can be laid down on these points. The trout varies indefinitely in tint and shapeliness, according to the state of its health, the season, the character of its habitat, and the nature and abundance of its food. Its power of altering its colour to the colour of the locality in which it swims seems as involuntary as the changefulness of the chameleon. The cause of this versatile colouring is thought not to reside in its scales, but in the surface of the skin immediately below them, and is probably a secretion wholly independent of the fish's will.

The gillaroo is a curious variety of the trout found in Loch Melvin and some other Irish lakes; its peculiarity is the possession of a very thick gizzard, in order to accommodate it more suitably to a more exclusive diet of shell-fish (*limnæa*, &c.) than the trout of ordinary running streams. Canon Kingsley speaks of this thickening of the coats of the stomach as a temporary provision lasting through the spring to enable the trout in some chalk streams of the West of England to grind the pebbly cases of the caddis-worm.‡

Another variety, which is so celebrated as the Thames trout, merits a moment's consideration. It grows to a much larger size than the ordinary brook trout. This is probably induced by the difference of the conditions under which it lives in a comparatively slow and tidal stream; and it does not appear to be specifically distinct. Being seldom taken by the fly, its capture with the spinning minnow or live bait is an object of keen emulation amongst the members of the London fishing-clubs, some of

\* In the Devon Otter, and in many of the streams of the West of England, trout come into season in February. But this river contains many fish which never breed, so an old angler on it told us that his trout-fishing season commenced January 1, and ended December 31. By a recent Act the capture of trout and char in England and Wales, and their sale, wherever caught, are prohibited between October 2, and February 1.

† The Fly-Fisher's Entomology, p. 2.

‡ See 'Chalk-Stream Studies' (Miscellanies, i., p. 184.)

\* 'Compleat Angler,' Part I. cap. iv.

† 'Natural History and Sport in Moray,' p. 2.

‡ 'The Fly-Fisher and his Library' (Cambridge Essays, 1856).

them attaining great skill in the art. It may be legally taken from April 1 to September 10, but it is far from abundant, and may be angled for a whole season without success. 1873 was but an indifferent season for its ensnarers. In the week ending August 30, three were taken, weighing respectively 4½ lb., 2 lb. 10 oz., 6 lb. 10 oz.; and the largest taken during the season was 14 lb. 5 oz. Two were taken by the same angler at Kingston, by fishing with a live bleak, in May 1872, weighing 11 lb. 8 oz., and 11 lb. 3 oz., the latter of which was presented to the Baroness Burdett Conlts, a munificent patroness of the Thames Angling Preservation Society. A fish of this weight is generally stuffed and preserved in a glass case by its proud captor. Several specimens were on view in Mr. F. Buckland's Museum of Economical Fish Culture at South Kensington last summer. They are very corpulent, and have quite lost the slim proportions of their brook brethren, almost degenerating into the likeness of a plebeian bream. One was cooked for the Thames Angling Dinner this summer, and pronounced coarse and poor. So great is the ambition of some City men to catch these Thames trout, that they are often watched for days while feeding, by the local boatmen, lock-keepers, &c., and preserved for these men's patrons. Indeed they are so scarce that they have almost attained the dignity of becoming articles of commerce, and now they are only taken, as a rule, by the man who pays most. Thus a story is told that a telegram reached a City merchant one afternoon, to the effect that a monster had been seen some ten miles out of London. He calmly transacted his day's business, dined, and going down in the evening put his rod and tackle in readiness, and retired to rest. His informant knocked him up at two next morning, and by half past two he hooked and killed his quarry, a fine fish, which proved to be 14 lb. in weight, and with which he returned home at breakfast-time triumphant.

1874 was another sorry season for Thames trout-fishers. Only thirty were taken between April 1 and June 20. These fish weighed 188 lbs., averaging 6½ lbs. each. It would be interesting to know how much money was expended in capturing these thirty trout, while the sum of disappointed hopes must have been heart-rending.

An enthusiastic angler lately told us that in his school days a trout which had grown very wary from constant persecution frequented a reach of the river near Eton. It was often seen feeding in the weeds, and many a man tried to inveigle it in vain. At length a celebrated angler threw his

minnow over it, and speedily his rod was bent double, while a great commotion arose among the river-side population at the sight of their friend being at last captured. Cautiously did he wind up, the rod meanwhile playing backwards and forwards, till a horrid suspicion crossed his mind that the fish was miserably out of condition, it suffered itself to be pulled in so like a dead weight. He took in more line, and lo! he had hooked a tin pannikin, and the stream acting on it had caused the deception.

ἄσβεστος δ' ἀρ' ἐνῴρτο γέλως μακάρησσι θεοῖσιν.

Our informant essayed this trout's capture with the natural fly on which he saw it feasting, was fortunate enough to secure it, and sold it for half a sovereign (the fish was 10 lb. in weight) to the Queen's fishmonger; so that it may eventually have graced the royal table.

To return to the modes of capturing trout: angling with the minnow is the surest way of taking the larger fish, which seldom trouble themselves to rise at the fly. For those who scruple to use the live minnow (and we strongly entertain such scruples, seeing how the poor victim has to be trussed and spitted) the skill of the tackle-maker has devised an endless choice of artificial minnows, made of leather, india-rubber, glass, metal, &c. Some of these are admirable counterfeits. In worm-fishing, the oldest device of the craft, two very celebrated improvements have been made in late years. One was introduced by that fine angler Mr. Stewart, and consists of three small fly-hooks whipped on to gut, one above the other. Round these three barbs the worm is twisted, and on its being lowered into the water, if a fish touches it, he is almost certain to have one of the hooks in his month. This method is a great advance on the large single hook, which was liable to be dragged out of the trout's mouth, when the angler struck. We had been wont to use two small hooks fastened one over the other, and employed as above described, as a modification of Mr. Stewart's tackle, which was practically easier to be worked, inasmuch as it does not give so much trouble in baiting and is not so liable to be entangled in weeds or sedges, before we were aware that Mr. C. Pennell had described and figured the same device.\* But this was in our 'green and sallet days': we frankly confess that as the years roll on we altogether revolt from the cruelty of worm-fishing, and employ it less every season. That it requires much skill to take with worm so shy a fish as the trout

\* 'The Modern Practical Angler,' p. 110.

is undeniable, but we regard it at best as a barbarous system, unworthy the attention of an angler who can employ the finished appliances of fly-fishing which are now so easily obtained. The voracity of trout and their fondness for worms are strikingly exemplified in a case which lately came to our knowledge. During a freshet a trout was taken with a very small black fly, whose stomach was not merely distended to a great size with worms, but they were actually wriggling in its throat, and yet it thought it worth while to rise at a puny fly.

Fly-fishing is *par excellence* the crown of the trout-fisher's art. No other form of angling secures its devotee so much intellectual amusement. A multiplicity of questions connected with the state of the water, the sky, the wind and weather, and the season of the year, have to be answered before a man who is skilled in the actual throwing of the fly can hope to fill his basket; so that it is an art which can evidently be pursued during many summers before the angler has garnered in sufficient experience to warrant him in regarding himself an adept. The pleasantest kind of old age, said an ancient eulogist of it, is to grow old learning. It is just this accumulative character of fly-fishing which endears it to its votaries. The leisure which the art affords for reflection, and the peaceful country scenes to which it introduces the fisherman for

'the reverent watching of each still report  
That nature utters from her rural shrine,\*

are, indeed, highly prized, but it is this inherent quality by which he is always acquiring a closer acquaintance with the birds, beasts, and flowers of the country which prevents the recreation from ever palling, and acts as a handful of salt (to use a quaint expression of Bishop Andrewes) 'to keep it and to make it keep.' It is thus that fly-fishers are wont to wax more enthusiastic each season, a fact which their contemporaries scarcely take enough into consideration. It was this quality of the art, too, which endeared it as an amusement to such philosophers as Dr. Wollaston, Sir Humphry Davy, and Sir Charles Bell. This leisurable activity of mind and body forms the highest pleasure of the craft, though it be a charin which is as unintelligible to the stationary worm-fisher as the passion for Alpine climbing or the calculus of variations are to ordinary mortals. Indeed, it is difficult to eulogise fly-fishing too strongly. For the artist or student of nature, the poet,

and the clergyman, no recreation is so irresistibly attractive as a ramble down a lovely stream with a light rod and a cast of flies.

'My hand alone my work can do,  
So I can fish and study too.'

Black care never dogs the fly-fisher. Politics and rivalries, public, social, or domestic, fade away in the sunshine that falls around his steps. The meadows through which he roves seem to his contented spirit transfigured into the restful Elysian fields:

'Jupiter illa piæ secrevit littora genti,  
Ut inquinavit ære tempus aureum.'

Fishing with the natural fly (generally the May or stone-fly), is much practised in the midland counties. By the aid of a lide of floss silk, and with a brisk breeze at his back, the angler can thus capture fish on a bright day when they would scarcely look at his imitations. But, being only an exercise of manual dexterity, it is a style of fishing which must rank below fishing with the artificial fly. This branch of angling is also less than any other open to the charge of cruelty. Granting that a fish, as a cold-blooded animal, is far less susceptible to suffering than the ordinary creatures of earth and air, it must yet feel a pang of corporal sufferance at death, and a certain amount of anguish, which a humane angler will always endeavour to minimise. By using artificial flies, this end is admirably secured. The deft action of the angler's wrist in striking almost invariably fixes the hook in the cartilaginous portions of a trout's mouth (whereas a worm is generally gorged), and this must cause as little suffering, barring the sense of impaired freedom, as would a barb fixed in the tip of a man's finger-nail. And after this painless preliminary, before he knows where he is, or has had time fairly to realize his situation, by gentle and insinuating persuasion the net of Ate is flung round the quarry, and he is at once knocked on the head.

The small degree in which a fish feels pain invites the addition of a few words on the other senses of the trout. Thus Mr. Jesse, whose books on rural life have caught so much that is attractive in them from Walton's treatment of it, affirms\* 'That fish are capable of hearing there can now be little doubt.† Our experience, as far as regards trout, is diametrically opposite to this, and we are glad to find

\* 'Angling Rambles,' p. 251.

† There is much evidence, both in ancient and modern times, to show that certain kinds of fish, carp, pike, the murena, &c., are, to some extent, provided either with the sense of hearing, or

\* Wordsworth's sonnet on Walton's 'Compleat Angler,' Works, ii. p. 295.

Mr. Ronalds agreeing with us.\* He built a hut overhanging the River Blythe with peep-holes of glass, through which for hours together he was able to study at his leisure the habits of the trout immediately before him. He observed that one trout, if undisturbed, as a general rule occupied the same situation through the summer. Poising himself like a hawk in the air, the fish retained his position against the stream just under the surface, his tail scarcely moving, his fins apparently useless, till he darted to seize a passing fly, which he did with great rapidity through the opposing currents, and then returned to his station. Fly-fishers must often have noticed trout feeding in this manner. In order to test the trout's sense of hearing, Mr. Ronalds, while he watched a fish thus stationary before him, procured a friend to fire a gun several times immediately behind the hut. A bank was thrown up to prevent the fish seeing the flash, and Mr. Ronalds never witnessed the least effect produced upon the trout by the noise, nor did talking and men shouting inside the hut alarm them. The inference is irresistible that the sense of hearing is hardly, if at all, present in the trout. What it relies on for its protection is the marvellous quickness of its sight. It is by incautiously exposing himself that an angler so often fails to take the trout. Owing to the refraction of the rays of light the fly-fisher or his rod, even when partly protected by the bank, is visible to the trout below him; to stand in the direct rays of the sun is at once fatal to success; even walking down stream if the water be shallow and the day at all bright, brings the angler under the trout's keen vision at a greater distance oftentimes than he can conveniently cast his flies, and no creature being so timorous as this quick-sighted fish, a slight ripple in a slanting direction tells him his quarry has taken the alarm. As trout invariably lie with their heads up-stream, the surest mode of evading their eye is by wading so as to approach them from behind.

Without taking out its eyes it is difficult to estimate how far the sense of smell is

developed in a trout, and this Mr. Ronalds humanely refrained from doing. But he noticed trout through his glass panes frequently taking in their mouths little objects that floated down stream, sometimes rapidly doing so, sometimes with caution, as if to test them, and of these some were instantaneously rejected. The main use of their nostrils seems to be to assist in the propulsion of water through their gills in order to aid respiration, but Sir H. Davy thought that some nerves existed in these organs which answer to our sense of smell, judging from the alacrity with which fish are attracted by certain scented baits and worms which some anglers are wont to employ. The trout's sense of taste certainly seems sufficiently obtuse. He will not indeed take bees and wasps when they float down to him, but his palate is otherwise as indiscriminating as his appetite is voracious. Thus Mr. Ronalds by means of a tube blew through a small hole in his observatory ten dead house-flies towards a trout which was feeding before him, and which he was able to distinguish from its kindred by a white mark upon its nose occasioned by a wound from a hook. All these were taken. Thirty more were then blown to him which were smeared on their least conspicuous parts with cayenne pepper and mustard; twenty of these he took the instant they touched the water, but the other ten were allowed to remain a second or two, so that the mixture parted and sank before he swallowed them. Next morning several similar doses were given to him, which he took at once and seemed to enjoy heartily.

Most anglers are aware that trout possess a certain degree of memory, and after being pricked with one kind of fly, say a red spinner, will not rise at it again for some time, though they may be taken with a totally different fly. Sir H. Davy was the first to investigate this faculty, and to denominate it 'local memory.' He showed that a trout once hooked would never rise at that particular fly while the localities and appearance of the pool in which he swam remain unaltered; but if by throwing stones, &c., he could be driven out of it into the next one, or if a spate occurred which changed the relative positions of banks, boulders, stumps, and the like around him, curiously enough his remembrance of the fly seemed also obliterated.

'Fishing is an art,' Walton tells his scholar, 'or at least it is an art to catch fish.' How entrancing that art is, in whatever mode or for what fish soever it be pursued, may be learnt from two examples in widely different epochs and stations in life. Froude

with powers of perception analogous to it. Walton reminds us of Martial's

'Quid, quod nomen habent; et ad magistri  
Vocem quisque sui venit citatus.'

But we have never noticed in trout anything to lead us to suppose that they have the least perception of sounds. In any case, Walton moralises here much to the point, 'All the further use that I shall make of this shall be to advise anglers to be patient, and forbear swearing, lest they be heard and catch no fish.'—*C. A.*, I. v.

\* See 'The Fly-fisher's Entomology.'

brings graphically before his readers\* Mor-ton the Scotch Regent during the troublous times of Queen Mary's English imprisonment, when new political schemes were daily being hatched and half the Catholics in Scotland were conspiring against his life, wandering alone with his fishing-rod in the valley of the Esk; and it is but the other day that anglers might be seen in their blouses standing by the Seine, while the terrors of a Communist civil war were raging behind them, and the shells of German foes in front were flying over their heads, as with the utmost *sang froid* they fished for gudgeons. Fishing with the artificial fly, we have said, is the perfection of the piscatorial art, and using it for trout is more delightful to the meditative man than the violent exercise and keener excitement which salmon fishing offers its votaries. Another great point in favour of trout-fishing is that it enables him to dispense with gilly or man-servant; for every trout-fisher ought to carry his portable landing-net if he wishes to enjoy his recreation to the full. Let us now turn to the parentage and literary history of fly-fishing.

The archæology of angling with hook and line is lost in primæval darkness. It may be inferred, however, from the example of savages at present, that taking fish with hook and line would almost naturally suggest itself to the barbarians who stayed at home while their brethren betook themselves to the perils of the chase, and dared with arrow-heads of flint the anger of hyena or cave bear. There are several allusions to hook and line fishing in the Scriptures, though they do not mention the rod. It was a further step in civilisation, and if not developed spontaneously by convenience, fanciful anglers may please themselves by regarding it as having been suggested to mankind by the two curious appendages on the head of the fishing frog (*Lophius piscatorius*). In an Assyrian sculpture of a fortified town, which may represent Tyre, figured by Layard, a man on a raft in the stream which runs round the walls is represented fishing with a line but no rod. The fish are humorously depicted like our carp, swimming about him in great numbers; one is taking his bait, and a crab and eel can easily be distinguished amongst them.† Before the rod, however, was discovered, in all probability netting was practised:

'Atque alius latum fundâ jam verberat am-nem,

Alta petens, pelagoque alius trahit humida lina.'  
—*Georg.* i. 141.

Perhaps the most beautiful account of net and rod-fishing in ancient literature is to be found in Ausonius (*Idyll.* x. 243-256):

'Hic medio procul amne trahens humentia lina,  
Nodosis decepta plagis examina verrit;  
Ast hic, tranquillo qua labitur agmine flumen,  
Ducit corticeis fluitantia retia signis.  
Ille autem, scopulis subjectas pronus in undas,  
Inclinat lentæ convexa cacumina virgæ,  
Indutos escis jaciens letalibus hamos.  
Quos ignara doli postquam vaga turba natantum  
Rictibus invasit, patu æque per intima fauces  
Serrâ occultati senserunt vulnera ferri:  
Dum trepidant, subit indicium, crispoque tremori  
Vibrantis setæ nutans consentit arundo.  
Nec mora, et excussam stridenti verberè prædam  
Dextera in obliquum raptat puer.'

Our authorities are very precise on the exact time when angling was invented. Thus Daniel \* remarks, it is

'said to have been practised 1498 years previous to the Christian era; some have carried its antiquity to a period still more remote, and have insisted that the elder children of Seth's (one of Adam's sons) family were instructed by their father in this pastime, and that from them the present race of men have derived and continued it: on this subject, however, traditionary history has not been very minute.'

Walton † adds, 'Some say it is as ancient as Deucalion's flood; others, that Belus, who was the first inventor of godly and virtuous recreations, was the first inventor of angling.' However this may be, the most diligent research has failed to find an earlier allusion to the art of fly-fishing than Ælian's story of the mode in which certain fish, *τὴν χρῶαν κατὰστικτοί* (in which the commentators recognise some kind of trout), are taken by anglers on the river Astræus. After describing the *ephemera* (our May-flies) on which these fish greedily feed, he continues, in words which no one but a close observer of nature could have used, and which exactly express the trout's 'rise,' so dear to every angler,—

'When a fish observes one of these flies floating on the surface, he advances quietly swimming underneath, as he fears to disturb the upper water lest his quarry be scared away, draws nearer into its shadow, and then, opening his mouth, sucks down the fly, as a wolf snatches a sheep from the flock or an eagle a goose from the yard, and then sinks under the ripple.'

He proceeds, that as the fishermen cannot handle these flies, owing to the deli-

\* 'Hist. of England,' vol. x. p. 448.

† It is reproduced in Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' i. p. 616.

\* 'Rural Sports,' vol. ii. p. 224 (ed. 1812).

† 'Compleat Angler,' i. 1.

cacy of their wings, they overreach the fish by craft. Wrapping crimson wool round the hook, they attach two cock hackles, assimilating the lure to the required colour by the use of wax. With a six-foot line, and a rod of the same length, this is flung to the fish, which, taking it, are thereby caught, and 'bitter does their feasting turn out.' \*

In the next century Ausonius has some pretty lines on the chief objects of the angler's art attainable in the Moselle. First he paints the sea-trout to the life :

'Purpureisque salar stellatus tergora guttis.'

Next comes the mighty bulk of a salmon, such an one for instance as was caught by the rod at Lennelhaugh on the Tweed, in November, 1873, weighing 52½ lbs., the largest taken in Scotland during the season :

'Nec te puniceo rutilantem viscere, salmo,  
Transierim, latæ cujus vaga verbera caudæ  
Gurgite de medio summas referuntur in undas.  
Occultus placido quum proditur æquore pulsus.  
Tu loricato squamosus pectore, frontem  
Lubricus, et dubiæ facturus fercula cœnæ,  
Tempora longarum fers, incorrupte, morarum,  
Præsignis maculis capitis : cui prodiga nutat  
Alvus opimatoque fluens abdomine venter.'

And then, with the eye of a fisherman as well as of an epicure, he gives the middle place deservedly to the trout. After enumerating several other fish, "who does not know," he exclaims,—

'Teque inter species geminas, neutrumque et  
utrumque,  
Qui necdum salmo, nec jam salar, ambiguus-  
que  
Amborum medio fario intercepte sub ævo ?'  
—Aus., *Idyll.* x., lines 88, 100, 130. ‡

From the fourth century to 'The Boke of St. Alban's' in the fifteenth, is a wide difference; but there are no stepping-stones of angling literature in the stream of time which runs between these bounds. Life was too real, and made too many stern calls upon humanity, in the interval. Popular commotions, crusades, and a general sense of insecurity, forbade that leisurable frame of mind which finds its appropriate pleasure in fishing. Before gunpowder, too, had come into general use, hawking was *par excellence* the amusement of lords and ladies, the only class which was suffered to pursue the chase or to indulge in any of the pleasures of sport. But with the spread of liberty, as individual rights gradually

strengthened themselves amongst the burghers, and constitutional barriers began to be set up against royal prerogatives and aristocratic haughtiness, the restrictions which jealously excluded the middle classes (if such a term can be applied to the state of society in the Middle Ages) faded away through sheer inability to maintain themselves any longer; and those who from the situation of their dwellings, or want of means and retainers, were precluded from indulging in the art of venerie, began to turn to the capture of fish as an amusement which possessed much of the excitement of forest craft without its disabilities. Then as the art of fishing became more systematised, it gradually became more popular, till at length Dame Juliana Berners, in her treatise on 'Fysshynge,' published a list of twelve artificial flies, which seems to have formed the basis of Walton's celebrated 'jury of flies,' and to have given the cue to the numerous angling writers since his time who have drawn up lists of standard flies. It is sufficient to say of her selection, that with a few modifications, the angler of to-day would be very willing to adopt them at the river side, so little advance has been made in the principles of fly-tying.

Besides Gesner's 'History of Animals,' and Dr. Holland's translation of Pliny, the fishermen of the seventeenth century found a splendid *répertoire* of ichthyological knowledge ready to their hands in Ulysses Aldrovandus. It is worth while, even at the present day, looking into his grand folio, magnificently illustrated with quaint woodcuts of fish. That of the trout is a likeness which would even pass muster now; but like the early naturalists, he was fond of the marvellous, and somewhat credulous withal. His plate of the 'Reversus Indicus squamosus,' with two or three captured fishes impaled on its spines, is an excellent example of these tendencies; while, grotesque as many fish really are, the 'Cyprinus monstrosus,' with a man's face, not unlike a piscine Arthur Orton, and the 'Orbis stellatus,' with human features and large stars dotted about on its rotundity, are only to be matched with the contents of a show at a country fair or the creative ingenuity of Waterton and Barnum. At every page we expect to meet Autolytus' strange fish 'that appeared upon the coast on Wednesday, the fourscore of April, forty thousand fathom above water, singing a ballad against the hard hearts of maids,' \* or Tony's fish in 'A Wife for a Month.'

\* The wording of these two passages is very felicitous. Ælian, 'De Natura Animalium,' lib. xvii., lib. xv. 1 ed. Jacobs, Jenæ, 1832.

\* 'Winter's Tale,' Act IV. sc. iii.

'A monstrous fish, with his sword by his side,  
a long sword,  
A pike in's neck and a gun in's nose, a huge  
gun,  
And letters of mart in's mouth, from the Duke  
of Florence.\*

Aldrovandus gives trout flies for the different months† during which that fish is in season, and amusingly reprehends Cardan for asserting that trout are rendered sweeter and more healthy by their common habit of swimming against stream, reminding him of lake trout, which are both fatter and sweeter than their brook congeners, but not more healthy.

Omitting Leonard Mascall and Taverner's books on Fishing, which were printed at the commencement of the seventeenth century, we will pass to the next typical work on the craft, 'The Secrets of Angling,' by J. D., Esq. The first edition of this book was published in 1613, and is of the greatest rarity; the only perfect copy known is in the Bodleian. Walton confesses that 'he had never seen it, though it be extant.' We have only met with Lawson's second edition, 1652, at the British Museum Library. At the end of this book Mr. T. Gosden has written, 'The celebrated collector, J. Bindley, Esq., informed the writer of this that he had been fifty years in pursuit of the "Secrets of Angling," and never could obtain one; and during that time only saw two copies, one at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the other in the possession of Dr. Haworth.' This work of Dennys's is a thin duodecimo of 35 pages; partly from its rarity, but still more from the excellence of its poetry, some account of it will be welcome to anglers. The preface, by R. J., recommends angling as 'a sport every way as pleasant, lesse chargeable, more profitable, and nothing so much subject to choler or impatience,' as are hunting and hawking. At the end are a few lines of prose, giving a marvellous receipt for anointing the line, in order to take fish; and a second, only just inferior to it, composed of 'the Oyle of an Ospray,' which ornithologists may be amused to hear is 'of body neare the bigness of a Goose; one of her feet is web'd to swim withall, the other hath tallents to catch Fish.' It concludes with two rules worthy the attention of all anglers of the present day. 'Enterprise no man's ground without leave, breake no man's hedge to his losse.' 'Pray to God with your heart to blesse your lawfull exercise.'

This first angling poet, who in some of his flights has never since been surpassed,

does not trace the art of fishing beyond the Flood:

'Then did Deucalion first the Art invent  
Of Angling, and his people taught the same;  
And to the Woods and Groves with them he went,  
Fit tooles to find for this most needful game;  
There from the trees the longest Rindes they rent,  
Wherewith strong lines they roughly twist and frame,  
And of each crook of hardest bush and brake  
They made them hooks the hungry Fish to take.

'And to entice them to the eager bit,  
Dead Frogs and Flies of sundry sorts he took.  
And Snailles and Wormes, such as he found most fit,  
Wherein to hide the close and deadly hook:  
And thus with practice and inventive wit  
He found the means in every Lake and Brook  
Such store of fish to take with little pain,  
As did long time this people new sustain.'

We must find room for the following verses, which exhibit no mean poetic power. Dennys is comparing the felicity of the angler's life with that of the gamester and profligate:

'O let me rather on the pleasant Brinke  
Of Tyne and Trent possesse some dwelling-  
place,  
Where I may see my Quill and Corke down  
sinke  
With eager bite of Barbell, Bleike, or Dace:  
And on the World and his Creatour thinke  
While they proud Thais painted sheet embrace.  
And with the fume of strong Tobacco's smoke  
All quaffing round \* are ready for to choke.  
Let them that list these pastimes then pursue,  
And on their pleasing fancies feed their fill:  
So I the Fields and Meadows green may view,  
And by the Rivers fresh may walk at will,  
Among the Dalzies and the Violets blew,  
Red Hyacinth and yellow Daffodill,  
Purple Narcissus like the morning rayes,  
Pale Ganderglas and azor Culverkayes.

'I count it better pleasure to behold  
The goodly compasse of the lofty Skie,  
And in the midst thereof, like burning Gold,  
The flaming chariot of the World's great eye:  
With sundry kinds of painted colours flie:  
And faire Aurora lifting up her head  
All blushing rise from old Tithonus bed.'

J. D. speaks of the artificial fly, and figures one of such portentous dimensions that no trout in these more enlightened times would so much as look at it. He seems also to have been the first to enumerate 'the twelve vertues of ye Angler,' which many writers have since imitated. These are Faith, Hope, Love, Patience, Humility, 'painfull Strength and Courage good,' Liberality—

\* This is a very early notice of smoking tobacco. The practice was originally called 'drinking tobacco.'

\* Act II. sc. i.

† 'Hist.' p. 193.

'Like to the Ancient Hospitality  
That sometimes dwelt in Albion's fertile Land,—  
But now is sent away into exile  
Beyond the bounds of Isabella's Isle.'

Knowledge, Placability of Mind (*i.e.* contentment),—

'Fasting long from all superfluous fare,  
And never on his greedy belly think  
From rising Sun until alow he sink'—

and finally Memory.

Another celebrated angling book of the seventeenth century is Gervase Markham's 'Country Contentments.' This forms the first part of his 'Way to get Wealth,' and in it the author professes to give 'the wholesome experiences in which any man ought to recreate himself after the toyle of more serious businesse.' Such are hawking, tennis, &c.; 'baloone, the whole art of angling, and,'—strange companion of the gentle craft!—'the use of the fighting-cock.' Markham, like J. D., gives a curious enumeration of the qualities which a good angler should possess; but if his injunctions were implicitly followed, angling would not boast many disciples even in these enlightened days of School Boards and compulsory education. This old author, who entertains so transcendent an estimate of his art as to break out—

'what worke unto man can be more thankefull then the Discourse of that pleasure which is most comely, most honest, and giveth the most liberty to Divine meditation, and that without all question is the Art of Angling, which having ever beene most hurtlesely necessary, hath beene the sport and Recreation of God's Saints, of most holy Fathers, and of many worthy and reverend Divines, both dead and at this time breathing?'

would be satisfied with little short of an Admirable Crichton as its professor. He must be a good general scholar and a grammarian:

'he must be strong and valiant, neither to be amazed with storms nor frightened with Thunder, and if he is not temperate but has a gnawing stomach, that will not endure much fasting but must observe Hours, it troubleth the mind and body, and loseth that delight which only maketh the pastime pleasing.'

Again, he must be

'full of humble thoughts, of a constant belief, of a thankful nature, praising the Author of all goodnesse, and shewing a large gratefulnesse for the least satisfaction; he would not be unskilful in Musicke, that whensoever either melancholy, heaviness of his thought, or the perturbations of his owne fancies stirreth up sadness in him, he may remove the same with some godly Hymne or Antheme, of which David gives him ample examples.'

Markham touches on artificial flies, but has nothing distinctive to say of them, although he was a typical country gentleman of his time.\*

One more book before Walton's ought to be mentioned, because he was greatly indebted to its author, who must have been a well-known character in his day. Thomas Barker describes himself as 'an ancient practitioner in the said art,' and dedicates 'Barker's Delight; or, The Whole Art of Angling,' to his patron, Lord Montague, whose head-cook he seems to have been, for, to quote his own verses—

'forty years I  
In Ambassadors' kitchens learn'd my cookery.'

The first edition appeared in 1651. He declares his object in writing to be to help on 'the younger fry.' He adds—'I live in Henry the 7th's Gifts, the next doore to the Gatehouse in Westminster, and take as much delight in the dressing of trout as in the taking of them.' After treating the different branches of angling, and giving four palmers for 'angling with a flye, which is a delightfull sport,' Barker concludes, curiously enough, with a receipt for waterproofing anglers' boots ('as I have a desire to preserve their health, with help of God, to go dry in their boots and shoes in angling'), which in substance may be found in every manual since published, and 'which one receipt,' he adds, 'is worth much more than this book will cost.' But the chief art on which Barker prided himself was cookery, and he gives so many methods of cooking trout that we are involuntarily reminded of the modern domestic manuals which profess to cook apples or rabbits in a hundred different ways. John Hockenwell, in a set of doggerel verses, inserted, after the manner of the age, at the beginning of the treatise, lays particular stress upon this feature of Barker's book:

'Markham, Ward, Lawson, dare you with  
Barker now compare?  
Of trouts and large pikes you teach us to catch  
a good dish,

\* It may not be amiss to append Oppian's ideal of an angler:—

'First, be the fisher's limbs compact and sound,  
With solid flesh and well-braced sinews bound  
Let wat'ry labours be his chief content,  
The briny seas his nat'ral element,  
Judicious art, with long experience joined,  
Inform the ready dictates of his mind.  
Let resolution all his passions sway,  
Nor pleasures charm his mind, nor fears dismay.  
From short repose let early vigour rise  
And all his soul awaken with his eyes.  
Well let his patience and his health sustain  
Jove's piercing storms and Sirius' sultry reign.'  
—Opp., 'Halieutics,' translated by Draper and Jones, Oxford, 1722.

He to make tackle, to kill and cook also all fish.'

Thus, we have 'trouts in broth, which is restorative,' 'calvored trouts' (i. e. boiled), broiled and fried and stewed trouts, roasted and 'marinated' trouts, 'a trout-pie to eat hot and another to eat cold.' Even the ingenuity of an ambassador's cook could go no further.

Among the conservative tendencies of the angler, which, forasmuch as he is a honest and reflective man, are usually so marked, may be reckoned, particularly if he has scholarly tastes, a love for collecting these early books on fishing.\* Their bibliography is not well known, and most of them are very scarce, so that few indeed are the collectors who can boast copies of any of the preceding works. Another curious angling book, which is occasionally seen in a corner of the angler's favourite shelf, is a diminutive 48mo. of Gervase Markham, 'The Young Sportsman's Instructor.'† It deals as well with fish and fishing as with the secrets of the craft. Some of these sound sufficiently horrible to modern ears, as, for instance, 'A way to catch fish.—Smother a cat to death, then bleed him, and having flea'd and paunch'd him, roast him on a spit without larding, keep the dripping to mix with the yolks of eggs and an equal quantity of oil of spikenard; mix these well together, and anoint your line, hook or bait therewith, and you will find 'em come to your content.' Were a fisherman to employ this diabolical salve, even when using the maggot for bait, he should utterly forfeit the title of *gentle* angler. We must find room for an amusing remedy from this choice little treatise in 'a casualty that may happen to anglers. If an earwig gets into their ear, take an old apple, cut it in two, then make a little hole in the outside of one half, and lay that in the ear; lie

down on that side, and the earwig will come into the hole of the apple. Some light a pipe of tobacco and blow the smoke out at the small end into the ear, and that brings 'em out.'—P. 136.

The angling books of the last century contain nothing noteworthy being mere reproductions of their predecessors, or, if original, neither excelling in literary taste nor in angling inventiveness. Crossing the threshold of 1800, Rev. W. B. Daniel's 'Rural Sports' confronts us in four portly quartos, replete with anecdotes and rules, which must have been a treasure to the Will Wimbles\* of the time. During the last thirty years innumerable books and articles on angling have poured from the press. Many of them, however, are apparently framed on the scholar's principle, 'I love any discourse of rivers and fish and fishing: the time spent in such discourse passes away very pleasantly,'† rather than with reference to the literary power of their writers. Some of these will be noticed hereafter, meanwhile we must turn to the poetry of angling.

With the exception of J. D.'s verses, who is the laureate of the craft, angling, as practised in England, sadly wants a sacred bard. Why does no fisherman 'hamis et reti potens,' as familiar with all the finny tribes as was Glaucus of old after tasting grass, cut himself a reed from the margin of his loved trout-steam and pipe a strain worthy of the subject? In default of this, we must betake ourselves loyally, in the first instance, to Walton's lyrics, 'old-fashioned poetry, but choicely good; I think much better than the strong lines that are now in fashion in this critical age,'‡ as he says of Raleigh's verses. In the following we seem to breathe airs which have blown over the cowslip-meadows by Shawford Brook:—

'I care not, I, to fish in seas,  
Fresh rivers best my mind do please,  
Whose sweet calm course I contemplate,  
And seek in life to imitate:  
In civil bounds I fain would keep,  
And for my past offences weep.

'And when the timorous trout I wait  
To take, and he devours my bait,  
How poor a thing, sometimes I find,  
Will captivate a greedy mind:  
And when none bite, I praise the wise  
Whom vain allurements ne'er surprise.'

Though it is in accordance with the taste

\* Dibdin's conception of the ideal angler deserves commemoration;—'Dr. William Combe of Henley, a gentleman who collects with considerable taste, and who loves what he collects with no inconsiderable ardour, is the fortunate owner of Joseph Warton's OWN COPY of Herrick's "Hesperides" and he carries this book in his right-hand coat-pocket, and the first edition of Walton's "Complete Angler" in his left, when, with tapering rod and trembling float, he enjoys his favourite diversion of angling on the banks of the Thames. A halt—on a haycock or by the side of a cluster of wild sweet-briars—with such volumes to recreate the flagging spirits, or to compensate for luckless sport!—but I am ruralising.'—Dibdin's *Library Companion*, 2nd ed., p. 711.

† First published at the Ring, in Little Britain, in 1652. Our copy, alas! has lost the title-page.

\* 'Will Wimple, who makes a May-fly to a miracle, and furnishes the whole country with angle rods.'—*Spectator*, No. 108.

† 'Compleat Angler,' Part I. cap. 18.

‡ Ibid. cap. 4.

of the age, this song is somewhat spoilt by the quaint conceits in its last verse:—

'The first men that our Saviour dear  
Did choose to wait upon Him here  
Bless'd fishers were, and fish the last  
Food was, that He on earth did taste :  
I therefore strive to follow those  
Whom he to follow Him hath chose.'  
—C. A., Pt. I. cap. 5.

Cotton wrote a volume of odes, &c., of very unequal merit, and celebrates the Dove, 'princess of rivers,' in some frigid 'irregular stanzas' addressed to Walton.

After the verses of the patriarch of angling, with the exception of a few scattered songs, English literature contains no angling poetry of mention, save Gay's beautiful lines in his 'Rustic Sports,' and the songs of the Coquet and other north country trout-streams which have been collected in the 'Newcastle Fishers' Garlands.' Bringing these verses into juxtaposition, Gay's may be said to resemble salmon flies. They are rich, fantastic, glowing with colour, while the Northumbrian songs are like a trout-fly, simple and unassuming, of modest dimensions and sober tints. A few samples will better display these characteristics. Gay claims precedence:—

'When genial Spring a living warmth bestows,  
And o'er the year her verdant mantle throws,  
No swelling inundation hides the grounds,  
But crystal currents glide within their bounds ;  
The finny brood their wonted haunts forsake,  
Float in the sun, and skim along the lake ;  
With frequent leap they range the shallow streams,  
Their silver coats reflect the dazzling beams.  
Now let the fisherman his toils prepare,  
And arm himself with every wat'ry snare ;  
His hooks, his lines peruse with careful eye,  
Increase his tackle, and his rod retie.'  
—*Rural Sports*, i. 123-134.

After a pleasing account of making artificial flies, well-known to every scholarly angler, Gay paints the tying of the *impromptu* fly at the water's edge in lines of singular beauty:—

'Oft have I seen the skilful angler try  
The various colours of the treacherous fly,  
When he with fruitless pain hath skim'd the brook  
And the coy fish rejects the skipping hook,  
He shakes the boughs that on the margin grow,  
Which o'er the stream a waving forest throw ;  
When if an insect fall (his certain guide).  
He gently takes him from the whirling tide ;  
Examines well his form with curious eyes  
His gaudy vest, his wings, his horns and size,  
Then round his hook the chosen fur he winds  
And on the back a speckled feather binds ;  
So just the colours shine through every part,  
That nature seems again to live in art.'—I. 195-208.

All 'honest and well-governed anglers' will heartily sympathise with the poet's concluding aspirations. Before seeking his fortune in London, he must often have put his precepts in practice in his North Devon home:—

'Around the steel no tortur'd worm shall twine,  
No blood of living insect stain my line.  
Let me, less cruel, cast the feather'd hook  
With pliant rod athwart the pebbled brook,  
Silent along the mazy margin stray,  
And with the fur-wrought fly delude the prey.'  
—I. 265-270.

No greater contrast to the polished diction of Gay can be imagined than the angling ballads which were for the most part published annually in Northumbria from 1820 onwards to 1864, and which have been so tastefully collected by Mr. Crawhall in the 'Newcastle Fishers' Garlands.' Gay's lines smack of the lamp, but there is a certain rude vigour and wild beauty about some of these 'Garlands' which show that genuine poetic flowers have been interwoven for the fishers' posy. An angler could place on his book-shelf no more agreeable *souvenir* of his art. These ballads bear the test of being read by the winter fireside without any abatement of the pleasure with which they are perused under cloudless skies, while swallows hawk around suggestive of the trout rising eagerly at the May-fly in their element. What more lovely morning for a ramble could the angler desire than this?—

'Now night has resign'd the soft mantle of sleep,  
And the stars are away slowly creeping ;  
The young day has broken behind the far steep,  
And the lark on her free wing is sweeping ;  
The wild rose is sweet in the green-scented lane,  
With the woodbine so gaily entwining ;  
The daisies are bright on the dew-spangled plain,  
In the face of the firmament shining.'—  
P. 17.

An artistic poet would have expressed himself more exactly, but let a brother angler paint a companion picture:—

'Sober eve is approaching, the sun is now set,  
Though his beams on the hill-top are lingering yet ;  
The west wind is still, and more clearly is heard  
In meadow and forest the note of each bird :  
The crows to their roost are now winging their way ;  
It is time to give over my fishing to-day.  
'I arose in the morn, ere the sun could prevail  
To disperse the grey mist that hung low in the vale,  
To the lynn I went straight, distant ten miles or more,  
Where the stream rushes down with a bound and a roar ;

In the black pool below I had scarce thrown my line,  
Ere a trout seized my fly and directly was mine.—P. 197.

The 'Fisher's Courtship' is cast in a more amusing strain. We can only find a niche for the last verse :—

'Oh! come, an' we'll rove by the streams  
Till the sun's sinken far i' the west;  
An' if weary we get wi' his beams,  
In the shade o' the valley we'll rest.  
There the true "Fisher's knot" ye shall see;  
The secret shall cost but a kiss;  
And when tied—'gin ye canna win free,—  
We maun e'en let it bide as it is!—P. 169.

We ought to add that the book is rendered still more dainty by Bewick's woodcuts. Mr. Stoddart's angling verses are somewhat sentimental and too palpably artificial to adorn their subject. An angling song is nothing if it be not natural and simple. We prefer meeting him rod in hand on the banks of Tweed, rather than with the poetic *afflatus* strongly developed seeing him toil up the steep of Helicon.

After all each fisherman must find out for himself the true poetry of angling as he practises the art, and if he can fish much without finding secrets hitherto undreamt of in insect, flower, and bird, without imbibing, it may be unconsciously, a deeper reverence for the Author of nature and a wider love for his fellow-man, he is no worthy follower of Izaak Walton. Let him know as little of the literature of fly-fishing as Dr. Knox knew of the life-history of the *Salmonidae* (his book is only worth mentioning for its anatomy of the trout, and we fear that Time has long ago 'burked' it), still, if he possesses the receptive, meditative, self-collected disposition of the scholarly angler, every fishing ramble is an excursion into Fairyland. But we must not relapse into ecstasies inevitably called forth by the remembrance of the fishing days of the past; their cherished memories haunt the heart, as the echoed cooing of the airy woodpigeons (what sweeter epithet could Virgil have chosen than '*aerie palumbes?*') which we were then wont to hear by the streamlet's side, again in fancy falls upon the ear over the dim retrospect of departed summers :—

'Et jam summa: procul villarum culmina fumant,  
Majoresque cadunt altis de montibus umbræ.'

It is literally time to wind up our lines, so, following the precedent of all angling books and essays, we will end with some practical remarks on fly-fishing for trout. They have been painfully garnered in from many a lost fish and not a few disappointed hopes. 'You know there is more pleasure in hunt-

ing the hare than in eating her,\* and big trout live their struggles over again in an angler's mind, in much the same manner as the wild boar Sarhimner was wont to come to life again each morning for the Northern heroes to hunt in the happy hunting-grounds of the spirit-world. Nay, the fisherman's bliss even excels theirs. Whenever he will he can mentally catch those trout, the size of the Buddhist sacred fish to his excited imagination, which through some trivial mischance or other escaped him at the brook-side.

'Give me mine angle,—we'll to the river.'

*Anthony and Cleopatra*, II. 5.

Choose, then, a breezy day for fly-fishing, and do not be afraid of wind. South and westerly winds doubtless invite forth most insects, but north and even east winds suit the character of some streams. We have known one angle-flog the water all day in vain during an easterly wind, while another in the next field filled his basket. He had taken care to fish under the shelter of a high well-wooded bank which effectually shut out the wind from that portion of the river. In fact, as there is no good horse of a bad colour, so an angler need not despair whatever the wind be. Rain is often an advantage. When the water is slightly coloured after a freshet is the best time to throw flies over it, spite of the poetical view which shows us the angler in brilliant sunt shine, when 'purior electro campum petiamnis.' On rods authorities differ, some advocating stiff unyielding rods, others praising them when they are slender and flexible. In a narrow stream beset with tree-roots, &c., use the former; with such a rod the angler will often be able to prevent a trout when hooked from darting into cover and snapping the gut, but in all ordinary cases choose a pliant yielding rod. It is only with this kind of rod that a large trout can be killed. Use a line of silk and hair mixed. Ordinary casting-lines are made three yards in length, but four yards is much better. As for the number of flies to be attached, the best angler whom we ever knew latterly used but one. Two are perhaps preferable. Three is the regulation number, but is one too many. On the Tweed professional fishermen may be seen with a dozen, sixteen, or even twenty on their lines. Owing to the entanglements which would result, half of these would prove a perpetual trouble to an amateur. The manner of affixing flies to the casting-line is confessedly a *knotty* point; but after trying all known modes, for sim-

\* Walton, 'C. A.' Part I. cap. 16.

plicity and safety we have found nothing equal to tying first a common knot on the end of a fly and then attaching it by another common knot to the gut casting-line. The trout-fisher will require but a few kinds of flies to enable him to vie with Glasgerion, who could

'Harp fish out of the water  
And water out of a stone,  
And milk out of a maiden's breast  
That bairn had never none.'

Palmers, black, brown, and red; the 'coachman,' the 'red spiinner' (admirable for an autumn fly), mallard and woodcock wings with red bodies, small yellow gnats, and, of course, in its season the May-fly, are in our judgment the most fatal lures. A twist of red silk greatly increases the killing powers of most flies. Some anglers have a hobby for collecting in their pocket-books flies of marvellous hues, sensational combinations of blue and crimson, 'Victor Emmanuels,' 'Alexandras'—the latest invention of advertising tradesmen. Distrust them all. 'They be pretty toys,' as Lord Bacon says, but cannot hold their own against long-tried veterans. It is a good thing to be able to make the above-mentioned flies: to buy them of a good fly-tyer is better; much time and not a few disappointments are thereby saved. Mr. Pennell\* boldly proposes to sweep away all the above flies and use on all streams and in all weathers three typical trout-flies, varied only in size. These flies are wingless, with green, brown, and yellow bodies respectively, and a double tail, which he profanely calls a 'whisk.' It is possible, however, to carry simplicity too far.

Having now conducted the scholar to the water's side,—

'Just in the dubious point, where with the pool  
Is mix'd the trembling stream, or where it boils  
Around the stone, or from the hollowed bank  
Reverted plays in undulating flow,  
There throw, nice-judging, the delusive fly;  
And as you lead it round in artful curve,  
With eye attentive mark the springing game.'†

But here the question arises, is he to fish up or down? Direful is the controversy

that has raged, nay, still rages, on this point. We decide for no general rule, but are guided by wind and water. Undoubtedly it is more pleasant to fish down-stream, and demands less exertion, the current carrying on the flies; but, on the other hand, in shallow water with fine weather the fish see the angler afar off, and his chances of taking them are much lessened. Sometimes, too, the wind blows up-stream, and few things are more trying even to a fly-fisher's serene temperament than to have the wet line coiled round his neck at each throw. In fishing up-stream a very short line is required, and frequent casting. Thus it demands really hard work; but if the angler adopt it, and keep himself concealed by the bank, it is very fatal. Concealment, it should be observed, is, after all, the great secret of successful fly-fishing. By crouching and availing himself cunningly of every bush and tree, an angler will soon fill his basket. When a stream runs swiftly between waving weed-beds, fishing up-stream is indispensable. As soon as the flies touch the water and float down the narrow streamlets they will often be taken. Then the pricked fish instantly rushes into the friendly weeds, and what is to be done? Always draw him gently down the way of the stream. This is rarely efficacious. It is possible, too, if he is caught with a weed-bed between the angler and himself, by drawing him swiftly on, to make him leap, as it were, over the danger into the safer water, before he is aware that he is hooked, if the angler be dexterous. In all cases of entanglement in bushes or under the bank, &c., be prompt; drop the rod, and at once use the landing-net. It is worth remembering that if his reel has not a check, it can be made into one by simply twisting two or three turns of the line round the handle, and then, after sticking the rod in the ground by its spike, the angler can attend to difficulties of roots, weeds, &c. Perhaps it may be added, as a final admonition to beginners, that their great fault generally lies in casting from the arms, making them, instead of the rod, do the work. The upper joints of the rod ought to be called into play, and the spring from them should cast the flies on the stream as lightly as winter's first snow-flakes fall.

Directly the fish is removed from the water it should be killed by a blow or two on the head with a pen-knife, and thus those who raise the cuckoo cry of cruelty will be effectually silenced, as well as the angler's own conscience. Oppian, on the contrary, exults amusingly enough over his prey's agonies in describing the capture of a wrasse, which (he adds) is an voracious fish: *egle*

\* 'Modern Practical Angler,' p. 77.

† Thomson's Seasons, 'Spring.' See the rest of the passage. Since writing the above we have lighted upon Sir T. Dick Lauder's opinion of these verses, and are glad to find that distinguished angler and accomplished man testifying—'We know nothing in Isaak Walton that so perfectly teaches the pupil the whole of his art as these lines do.'—*Scottish Rivers*, p. 189. Edinburgh, 1874.

'Thus the swain with proud success elate,  
In merry mood insults the unfortunate:  
"Now, wretch, your fond uxorious cares employ,  
And revel with your wives in varied joy;  
Sole lord below, who moved with haughty air  
Amidst a circle of obedient Fair,  
Ne'er at your change repine, on earth you claim  
One gayer mistress and a brighter flame:  
Your nuptials here terrestrial fire shall grace,  
And rise to meet and curl in your embrace."'

If an angler require more detailed hints he may advantageously consult Stewart's 'Practical Angler,' Ephemera's 'Handbook,' or Mr. F. Francis's 'Book on Angling.' The late Mr. Stewart had a special craze for fishing up-stream. He who cannot catch trout under 'Ephemera's' guidance may rest assured that he was not born an angler. This manual leaves nothing to be desired, and is not written in that affected jargon of bad jokes and trite quotations which too many sporting authors affect. Mr. Cutcliffe professes to teach trout-fishing in rapid streams such as those of Devon or the Lake District; but he is so verbose, and toils through so many preliminary matters, that—

'Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis.'

But he may have some secret worth telling, were life long enough to make it worth while to persevere in the perusal of his book. As for Sir R. Roberts, he takes care, in 'The River's Side, or The Trout and Grayling, and how to Take Them,' that the tyro shall be ignorant on no possible point connected with his equipment and procedure. To such a length does he carry his quasi-parental solicitude, that he even informs him at what shop the best grey tweed in London is to be procured for making fishing-coats! After this we can but desiderate the address of the silversmith who would provide us with the most commendable knives and forks wherewith to eat our trout.

Having now performed our task as Mentor, it only remains to wish the angler many happy summers wherein to practise his delightful amusement. Most trout-fishers will agree with Sir H. Wootton's sentiments, who 'did not forget his innate pleasure of angling,' which he would usually call 'his idle time not idly spent,' saying often, 'he would rather live five May months than forty Decembers.'† Fly-fishing, however, has its sober side, which the true angler loves to bear in mind, though the fine old angling-song jovially endeavours to blink it:

'Tis many years sin' first we met  
On Coquet's bonny braes,  
An' mony a brither fisher's gane,

An' clad in his last claes:  
An' we maun follow wi' the lave,  
Grim Death, he heuks us a';  
But we'll hae anither fishing bout  
Afore we're ta'en awa'!

—*Newcastle Garlands*, p. 82.

The stern conditions of modern life—its engrossing anxieties, its fevered hurry and ceaseless excitement—leave but few opportunities for calm thought. Who would not be grateful for the quiet retirement of the brook-side, and those peaceful evening hours when he can commune with nature, and better still, with nature's God? Angling has much sympathy with the moralising vein. That is no unreal emotion which Dürer expresses in his beautiful etching of St. Hubert on his knees while hunting, before the well-antlered stag that bears the crucifix between its horns. He does but portray the feelings of thankful adoration which must insensibly be called forth in every meditative sportsman when brought face to face with his own heart, and the marvels of creative love shown him by his craft. And thus angling becomes a school of virtue, something far higher than a mere amusement, or the art of gracefully catching fish, and justifies the panegyrics which have been heaped upon it by some of the noblest minds amongst our forefathers. On this view, too, it may be permitted the advocate of fly-fishing to remind those who practise his favourite diversion of the devout words in which Dame Juliana Berners concludes her Treatise:—

'Whanne ye purpoos to goo on your disportes in fysshing ye woll not desyre gretly many persones wyth you, whiche myghte lette you of your game. And thenne ye maye serve God deuowtly in sayenge affectuously youre custumable prayer. And all those that doue after this rule shall haue the blessinge of god and saynt Petyr, whyche he theym graunte that wyth his precyous blood vs boughte.'

#### ART. III.—*MS. Collections at Castle Horneck. 1720-1772.*

SINCE, in the year 1859, the people of Truro looked for the last time on the mail coach from Plymouth as it rattled over the pavement of their ancient and cleanly borough up to the door of the Royal Hotel, and since Brunel, by spanning the Tamar with the Albert Bridge, placed in the power of thousands *per diem* to cross the waters of separation between Cornwall and the rest of the world, and thereby to perform a feat

\* Draper and Jones's translation, p. 159.

† Walton's 'Life of Sir H. Wootton.'

which the Devil of the Western 'Drolls' had till then been unable to accomplish, that county may truly be said to have obtained from her visitors a share of attention such as fairly to make her the envy of the most favoured district in England. Armed with a ticket for Penzance, the tourist discovered that beyond the whole red sandstone of Devon, and that warm southern seaboard he already knew so well, there lay a country possessed of attractions by no means to be overlooked. Wayside inns expanded themselves into hotels to receive him, and lodgings were advertised to be let in places unheard of before. Small fishing-villages bade fair to become attractive watering-places, and in short, 'West Barbary,' as it had been called—barbarous no more—was on all hands admitted into the list of those localities which must be 'done.' Nor were artists long in finding out for themselves snuggeries along this same Cornish coast; and thus, year by year, the walls of the Academy recall to our mind's eye, with a truthfulness of colour seldom to be mistaken, the blocks of rough grey granite capped with golden lichen, which form the foreground to a depth of blue and green and purple, such as those alone can realise who, seated on the summit of the cliffs, have gazed down on those waters of the Atlantic as a genial summer day draws onward to its close. And authors, too, have found their way thither; for how many times has not the notebook been ransacked for illustrations of Cornish folk-lore, manners and customs, inhabitants past and present—some to figure as quaint realities, some as playful caricatures in the pages of the next propitious magazine?

Apart, however, from what may be said of Cornwall, or pictured of her scenery by travellers who pay her but a cursory visit, there yet remains, for those who care to probe the surface a little deeper, a storehouse of material connected with her literary in the past, known only to the few, locked away perhaps with family papers in the office strong-room, or lying disregarded on the shelves of the private library. It has so happened—whether it be due to the affectionate regard entertained by every Cornishman for the honour of his ancient 'kingdom,' or to the real interest attaching to the subject itself, or to both these causes combined—that Cornwall can lay claim to a greater number of native historians than any other county in the British Isles. From the time of the father of her history, Richard Carew of Antonie, who published his 'Survey' in 1602, down to the present day, there have never been wanting men of

application, not to say of ability, located in the county itself, to whom the study of their *natale solum*—its natural productions, its language and antiquities—has at once been a life-work and a delight. Names like Hals and Tonkin, Gwavas and Scawen, Whitaker and Polwhele, Davies Gilbert and his namesake C. S. Gilbert, Hichens and Drew, not to speak of those who have followed in more recent times, remind us of the fact that, even over and above what has been printed of their works, there may yet remain, if they have not yet reached the market, amongst the papers of their descendants, masses of unpublished MSS.—the fruit of lives of untiring assiduity. It is to a MS. collection of this kind that we propose to call attention in the following pages. Foremost, perhaps, in a list of Cornish historians would be placed a name, omitted above, that of William Borlase. Born in 1698, and dying in 1772, his MSS. extend over the half century which follows the year 1720. Their interest for the general reader lies not so much in their reference to Cornwall, although to the elucidation of her history they all more or less directly tend, as in the light they throw upon the state of society at the time, and above all in the introduction they afford us to the literary and scientific world—to men, for instance, of such varied genius as Sir John St. Aubyn, Alexander Pope, John Frederic Gronov of Leyden, Linnæus, Lyttelton, Bishop of Carlisle, Pococke, Bishop of Ossory, Milles, Dean of Exeter, and Thomas Pennant. Of the original correspondence of these and others, which, together with three volumes of copied answers, is contained in no less than nine volumes in all, we may add, that it has never seen the light since the day it was first sewn together more than a century ago. It is to the contents of these volumes that we shall principally confine ourselves at present. Amongst the other MSS. in the collection may be mentioned three closely written folios, treating respectively of the Parochial History, the Heraldry and Genealogy, and the Ancient Language of Cornwall; the first of these being especially valuable from the fact that it contains extracts from that portion of the Hals MS. which was never published, and is usually supposed to have been lost at the printer's. Following these we may notice a volume entitled 'Collectanea,' being extracts from other writers bearing on the Antiquities and Natural History of Cornwall, a volume of drawings of churches, rude-stone monuments, &c., and a curious cosmical treatise, ready for the press, entitled 'Private Thoughts on the Creation and the Deluge.' After these

come portfolios, meteorological observations, dissertations on scriptural and political subjects, notes on excursions, &c. ; forming in all a collection of upwards of forty bound volumes, in addition to letters and tracts. The whole series may indeed be said to be a noble monument to a life which, though passed in seclusion, was one of unceasing mental energy ; at a period too when books were scarce, public libraries in the country unknown, and the world in general offering few inducements to the student to persevere in so laborious a course. Such extracts from this mass of material as we have thought fit to make, we had at first intended to set before the reader one by one, like beads without a string ; but we have since found it more convenient to arrange them systematically by attaching them to a cursory memoir of their collector, by introducing one or two short biographical sketches of his contemporaries, and by adding such notes as may serve to illustrate the manners of the West country at the time of which we speak.

William Borlase was born, as we have said, in 1698, at Pendeen, in the parish of St. Just. His father was the representative of an 'ancient family of gentlemen,' as Hals calls them, settled in Cornwall soon after the Conquest, and deriving their origin, according to Upton, from one Talfer or Taillefer, who had the honour of striking the first blow on the eve of the Battle of Hastings. His mother was Lydia Harris, of Hayne, a daughter of that old Devonian house who traced through the Nevilles and Bouchiers direct from King Edward III. He was sent, as he tells us in an autobiographical letter, 'early to school at Penzance, where his master used to say he could learn, but did not.' Thence 'more to his improvement he was removed in the year 1709 to the care of the Rev. Wm. Bedford, a learned schoolmaster at Plymouth,' and thence, three years after, to Exeter College, Oxford. Of the state of that University during the time he was there, some idea may be formed from the diary of Tom Hearne, but meanwhile we may insert one extract from a letter written by Borlase himself to a pupil just going to Oxford in the year 1745, which quaintly illustrates the state of things thirty years before :—

'When I was at Oxford in the year 1715,' he says, 'we, I mean pupils, tutors, barbers, shoe-cleaners, and bed-makers, minded nothing but politics ; the Muse stood neglected, nay, meat and drink, balls and ladies, had all reason to complain in their turns that we minded Scotland and Preston more than the humane, softer and more delicate entertainments of Ge-

ninus and Philosophy. This was a most unhappy time, and I have often lamented it, and it has given me more pains since than I could at that time much better undergo. I hope all the several members of my Alma Mater are much wiser and better employed at present than to mind things which will go as they list, notwithstanding all the heroic struggles and zealous clubbings of the college or the tavern, and I think if I were back again in 1715, and in my undergraduate's gown, I should let the antagonists quietly take their fate, and not go once to coffee-house to know who had the best on't. For if I can see anything in our English History 'tis that the poor nation is always the worse for alterations, 'tho' particular persons may be the better, that is, the richer or more powerful.'

The ladies, however, as it seems, had not long to complain of this excessive *penchant* for politics among the undergraduates of 1715 ; for very shortly after the time of which this letter speaks, we find a young lady, 'whose good sense excels her person, and whose good humour exceeds both,' expressing her regret that owing to the 'indisputable commands of a rigid father,' she is obliged to 'deny Mr. Borlase her company at a coming dance,' 'entirely contrary to her own inclinations.'

A year or two after, the Cornishmen at Exeter College (at that time the home of all West-countrymen), received an accession to their number in the person of the young Sir John St. Aubyn. Several years younger than Borlase, a friendship sprang up between the two fellow-countrymen, which continued unbroken until the death of the former. Four years later, in 1722, having finished their university career, they proceeded together to London, and thence to Cornwall. In the following extract Borlase gives an account of their journey in a letter addressed to an old lady of fashion in London—Mrs. Delahaye, of Delahaye Street, Westminster. It is in itself a fair specimen of the quaint humour combined with elegance which makes the most trivial correspondence of the period such a fascinating study :—

'Madam,' it begins, 'as fond as I am of the permission you gave me to write to you, I should not be so insensible to the rules of decency, but that I should make a great many apologies for being so bold as to trouble you with this, did I not think that the great importance of several adventures we met with in our journey would be a sufficient excuse to persons of much less curiosity than your ladyship. I am sure, if rising as unwillingly as any lady in town, if being as long at breakfast, setting out at last and jogging on till dinner-time ; mutton-steaks, fowls, geese, &c., mounting again and continuing on till dark-

ness and good stomachs made us resolve to go to supper and to bed, till waking next morning we began to act over those important parts again, and so on for five or six days following; I say if such a series of new and unheard of passages be not an entertainment sufficient to recommend itself, either the world must be grown very ill-natured, or I must be very trifling. I could tell you of drinking coffee one morning, and the next strong beer, nutmeg, and toast; I might from hence make a natural transition to buttered ale or mulled wine, and to show you that our journey was not without its varieties, I might expatiate on the several beauties we met with in a curious lantern at Blandford. As variety is likewise one of the most agreeable things in the world, I might likewise inform you of an accurate pedlar's accosting us with abundance of pleasantries, and giving himself (for our sakes) a great deal of trouble to prove that we had four miles and a half to our inn, when other persons were of opinion we had but three. Sometimes we met with a landlord in men's clothes, but for the most part we discovered that the men had dropt their prerogation, and we found the supreme authority over the inns lodged in gowns and petticoats. Ordered by Sir John not to write one word of the pretty black ey'd girl at Bridport, but to go on with the particulars of our journey, I think I am at liberty to tell you of a misfortune which happened to me at Launceston. As we were passing through that fatal town (I am heartily sorry I have forgot what day of the month 'twas), but, however, as we were passing through, whom should we see at the door of an inn but our landlord's daughter. Whether Sir John was dry and thirsty or not I can't tell, but we all agreed to take our pint at the door, and being men of no little gallantry because just come from town, we were talking very smartly, as you may imagine, to the girl who filled the wine, when all of a sudden, my unfortunate eyes happened to fix upon a green ribbon that hung playing to-and-fro with the air a little lower than it should. As I was the only person that discovered it, I told the lady I was apprehensive she would lose that pretty ribbon if she did not withdraw. I was then on horseback, and, to my great confusion, had not the presence of mind to alight and take care of it myself, upon which Sir John has so teased and bantered me that I have had no rest ever since. I beg you would write Sir John, and let him know that such a misfortune deserves rather pity than upbraidings. And now, madam, I suppose you are almost as tired with our journey as we are, or (to go as far as possible with the comparison) as three of Sir John's horses which we left upon the road. It is now time to begin to be serious, and to ask pardon for troubling you with these impertinencies, which will leave the work-basket so long idle, or perhaps may loose poor Dickey his breakfast. If it should leave the harpsicord silent but for one minute I should never forgive myself.

Such was the pleasurable side of a jour-

ney from London to the Land's End in the year 1722; but travelling in those days had a dangerous one too. In Cornwall itself, such was the honesty of the inhabitants, the class of persons known as highwaymen or gentlemen-lifters seems to have been almost unknown; but from Honiton Hill in Devon to the outskirts of the metropolis, there was not an open heath or lonely spot on the road which was not infested by them. Indeed, the difficulties of inter-communication between Cornwall and the rest of the world which existed then can scarcely be realized now-a-days. A second letter, for instance, was almost invariably dispatched, if the matter were of importance, containing the same news as the first—so great were the chances of miscarriage. Nor was the sea a surer means of transport. Over and over again we read in these letters, of cargoes of books or minerals on their way to and from Cornwall, being captured, much to the edification of the Spaniards on board the privateers. In the present instance, however, the two friends completed their journey in safety; the one proceeding to his seat at Clowance, and the other to his father's house at Pendeen in the parish of St. Just.

This old manor house of Pendeen deserves a passing notice. Here in the reign of Henry VII. lived Richard Pendyne, one of those rebels who under Lord Audley, Flammoock and Joseph, after dismantling 'Tyhyddy,'\* the house of John Bassett, the high sheriff, and doing other mischief in the West, marched on London to the terror of the inhabitants in the year 1491. For the part that he (Pendyne) took in the battle of the 'fielde called the blak heth,'† he was attainted of high treason, and his daughter Jane obliged to make over her inheritance to one John Thomas, sergeant at arms, who was probably her father's captor. Neither did the historical associations of this old house end here. One of the ancestors of the subject of this memoir had troopers quartered on him in the time of the Civil War by Fairfax, his crime being that he had assisted a cousin to raise a troop of horse for the King. Of this very troop, commanded by Colonel Nicholas Borlase, the following adventure is told. Being on one occasion 'much pressed by the Puritan forces, and making a running flight, he set fire to a large brake of furze in the night, which the enemy taking for the fires made on the approach of the King's army, immediately fled with great precipitation, and left him both

\* Extract from the lost MS. of Hals.

† Borlase deeds.

bag and baggage, which he seized the next morning.'

No sooner had the peaceful times of the Restoration set in than the West-country gentlemen devoted themselves to the improvement of their lands and the rebuilding of their houses. It is curious to notice how many quaint old gabled homesteads, now farm-houses, but once the residences of the lords of the soil, with their low-arched door cases, square-headed mullion windows and picturesque chimney clusters, date from this period. Such an one is the present house at Pendeen in which William Borlase was born. Treeless and desolate in the extreme are the 'crofts' by which it is surrounded; yet in those days there was no reason to complain of them, since under their rough exterior lay a fair mineral treasure, from which, before expensive machinery and elaborate prospectuses had been invented for the destruction of 'up-country' mine adventurers, the land-owner might derive a sure and certain and not always scanty profit. Thus, in the beginning of the last century, these Cornish landlords frequently carried on mines at their own private risk; the frugal fare of the workmen, and the consequent low rate of wages, rendering the employment of a considerable number of hands quite within the compass of any man of moderate means. And thus it was that every Saturday, as sure as the weeks went by, a troop of miners and 'bal girls,' with William Borlase's father (John of Pendyne as he was called) riding at their head, might have been seen wending their way to Penzance along the green track which led thither from St. Just, to receive their wages for work done at one or other of the mines carried on by him. While on the subject of Borlase's father, and as it bears rather curiously on the state of society in the country at this time, we may be permitted to insert, though it does not seem much to his credit, the following draft of a petition to Parliament for leave to prosecute a Member of the House of Commons, he being at that time M.P. for St. Ives. It runs as follows:—

'HONOURED SIRS,

'Life the precious tenet of mankind forceth me to inform your honours that Sunday, the 26th of February, 1709, in full view of most of the congregation of Maddern, John Borlase, one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace, did wilfully break the peace by striking me almost to ground with his staff, and if not timely prevented by one Paul Tonkin, he would have been striking me again. He did at the same time highly threaten me, with Christ<sup>r</sup>. Harris, Esq<sup>r</sup>., Jane his wife, and John his son. Mr. Harris ordered his servant to beat me. Of the truth of the above infor-

mation I am ready to give my corroboration. Humbly craving the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Speaker and House of Commons not to skreen such daring offenders, but to give me leave to prosecute them as the law directs, is the humble prayer of, Hon<sup>d</sup> Sirs, yours in 'all humility and duty—

'FRANCIS ST. AUBYN.'

What this gentleman had done to deserve the Justice's justice thus summarily inflicted on him, there and then, in the midst as it seems of divine service, by the occupant of the next pew, we are left to conjecture.

It is time, however, to turn from anecdotes of the father to follow the steps of his fourth son, William, who, having been ordained previous to his return to Cornwall, now took up his residence at his newly acquired rectory of Ludgvan to which he had been presented by Charles Duke of Bolton. The seclusion of this place must have seemed dreary enough after the excitement of Oxford and the glimpse of London life. Luckily his fondness for a garden came to his rescue. 'My predecessor,' he says, 'that he might not confine the fancies of those that should come after him, left me nothing but a plot, with a full liberty to dispose of a large possession of briars and thorns, as I thought fit, without any danger of spoiling the shape or design of a former garden.' So engrossing did the pursuit become of watching this wild place, making some pretensions towards order and neatness, that it was 'with the greatest reluctance,' he tells us, 'that I could leave the diggers and delvers, and withdraw into my study to Horace and Dryden.' The charm of this beautiful spot, in addition to its great fertility, was the lovely prospect that lay at its feet. 'In one of the most retired corners of this pleasant bay' (we quote from his description of the place to Sir John St. Aubyn), 'which Horace would have celebrated with more songs than he has his beloved Tybur, or his much inferior Baiae, stands that mount, which is happy in its situation, but happier in the affection of its owner.' The pleasant and genial society by which he was surrounded was another circumstance which served to reconcile him to Ludgvan. 'The gentry,' he says, 'are of a free frolicking disposition. In the summer time we meet (some ten or a dozen) at a bowling-green. There we have built a little pleasure-house and there we dine; after dinner play at bowls; and so by frequently meeting together we are, as it were, like so many brothers of one family, so united and so glad to see the one the other.' The original agreement by which this club was formed in 1719 is still extant, as also is a copy of

verses in the Cornish language written by William Gwavas, one of the members, in honour of the occasion. The fine for non-attendance every Friday at dinner was one shilling. The value of a meeting of this kind at a time when party spirit ran so high, and the slightest insult was cause sufficient for a duel, can hardly be overestimated. It was there that private differences were made up; and it was there that uniformity of opinion was procured throughout the neighbourhood in general on all matters respecting the public good, or that tended to local improvement at the time. 'And thus,' writes Borlase to an old friend, 'between my own gardens and my neighbours' frolics, I have been perfectly idle ever since I have been in the country; but,' he continues, 'the time will come when I shall make amends for these days of carelessness, and when the neatness of my retirement shall fix me to my studies, and make me in love with reading and meditation.'

Meanwhile several hints in letters to friends at the close of 1723 prepare us for the event of the following year, namely, his marriage. Thus we find him conveying a request, 'in the name of some ladies,' to Sir John St. Aubyn, 'that the hall at the Mount may be planked for dancing.' A little later on he writes to a friend, 'I have not time to write you anything of the fair sex, but I really think that Cornwall is not without its beauties, of which I shall write you more at large.' A few weeks more and he was actually moralizing in a serious vein on the subject of matrimony. 'To form,' he says, 'a just notion of matrimony from what the gay and gallant people of the town think of it, would be as absurd as to judge Horace by the opinion of a linen-draper, or to go to the Exchange to inquire after trade in Pall-Mall.' Of all the West-country beauties who graced with their presence the ball-room at St. Michael's Mount, his choice fell upon Anne, sole surviving daughter of the Rev. William Smith, rector of the parishes of Camborne and Illogan. In this young lady, whose full blue eyes still smile from the canvas where her husband's pencil placed them, he found one whose amiability of disposition, and scrupulous attention to domestic matters, rendered her at one and the same time a cheerful companion and an excellent clergyman's wife.

We must now turn away for a moment from the pleasant scenes at Ludgvan, and follow the friend of college days as he enters the Chapel at St. Stephen's,—the youngest member, perhaps, of that distinguished assembly. Born in the year 1700, Sir John St. Aubyn was only just of age, when in

1722 he was returned to Parliament for his native county. Different indeed, yet in one respect alike, had been the destinies of the friends since we left them after their journey in the beginning of the year. Parting, the one to mix in the affairs of State in times the most perplexing, the other to the peaceful seclusion of his country parsonage, each had nevertheless marked out for himself a path of equal mental activity. That the confidence of his country, though entrusted to so young a man, had not been misplaced may be judged from many an extract in the correspondence before us. Thus a gentleman writing from London, March 2nd, 1726, observes: 'Sir R—— this Session has met with a strong opposition in the House of Commons; Sir John St. Aubyn has gained a great reputation in that House, and the opinions of our politicians in relation to war or peace are as different as their faces.' A year or two later an incident in Cornish history gave him an opportunity of making himself more than ever beloved at home. In 1727, when, as Hume tells us, 'the courts of France and Spain were perfectly reconciled, and all Europe was freed from the calamities of war,' the peace of Great Britain was disturbed by tumults amongst the tanners of Cornwall, 'who being provoked by a scarcity of corn, rose in arms and plundered the granaries of the county.' At this time it happened that Sir John had just completed a new pier at the Mount, to facilitate the exportation of tin, which was shipped in large quantities at that place. The consequence was that the tanners congregated there in considerable numbers; the place became a rendezvous for malcontents, and fresh riots broke out. Very serious consequences were apprehended, and what might actually have happened none can say, had it not been that the magnanimous spirit and unselfish patriotism of the young statesman showed itself in a measure of local policy which doubly endeared him to his countrymen. He 'forthwith advanced a considerable sum of money to the tanners, by which they were saved from starving or the necessity of plundering their neighbours.' 'Constant in his attendance and application to the business of the House of Commons,' writes Borlase in a note attached to the St. Aubyn pedigree, 'he soon learnt to speak well, but spoke seldom, and never but on points of consequence. He was heard with pleasure by his friends, and with respect by others.' In 1734 he seconded the repeal of the Septennial Act, in a speech which will be found in the handy books of British eloquence. In this same year a curious

incident occurred in the neighbourhood of his seat at Clowance, with which Sir John was only indirectly connected in his capacity of Justice of the Peace, but which was ultimately attended with very serious consequences to himself and his family. A certain Henry Rogers, by trade a pewterer, having some fancied claim to an estate called Skewis, seized the manor house, and surrounding himself with a band of cut-throats, organised a rebellion on his own account, and bade defiance to the country round. Having beaten off from his house, not without bloodshed, first the sheriff, next the constables, and finally the military themselves, the villain succeeded in making good his escape. He was subsequently arrested at Salisbury and brought to Launceston for trial, where the Grand Jury found five bills of murder against him, and Lord Chief Justice Hardwick publicly returned thanks to Sir John 'for his steady endeavours to bring him to justice.' The terror, however, which this ruffian caused in the neighbourhood can scarcely be realized now-a-days; and the menacing letters received by Lady St. Aubyn so preyed upon her mind, that they brought on a 'sensible decay,' or as we should call it now a rapid decline, from the effects of which in 1740 she died.

With the death of his wife Sir John's interest in country life came to an end, and leaving his son to the care and instruction of his old friend at Ludgvan, he set out for a foreign land. Meanwhile, however, the Parliamentary horizon was rapidly clouding over: a crisis was clearly imminent; and, on his return to England, it was to find that, for the present at least, his sorrow must be drowned in more work, in a redoubled attention to those duties which his early reputation now pointed to him to fulfil. And thus, as the Walpole Administration draws on to its close, the figure of Sir John St. Aubyn—the 'little baronet' as he was called—comes prominently to the front as one of the most vigorous, as he certainly was the most conscientious, of the opponents of the then unpopular Prime Minister. On the subject of the vote of thanks, including an approbation of the manner in which the Spanish war had been prosecuted, which was carried by a small majority in the House of Commons early in 1741, he writes (April 9th) as follows:—'I believe ye Folks in ye Country are very much puzzled abt many of our Proceedings, and I don't wonder at y<sup>r</sup> doubts about that unseasonable vote of Innocence; especially when ye Opportunity was so fairly given, w<sup>ch</sup> ye Nation has been so long expecting us to take ye advantage of.' But the country

party the while felt that no opportunity must be lost, and no vigour spared in the attack. Contrast the tone of the following extract from a letter dated May 5th, and note how the space of one single month had served to fan the flame. Sir John now inveighs against 'such Insolence in Administration, such wantonness in Power, w<sup>ch</sup> surely nothing could produce but that mistaken vote of Innocence, w<sup>ch</sup> so lately happen'd. And yet,' he continues, 'this is ye Man ag<sup>t</sup> whom we want evidence to advise his Removal, when at my very door there are such glaring Proofs, which, in less corrupt times, would deprive Him of his Head.' Day by day the enemies of the Ministry acquired fresh strength: the elections went against the Court interest, even Westminster returning two members hostile to it. Walpole tottered on the brink of ruin, and had it not been that, during a short adjournment of the House early in 1742, he had resigned his offices and been elevated to the peerage, he might, as we know, even have been committed to the Tower.

No sooner had Parliament reassembled than a measure was brought in by Lord Limerick, and seconded by Sir John St. Aubyn, to inquire into the conduct of the last twenty years. This was lost by two votes, but another, also proposed by Lord Limerick on the 23rd of March, for an inquiry into the conduct of Robert, Earl of Oxford, was carried, and a Select Committee appointed by ballot. And now came Sir John's political triumph. To this Committee he was appointed by every vote in the House of Commons, to the number of 518—'an honour,' says the MS. from which we quote, 'neither then nor before (as far as the Records of Parliament can reach) ever conferred on any member, as Mr. Speaker Onslow on the spot observed to Sir John's great commendation.' 'When the Committee was appointed he declined the offer of the Chair, and Lord Viscount Limerick was chosen Chairman.' The following is an extract from a letter of Sir John's, dated from the Secret Committee Chamber, June 22nd, 1742:—

'We are now,' he writes, 'winding up our bottoms as well as we can under ye disabilitys which we have been fetter'd with, notwithstanding which, we shall show the world enough to convince if not convict. I am sorry there has been so much unconcern in ye Gentlemen of our country; I wish I c<sup>d</sup> say in some an unconcern only. We have had, and I wish we maynt for ever now have lost, ye only opportunity which may happen to retrieve ye Honour and establish ye Natural Institutions of ye Country. . . . The Town is in high spirits at presents, upon the accounts we have

from Germany and Italy. This turn is not owing to ye merit of ye new Administration, but to ye Vigour of this Parliament, which has had It's free Operation during this Inter-Regnum of Power, and whenever that happens, England must have It's due Influence upon ye Continent; and if she had acted as she ought for some years past, what might have been brought about, when ye bare expectation of her acting has produc'd such great events?'

'About this time,' says Borlase, 'Sir John being offer'd to take place as one of the Lords of the Admiralty, he was ready, he said, to serve his King and country, but would take no place unless upon the express condition that his freedom and independency in Parliament should remain unquestion'd and uncontroll'd. These were not times to endure, much less shake hands with such inflexible Virtue; as he coveted no place, he never had one, 'though capable of any.'

On the 31st of March, 1744, when war was declared with France, the inhabitants of Mount's Bay became alarmed for the safety of their trade. Two things were required: a stationary armed vessel to protect their shores and fisheries from privateers (for three of the principal fishermen had already been taken prisoners), and a cruiser to convoy the exports and imports necessary for working the mines. For the part he took in obtaining these advantages Sir John received the thanks of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, assembled as usual in their Parliament at the Bowling-green at Marazion. St. Michael's Mount he had restored from a ruined monastic cell to a comfortable dwelling-house; but he never lived to visit it again, dying of fever at Pencarrow on his way home in the year 1744, at the early age of forty-four, 'to the great regret of all who knew him, and to his country's loss of a most faithful friend.' 'The dignity of this ancient family,' writes Borlase in the brief memoir attached to his pedigree, 'owes much to this gentleman;' and Dr. Oliver of Bath, in a letter of sympathy on the occasion of his death, speaks of him as 'one who had bravely withstood all the temptations that honours or profit could lay in his way, and dared to stand almost single on the field of Purity, while thousands fell on his right hand, and ten thousands on his left, the easy Prey of corruption.' Further on he adds, 'Let us thank Heaven who lent us the great good man so long, and neither wonder nor murmur at his being taken from us so soon, especially when we consider how little Influence his Example had upon Earth.' There is something in a character like his which renders it worthy of the ad-

miration and the love of generations, nay, of centuries, far beyond his own.

We must now return to the year 1730, and, leaving politics and local matters, must follow William Borlase to Bath, whither he went to seek the benefit of the waters under the care of a friend and relation, William Oliver. Until the commencement of the eighteenth century, when the value of her mineral waters was recognised once more, the ancient city of Bath had scarcely overstepped the limits prescribed for her by the Roman furrow. But, once brought into notice, her fame quickly spread. She had become, writes Oliver, 'the universal hospital not only of this but of other nations, and hither the physicians sent their patients when they knew no longer what to do with them at home.' A club-house was founded; street was added to street, and square to square. The Prince of Orange came, and departed with a new lease of life. Orange Grove, then the chief place of fashionable amusement, was called after his name, and a column erected in the midst, from a design furnished by the accomplished pencil of the rector of Ludgvan. In the year 1734, Bath was fast rising to the zenith of her glory. Without the city, Ralph Allen, the 'Allworthy' of Fielding (also a Cornishman, and one who had made his money by farming the cross-posts), was completing Prior Park, that splendid mansion the plan of which he had laid down in his mind twenty years before, and in which he was to gather round him all his kindred spirits, the *literati* of the age. Within the walls, Beau Nash superintended 'the elegant amusements upon a system combining,' as the guide-books tell us, 'the most liberal urbanity with the most refined decorum.' Balls and ridottos were the order of the day, patronised chiefly by the gentry of the Western counties, who, unless called to town to represent one of their legion of boroughs, usually spent their seasons here. Indeed, the most trifling indisposition was a sufficient excuse to try the Bath waters; and fashionable valetudinarianism, side by side too often with real disease, gave employment to a regiment of doctors, the phisic princes of the place. With such a field before him, and a West-countryman himself, it was very natural that Oliver should determine to try his fortune at Bath; and his ambition was more than satisfied when, only four years after his arrival, on the death of the principal physician, he stepped into one of the most considerable practices of the place. He had already numbered among his patients many of his countrymen from Cornwall, but he now added to these the

names of almost every person of rank or fashion who had been induced to visit the springs. The *habitué* of Prior Park, he was there introduced, in the year 1739, to Pope, and afterwards to Warburton. Speaking of Pope in a letter to Borlase, he says, 'That delightful little man is the freest, the humblest, most entertaining creature, you ever met with. He has sojourned here two months with our great countryman, Mr. Allen, at his country-house, who needed only this lasting testimony of so honourable and distinguished a friendship to deliver his name in the most amiable light to posterity. They are extremely happy in each other; the one feeling great joy in the good heart and strong sense of his truly generous host; while the other, with the most pleasing attention, drinks in rivers of knowledge continually flowing from the lips of his delightful stranger.'

Pope was at this time collecting materials for his grotto at Twickenham, and Oliver accordingly applied to Borlase to assist in the work by sending a hamper of the varied and beautiful minerals of their native county. A correspondence was thus opened between the far-famed villa on the Thames, and the obscure rectory three hundred miles away. Two of these letters, unpublished we believe, and in the poet's own handwriting, are in the collection before us. The first runs as follows:—

'SIR, 'Twickenham, March 9, 1740.

'I ought to take this occasion of thanking you for so obliging a Testimony as you are giving me of your inclination to assist me, and surely the warm and particular manner in which you do me this favour deserved a more ready acknowledgment. I am as much indebted to your Letters to Dr. Oliver as to me upon this subject, but I was willing at ye same time that I thanked you to give you an account of the receipt of ye Box, and of ye choice I made of ye materials. But I find this morning (the first day that I arrived here) that your Bounty, like that of Nature, confounds all choice. But as I would imitate rather her Variety than make Ostentation of what we call her Riches, I shall be satisfy'd if you made your next Cargo consist more of such Ores and Sparrs as are beautiful, and not too difficult to be come at, than of the Scarce and valuable kinds. Indeed, 2 or 300 of Cubes of mundick which you mention might find a place luminous enough in one part of my Grotto, and are much the finest Ornaments it can receive. It will want nothing to complete it but your Instruction as to the Position, and the direction of the Sparrs and Orrs in ye mines; for I would be glad to make the place resemble Nature in all her workings, and entertain a sensible as well as dazzle a Gazing Spectator. The Stalactites are appropriated to ye roof, and the

Marbles (I think) of various colours to the pavement. I extremely wish one day to have the pleasure of seeing you, Sir, in the Place which you are contributing to make so agreeable; and I hope you will take the surest way to prevent your Favours from being lost upon me, which is what we desire of Providence, that He who bestows them will direct us how to make a right use of them.

'As to your kind desire that I should acquaint you what quantity I want, I have indeed but few, not above a hamper or two. From others I expect more, but none so good as these of yours.

'I am Sir,

'Your most obliged, and faithful humble servant,

'A. POPE.'

The next extract is from a letter dated May, 1740, from the poet to Dr. Oliver:—

'In taking his,' i.e., Borlase's, 'advice I don't make him the poorer, but I fear that in taking more of his collection I may, and therefore shall hardly have the conscience to trouble him for another cargo, how much so-ever I am unprovided. If he will engage his word not to send me any that he intended to keep, I would ask him for some of the Metallic kind that are most common; so they do but shine and glitter it is enough, and the Vulgar Spectator will of course think them noble. Few Philosophers come here, but if ever Future Fate or Providence bring Dr. Oliver, Mr. Borlase, and Mr. Allen hither, I shall not envy the Queen's Hermitage either its Natural or Moral Philosophers.'

In obtaining these minerals for Pope and others, Borlase was sometimes led into making perilous descents into the Cornish minea. On one occasion, having received from a miner in St. Just some curious crystals of tin, and being anxious to visit the spot whence they were derived, he determined to make the attempt, and subsequently wrote an account of it to Oliver:—

'Scrambling,' he says, 'down the face of a precipice as well as I could, not many fathoms down, we were obliged to turn short to the right, and, by means of a single thorn twig, to wind ourselves into a little cave. The cave or hole was in the side of a vast hiatus, and far below the waters had made a large pool which concealed the real depth, and left room for the Imagination to suppose it still more deep and dangerous than it really was. Here we wanted nothing but a wood above us to have Virgil's fine drawing of his cave (at least in miniature) before our eyes:—

"Hinc atque hinc vastæ Rupes, geminique minantur  
In cælum Scopuli, quorum sub vertice latè  
Æquora tuta silent."

'By the help of our guide we got safe into our cave, and advancing a few paces were obliged to stay till some rubbish was removed in order to make our further passage the more

commodious. Whilst this was doing, my business was to examine the strata on each side, the vault above, and the fragments under foot, amongst which I perceived many scattered remains of Cornish diamonds, which made us the more eager to proceed. At last the passage was cleared, so that on our hands and knees two of us crept after our guide into a hole, not much larger than an ordinary oven, and much of that figure. We had two candles with us, by means of which we saw the roof, which might in the middle be about 5 feet from the floor, in other parts not near so much. It consisted entirely of spar shot into Cornish diamonds. I could not discern any in a perpendicular position, but in every other direction they pointed forth very plentifully, sometimes in groups and clusters, sometimes single, now crossing each other, and now standing by each other with parallel sides. Some were smooth and shining and clear; others rough and opaque; some veined with red, like porphyry; others speckled thick with the smallest spots of black and purple, and a blueish cast; but the finest of all were those which had innumerable little diamonds of the clearest water stuck upon their sides, and which by the candle had a lustre scarce to be conceived. Having gazed till we could no longer hold up our heads or open our eyes, not being able to turn about, we were forced to crawl out on all fours, with our feet foremost, from this beautiful but incommodious place.'

In spite, however, of the inaccessible places whence they came, Pope received a second cargo of minerals a month after the first. His letter, acknowledging these, since it contains in many points a more detailed description of the grotto than will be found elsewhere, may be read with interest. It is dated from Twickenham, June the 8th, 1740:—

'SIR,—As soon as I received your very obliging present and letter, I writ to Dr. Oliver, designing him to prepare the way for my thanks, by assuring you I wanted words to express them, and by taking to himself a part of an obligation which is really above any Merit I can claim to it. I fear, by a Paper I found in the Box, that you have robb'd your own Collection to enrich me, and the same paper gave me an excellent Motto for my Grot, in some part of which I must fix your name, if I can contrive it, agreeably to your Modesty and Merit, in a Shade but shining. I deferr'd writing to you 'till I could form a guess how far your materials w<sup>d</sup> go in ye work, which is now half finished, ye ruder parts entirely so; in its present condition it is quite natural, and can only admit of more beauties by the Glitter of more minerals, not the disposition or manner of placing them, with which I am quite satisfy'd. I have managed ye Roof so as to admit of the larger as well as smaller pendulous [crystals]; the sides are strata of various, beautiful, but rude Marbles, between which run ye Loads of Metal, East and West, and in ye pavement

also, the direction of ye Grotto happening to lie so. And I have opened ye whole into one Room, groin'd above from pillar to pillar (not of a regular Architecture, but like supporters left in a Quarry), by which means there is a fuller Light cast into all but ye narrow passage (which is cover'd with living and long Mosses), only behind ye 2 largest Pillars there is a deep recess of dark stone, where two Glasses artfully fix'd reflect ye Thames, and almost deceive ye Eye to that degree as to seem two arches opening to the River on each side, as there is one real in ye middle. The little well is very light, ornamented with Stalactites above, and Spars and Cornish Diamonds on ye Edges, with a perpetual drip of water into it from pipes above among the Icicles. I have cry'd help to some other friends, as I found my Want of materials, and have stellified some of ye Roof with Bristol stone of a fine lustre. I am in hopes of some of ye Red transparent Spar from the Lead mines, which would vastly vary the colouring. If you will be extravagant, indeed, in sending anything more, I wish it were glittering tho' not curious; as equally proper in such an Imitation of Nature, who is not so Profuse as you, tho' ever most kind to those who cultivate her. As I procure more Ores or Spars, I go on enriching ye Crannies and Interstices, which, as my Marbles are in large pieces, cramp'd fast with iron to ye walls, are pretty spacious and unequal, admitting Loads and Veins of 2, 3, or 4 inches broad, and running up and down thro' Roof, Sides, and Pavement. The perpendicular Fissures I generally fill with Spar. I have run into such a detail, ' I had forgot to tell you this whole Grotto makes ye communication between my Garden and the Thames. I hope I shall live to see you there. . . . I have neither room nor words to tell you how much you oblige your Humble Servant,

'A. POPE.'

That the promise to place the donor's name 'in the shade, but shining,' was amply fulfilled, appears from the following extract from a letter of Dr. Oliver's, dated December 15th, 1741:—'I suppose Sir John has told you that he has read your name in letters of gold in the grotto, an honour the greatest man might be ambitious of; but if it had been in black letters, made only of the common ink the little gentleman uses when he embalms his friends, it would be more likely to give you immortality.' As a slight acknowledgment of his gratitude, Pope forwarded to Borlase a copy of his own edition of his works, published in 1737. The appearance of a spurious edition in Dublin, which had been reprinted, led to the publication of this authentic one. The former, according to the extracts before us (though some curious lights have recently been thrown on this subject by Mr. Elwin), had given the poet great offence. We find him, for instance, complaining bitterly to his friend Sir John St. Aubyn 'that he was

under the hard necessity of betraying his most familiar correspondences by the villainy of some who had taken advantage of Dean Swift's infirmities to get the original letters out of his hands.'

The following lines, written by Pope on his grotto, were printed after his death by his gardener in a small pamphlet on his garden, with the exception of those in italics, which were not published, but appear in 'an amended version' in MS. sent by the poet to Dr. Oliver:—

'Thou who shalt stop where Thames' translucent wave  
Shines a broad Mirrour thro' the Shadowy Cave;  
Where lingering drops from Min'ral Roofs distil,  
And pointed Crystals break the Sparkling Rill;  
Unpolished Gems no ray on Pride bestow,  
And latent Metals innocently glow.  
*Thou see'st that Island's Wealth, where only free,*  
*Earth to her Entrails feels not Tyranny,*  
Approach! great Nature studiously behold,  
And eye the Mine, without a Wish for Gold;  
But enter, awful, this Inspiring Grot,  
Here, nobly pensive, St. John sate and thought;  
Here British sighs from dying Wyndham stole,  
And the bright Flame was shot thro' Marchmont's soul;  
Let such, such only, tread this sacred Floor,  
Who dare to love their Country, and be Poor.'

A touching trait in the character of Pope was, as all know, his devotion to his parents. Thus the central object of his exquisite garden at Twickenham was an obelisk erected to the memory of his mother. In connection with this feeling it is interesting to find that when Dr. Oliver was about to place a monument to the memory of his parents in Sidney churchyard, the poet wrote their epitaph and drew the design of a pillar, which was subsequently placed there. Pope frequently repeated his visits to Prior Park, and on each occasion renewed his intimacy with Oliver, sometimes walking in to Bath early in the morning to breakfast with him. His constitution, however, always weakly, was now rapidly giving way, and a letter from Sir John St. Aubyn in May, 1744, prepared Borlase for the news of his death in the following month. 'I doubt,' he says, 'your friend Mr. Pope can't last long. He sent to desire Lord Oxford and myself to dine with him to-day, and I thought he would have dy'd then; he has a dropsie which has almost drowned him.' That his friendship for Oliver continued to the last, appears from the following letter, received at Ludgvan from the Doctor immediately after the news of his death had arrived:—

'I believe my dear Friend would be surprised if I should begin my Letter to him with any other Subject than that of condolence for the Loss of one, who contributed more to the pleasure and profit of mankind than any Poet has done these many ages—*delectando pariterque monendo*. This time twelvemonths I spent some time with him almost alone; I then endeavoured to know as much of him as I could, that I might fix the Idea of him in my mind that was to remain, for I parted with him with very little hopes of ever seeing him again. I suppose you have seen the Copy of his Will in the publick Papers, from which you may guess that all his works will be published in 4to. by Mr. Warb., who by commenting upon them, gains the property of the copy of those which are not already disposed of. Mr. Warburton tells me there are only two or three small pieces of Mr. Pope's remaining that will ever see the light. We must receive them, and be thankful for what we have already had. I hear Sir Wm. Stanhope declares strongly for the Grotto, but I would willingly have it fall into more philosophical hands. Whoever has it may be puzzled at the great Shining Letters which glow with gratitude in the Name—*Borlase*. On this part of his works only I think myself capable of writing a comment, which I will send to whoever possesses it, tho' I am not like to get the Grotto for my pains. If Sir John is now with you at the Mount, he can inform you of more circumstances relating to Mr. Pope than I can, and I should be glad of your Anecdotes which you receive from him. I believe he might have lingered some Months longer if he had not fallen into the hands of a curing Doctor.' Celsus says, '*in quibusdam morbis qui curantur citius moriuntur*.'

Just as he was expiring came forth the following couplet from some stander-by:—

'Dunces rejoice! forgive all Insults past,  
The Greatest Dunce has kill'd your greatest  
Foe at last.'

Sir John St. Aubyn, as we have seen, survived the poet only a few weeks, and never reached Ludgvan to tell his friend his anecdotes of Pope. Commenting on the two sad events, and evidently having in mind the 'Interviews in the Realms of Death,' Borlase, in a letter to Oliver, writes,—'Will not the best of poets, and the honestest senator and worthiest father, friend, and husband, renew their acquaintance, think you, and congratulate each other on leaving a country so devoted?' William Oliver survived his friend the poet for twenty years, and during all that time continued his correspondence with Ludgvan, for 'old friends,' he says, 'are like old coins, which increase in their value in proportion to their age and scarcity.' In 1746 he purchased as a vacation residence a small farm-house two miles from Box, 'situated at the head of the vale thro' which the river and the Lon-

don Road run together towards Bath.' It commanded, he tells us, a lovely view. 'The city crosses the vale about three miles from me, and creeps up Lansdown; and about the same distance beyond it rises Mr. Langton's Park, a knowle of which, well wooded, terminates my view.' To this snug retreat, 'to show his love for Cornwall and the sense of his childhood,' he gave the name of his birth-place, and called it Trevarnoe.

'I would by no means forget,' he tells his friend in his account of the place, 'the years I spent with my father and mother. I have great pleasure in recollecting a thousand little circumstances of their tenderness and my own frailties. 'Tis not only with our own species that we contract the most lasting friendships in the beginning of life. I remember the name and character of every dog I used to miss school to hunt with; I could go to every little thicket which was most likely to afford game; I love the memory of a tall sycamore, out of which I used to cut whistles; I have the situation of the hazel which afforded the best cob-nuts full in my eye; and I remember with gratitude a rare [apple] tree, which afforded the first *regale* in summer, and the Borlase's Pip-pin, which, like its namesakes, was a high entertainment in a winter's evening, in a warm room, and with a good fire.'

From this letter we may perhaps form as true an estimate of Dr. Oliver's character, and the reason of his great popularity, as could be afforded by transcribing here a copy of verses descriptive of him from, the pen of an amateur contemporary Cornish poetess, Miss Gregor, of Trewarthenick, which are, nevertheless, not without merit.

While at his new Trevarnoe, Oliver was frequently visited by Warburton, who had married the niece and heiress of Mr. Allen, of Prior Park, and hither also, amongst others, came a poor painter, called Vandrest. In former years this man had been intimate with Borlase. His profession, however, had, as is usual with all portrait-painters but the best, turned out little better than starvation, and he now lived on the generosity of his friends. The following is part of a letter from his old acquaintance at Ludgvan, encouraging the poor fellow to change the subject of his paintings for one which might be more profitable.

'If you will take my advice,' it begins, 'you must gett into quite another way. Change the serious primm traits of a face form'd by commanding constables and beaules, and flattered by the feasts of a Corporation, for the grim terrors and majesty of a General in action. Instead of Cupids and the soft and tender ladies, draw the fierce horse, the square battalion, the pale wounded hero, the glittering swords, the level'd muskets, the streaming banners: in short, Van, I would have you

quite lay aside the dull insipid face-painting; and, as I know you can easily master the difficulty of passing from one part of your profession to another (if you would be rul'd by me), go into battle; conform to the times; teach your mind to draw skirmishes, seiges, tents, and batteries; and, as Vander Meulen did, mix the delicate groves and country with all the parade of war. But—methinks I hear some arch-wagg say—"It is scarce worth while; we may have war without battles, as well as have so many armaments without war." If so, paint the sleeping Genius of Britain, whom no insults can rouse and no wrongs provoke, and I can assure you that no pictures will sell better.\*

With two extracts from the letters of Dr. Oliver, bearing on very different subjects, we shall close that portion of the correspondence before us which led us to Bath, and to the literary circle that was gathered there. The first is dated November, 1746. It was written on his return from London, and speaks incidentally of the trial of the Lords in Westminster Hall, at which he was present:—

'I should long since,' he writes, 'have given you a Description of the most august Assembly this, or perhaps any Nation can shew, which was called together for the Trial of the late unfortunate Lords. But even the Majesty of that awful tribunal was broke in upon by a thousand gigling women, whose Hearts felt Emotions very different from Compassion. Many of the Senators, clad in reverential Scarlet and Ermine, were debased by Toupees and Bags into Fops and Jockeys, and plainly discovered that their Heads at least had not the outward appearance of Judges. Is it not strange that a company of Grenadiers should be obliged to wear a uniform Dress, such as becomes the fierceness of their Profession, and yet that a House of Lords should have the liberty to disguise themselves in a manner quite unbecoming the Dignity of their high office? From all this pageantry we could easily have step'd into the neighbouring Repository of the Remains of the Ancestors from whom these noble Judges derive the pompous Titles they debase. I viewed the breathing Marble and curious Sculpture with grave delight; but upon reading the Inscriptions could not but think it an impious Absurdity that a House dedicated to the God of Truth should be made the Archives of lying Tables.'

The second letter from which we shall take an extract was written from Bath in July, 1760. After mentioning 'Poor Nash, the ghost of whose greatness still stalks amongst us,' and to whom 'Mr. Allen is very generous,' Oliver proceeds to describe the effect produced in Bath by the appearance of Sterne's book:—

\* This was written October 8th., 1730.

'Pray,' he says, 'are the works of the Revd. Mr. Tristram Shandy yet arrived in Cornwall? This gentleman is perhaps one of the most extraordinary Authors that have appeared upon the literary stage in our day. He is admired, beloved, not understood, and adored by all kinds of People, from the right Reverends down to Fanny Murray, Kitty Fisher, Lady Cov., and Mr. Whitfield. Long had he sigh'd, and mourned in private the licentiousness of the Age, and its aversion to everything that is Serious and religious. The debauching Novels, and the luscious Histories of Lady's Adventures written by themselves were the only books, he found, that could meet with the approbation and encouragement of the great, and attract the attention of the *οι πολλοι* sufficiently to get themselves read, and to keep their Authors and venders from starving. As he was musing in his Study, and leaning his Elbow on his Desk, and his Satyr's cheek upon his Hand, revolving in his mind the hard fate of a poor Sermon about Conscience, which he had published the year before, of which his Bookseller could not get off a dozen, it struck into his pious mind that since all the ancient methods of propagating Religion and Morality were grown obsolete, out of date, and of none effect, some new method ought to be invented by the Pastors of the Church, by which the Novellists and Memoir-readers might be trapped into the reading of pious Discourses even without their knowledge or consent. If we have been foiled in the field, he said, let us try the ambuscade. The Doctor does not scruple to cheat Children and Fools into the taking of a bitter Pill, which will do them good, by hiding it in Jelly or Currants, tho' he knows the Vehicle will be a regale to the worms. Tristram's fertile Brain soon hit on a new method of making his sermon to be read, which succeeded beyond his most sanguine hopes. He immediately sat down to write the Life and Opinions of himself. . . . The whole Town were taken in by this Bit of History which hung delicious on their palates as it was highly Season'd, Pepper'd, and Salted with the most poignant wit, and decorated with the most lively Imagination. They read on with the utmost rapidity. But, as they were in the midst of their career, they ran full butt against the poor Sermon, which had been so long despised by the world, and were as much frightened as a poor Pilot is, who strikes upon a hidden Rock while his Vessel is under full sail. What should they do? They tried to pass it by on every side; but pious Tristram had laid it across their way with so much art, and tacked both Ends of it so fast to the precedent and subsequent parts of the history, that a man might as easily get from one side of Bristol Quay to the other without passing the Drawbridge, as to get through the whole Art and Mystery of Dr. Slop . . . without reading the Sermon, which they all did, no question to the great refreshment of their Consciences. O Tristram, how great is thy Ingenuity! It can surely be equalled by nothing but thy burning zeal for the Propagation of Religion. How many poor souls would have

gone into another world without ever having read a Sermon in this, had it not been for this thy pious Fraud! Reverends and right Reverends shall give their Testimonials of their approbation of thy Contrivance! And, lo! they have already done it. Alas! poor Yorick, thou art dropt, and the *western* Face of the real Author, prefix to his Volume of Sermons, vindicates his Works, and the Universal applause they have acquired him. Two Volumes of Sermons are now published by the Revd. Mr. Sterne, Prebendary of York, Biographer of Tristram Shandy, and Successor to the revd. Mr. Yorick and his Horse. They are very pretty little quaint moral Essays, wrote with a great Spirit of Philanthropy; ushered into the world by Dukes and Duchesses, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, grave Matrons, pretty Masters, and innocent Misses, who will no doubt all read them, and recommend them to their Friends. Is not this a noble Conquest over the vicious Novellists? But perhaps you have neither seen Mr. Shandy, or Mr. Yorrick, and then all the Stuff I have been prating is meer unintelligible Jargon.'

The collection of letters, from which we have hitherto been making extracts, has led us far away from the quiet Cornish rectory, and what was passing there; and has left us little space to speak but in the most cursory manner of those pursuits which formed the life-work of William Borlase. His biography has indeed been so frequently sketched and his published works so often criticised, that it only remains for us to gather up from his MSS. such stray fragments as have never yet seen the light. The promise made in early life to 'amend those days of carelessness' was indeed amply fulfilled. His life as a literary man may be divided into three periods. The earlier portion was occupied by the study of Archæology; the time of middle age and the vigour of his mind was engrossed by that of Natural History; while his later years were devoted to making collections for a parochial account of Cornwall, containing the Heraldry and Genealogy of the district, and which he never lived to publish.

The Study of Antiquities, although rapidly reviving, had, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, fallen into very indifferent hands.

'I remember,' says Borlase, writing to Huddesford, 'when the name of an antiquary was, through some particulars in the professors, at a very low ebb. The eldest, in my recollection, was Tom Hearne, at Oxford, well skilled indeed, in History, and a laborious and exact editor, but perhaps the oddest figure of a man, and one least cut out for society, or to make any study amiable that was ever met with. He was remarkable among us boys (such fools have disgraced Oxford) for his lank hair and uncouth address. My friend, Mr. Wise, had

his share of learning, but he was the joke of the wits. 'Dr. Brown Willis had doubtless his merit, and as a compiler has much benefited English Ecclesiastical History; but you will allow he was not cut out to cast much lustre upon science. In his beloved forte, Antiquity, he was indefatigable, and intent upon and charmed with everything that was old. I remember he told me at Oxford how old his chariot was; I have really forgot the date, but it was an age before any post-chaise had being: his horses were a little more modern, and so was his garb, but not much. Dr. Rawlinson equalled all that went before him in oddity, as much as he fell short of them in learning. These were the antiquaries of my younger daies, all industrious, but unhappily inimical to elegance, not to say decency, and wanting that liberal turn and general knowledge of arts and mankind which this study has since experienced the benefit of.'

Neither were the ideas of these old antiquaries at all in advance of their manners. Dr. Stukeley, for instance, writes to Borlase: 'I am persuaded our Druids were of the patriarchal religion, and came from Abraham. I believe Abraham's grandson, Asser, helped to plant our island, and gave name to it.' Such being the condition of the science, it must have required a bold man to venture on the track. In 1754 appeared the first edition of the 'Antiquities of Cornwall,' a work universally approved and applauded both at home and abroad. The Druids have, indeed, of late years been somewhat rudely dismissed from the shade of their accustomed oaks, and the rock basins have been proved to be simply the result of the weathering of the granite; but, these things excepted, the work is one which still holds its own as an authority among students of Archæology at the present day. The study of Natural History at Ludgvan soon followed that of Antiquities, almost as a natural consequence. To a mind like that of Borlase, the inquiry into the origin of the works of man soon passed, as from child's play to earnest, to the attentive consideration of those of man's Creator. Archæology to him had been but the first attempt to find a footing in the past, and, apart from the value of its own results, it gave birth to that spirit of curiosity which is the handmaid and forerunner of a more profound science. And this craving after science soon became science itself.

At the time of which we speak, the end of the first chapter in the modern history of inductive science was being worked out. But still the age was simply one of collecting, without a sufficient rudimentary knowledge in the collectors themselves to make any adequate generalisation possible. It would take far more space than is at present

at our disposal to give any idea of the gropings in the dark, sometimes on the right track, generally on the wrong, which this collection of letters reveals. Progress, however, was undoubtedly being made. Let one of the correspondents, Emanuel Mendez Da Costa, speak for himself: 'Learning,' he says (writing in 1761), 'is greatly pursued at present, and we may hope that rewards will attend the meritorious. The discoveries daily made are of the utmost importance to human kind; the variations of the magnetic needle, and the deductions which will result from the observations of the late transit of Venus . . . will be invaluable benefits to posterity; and who knows,' he adds almost prophetically, 'what may hereafter be discovered from Electricity? for I am convinced that extraordinary effect in nature, one time or other, will be found to be of the greatest benefit to mankind.'

As to Geology, that science, in the form in which we learn it now, was not in existence. Even Werner's theory of the superposition of mineral groups had not yet appeared; but still signs of a coming change in the modes of thought on that subject, too, were to be found in papers read at the Royal Society on the causes of earthquakes, tidal waves, &c. Several phenomena of this nature, noticed in Mount's Bay, and one in especial which occurred simultaneously with the earthquake at Lisbon, set Borlase thinking; and accordingly, in due time, a MS. volume was circulated amongst his friends, entitled 'Private Thoughts on the Creation and the Deluge.' His view on submarine upheaval is curiously allied to that which has been so generally accepted of late years on that subject, and his theory on the causes of earthquakes might sometimes be almost placed in parallel columns with that found in Sir Charles Lyell's 'Principles,' so strikingly similar are the two. In spite of the fact that some of his friends detected in it passages at variance with the Mosaic account, this treatise was not only prepared for the press, but two specimen pages were printed in octavo by Nichols, when the work was finally arrested by the last illness of its author. In this state it has come down to us, a volume full of interest, if not to the student, at all events to the historian of Inductive Science; since, while on the one hand it loyally adheres to the *historic* truth of the Mosaic account, it denies in toto its *scientific* pretensions. It enters at the same time a curious but forcible protest (giving a *résumé* of their theories) against the vagaries of Woodward and Burnet, Whiston and Hutchinson. Altogether it is the product of a

bold and thoughtful as well as of a religious mind, and, had it been published, would have marked, if we mistake not, one not unimportant step in the progress of induction as it strove to free itself from the physico-theological mizmaze which reined the intellect and clouded the perception of those who were following immediately in the wake of Newton.

The Cornish minerals, which had before been the medium of Borlase's correspondence with Pope, formed also his introduction to the world of science. The Germans were at this time the sole masters of the metallic art. They derived a much-boasted knowledge—more the result of imagination and of a survival from the alchemists, than of real induction—from the effects of fire upon the different mineral bodies. The origin of crystals was one of their chief objects of research. But Romé de Lisle had not yet written his treatise, and the Leyden professors, Boerhaave, Gronovius, and even Linnæus himself, were still but gropers in the dark. The latter (Linnæus) was, as is well known, by no means happy in the mineralogical portion of his great work, as we could abundantly prove from original extracts now before us. Indeed, he owns himself elsewhere, that 'lithology is not what he plumes himself upon.' These were the men with whom Borlase corresponded. Each of them enriched his collection from the mines of Cornwall, and all communicated in return the results of their experiments, to be inserted in the year 1758 into the 'Natural History' of that county. On the subject of tin Linnæus remarks that it is 'nullibi præstantius quam in Cornwallia.' Amongst the numerous visitors who at different times paid a visit to Ludgvan, we may mention Thomas Pennant, whose love for natural history, according to his own account, commenced in the study there among the strings of birds' eggs and endless curiosities which adorned the walls and shelves. Ellis, too, the author of the 'Corallines,' and the elaborator in England of the French theory of their animal origin, picked up some of his best specimens on the Geer rock south of Penzance in the company of his Cornish friend. The letters of these two eminent naturalists form no small portion of the later correspondence. In order to show how a love of science for its own sake was gaining ground in the middle of the last century, we may insert one extract from the pen of James Theobald, of Waltham Place, Berks: 'I had the honour,' he says, 'of being a member of the Royal Society during the time when Sir Isaac Newton filled the President's chair; and then, if the meeting consisted of

ten or a dozen, it was thought a handsome appearance, but at present it is reckoned a very thin one if there are not upwards of fifty.'

Of the Heraldic and Parochial collections of Dr. Borlase this is not the place to speak. The third volume, in which they were to have appeared, he never lived to complete. Suffice it to say that they are teeming with matters of interest, many still unpublished, relating to all parts of the county. We hear, for example, of the ghost of Boconnock; of the oak-tree whose leaves turned white on the day when King Charles I. was murdered; of the great and noble family of Carminow, who could trace their descent direct from King Arthur himself; of one of this family in later times who, being forced by circumstances to leave his house, wrote up over the door, 'Sin and iniquity have rooted out antiquity;' and of the last of the line, who was dragged over the cliff by greyhounds and dashed to pieces below. We hear, too, told in quaint language, the story of St. Agnes and the Giant Bolster; of a certain Sir Richard Vyvyan, who, being master of the Mint, under Charles I., carried the Royal stamp to his seat at Trelowarren, and there coined money for the Western cavaliers; and (which is perhaps more interesting than all) we hear in this collection of a *Cornish Bible*, translated (as it seems from the context) into *that language* by John de Trevisa, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, at the close of the 14th and commencement of the 15th century. Here is a subject for inquiry indeed; apart from its bibliographical value, this volume, if it exists, would restore to the philologist the entire Cornish tongue.

In 1769 Borlase lost his wife, 'one,' he says, 'who took more than her part of domestic cares on purpose to indulge his tendency to his favourite pursuits.' From this date the care of his parish occupied most of his time. He had, indeed, never permitted his literary pursuits to render him callous to the duties of his profession. In 1782 he had, in addition to Ludgvan, been presented to the living of St. Just, a bleak mining country on the moors of the Land's End district. Comparing these two places (both of which he knew well), Oliver had written to him 'Ludgvan is like a buxom girl of eighteen, always laughing and playing, and affording plentifully all the superficial pleasures of mirth and jollity; but St. Just is an old haggard philosopher, whose ruthless appearance would deter the soft and luxurious from having anything to do with him; but he is full of riches within.' His new acquisition he found in anything but a satisfactory condition. His parishioners there were

'much given to drinking, especially on the sabbath day, a great part of which they spent at the alchouses of the church town.' 'They also,' he adds, 'began to absent themselves from their church on holidays;' in consequence of which, and other irregularities, he proceeded thither, and read the sentence of excommunication over a certain Mr. Pokenhorne. But, in spite of these unruly spirits, the average congregation 'in the forenoon on Sundays was 1000, and in the afternoon 500,' a fact which, taken with the others, is strangely out of accordance with the generally received opinion, that the Establishment in West Cornwall a century ago was at a very low ebb. Over the spiritual welfare of his own immediate flock at Ludgvan, Dr. Borlase\* kept a still more watchful eye. The belief in the power of evil spirits, working through the medium of 'white witches' or wizards, was at that time as constant in the West, as it was universal among all classes. The following is a curious letter on this subject, addressed to a certain Mr. Bettesworth at St. Ives:—

'Sir,—I hope the rumours of your pretending to conjuration are not true; and I have so much charity as to believe that you have not been meddling in the dangerous mysteries of a lower world; but rather, like a true Christian, defy and refuse all intercourse with the devil; but since there are such rumours, and you are said to take upon you to discover lost or stolen goods, I hope you will think that, to retrieve and vindicate your character, it will be necessary for you to use abundant caution that you give no encouragement to silly women to come to you on such foolish and wicked errands; and particularly I am obliged to desire that no such encouragement may be given to those persons who are the flock, and must be the care of your most humble servant—WILLIAM BORLASE.'

It is curious to note that the affairs of the Church of England were affording her ministers at this time quite as much perplexity as they seem to do now-a-days; and that the special subject of anxiety exactly one hundred years ago was precisely the same as at present. Might not the following extract from a letter dated 1772, have appeared in a certain Church newspaper in 1872? 'The rage against the Church,' says Borlase, 'is I fear increasing; and I shall not wonder to see a bill next year brought in to cut off the *Athanasian Creed*; and the year after to strip the Liturgy of the Trinity; and the third to sweep away the whole service,' a sentence from which it would appear that the

Athanasian Creed was in those days at least considered by most moderate churchmen as the touch-stone and the key-note of the Christian faith, and that to remove it from the Prayer Book would be paramount to striking a death-blow to the Church itself.

The next extract, which will be our last, relates to the extravagance of the lower classes in Cornwall in 1771. Like the last, it affords some interesting points for comparison with the present day:—

'We hear,' it begins, 'every day of murmurs of the common people; of want of employ; of short wages; of dear provisions: there may be some reason for this; our taxes are heavy upon the *necessaries* of life; but the chief cause is the extravagance of the vulgar in the *unnecessaries* of life. In one tin-work near me, where most of the tinnors of my parish have been employed for years, there were lately computed to have been at one time three score *snuff-boxes* [the italics are ours]; there may be in my parish about 50 girls above 15 years old, and I dare say 49 of them have *scarlet-cloaks*; there is scarce a family in the parish, I mean of common labourers, but have *tea*, once if not twice a day, and in the parish alms-house there are several families, but not one without their *tea-kettle*, and brandy when they can purchase it: Your journey-men at London, and elsewhere, have their clubbs, and newspapers, and sometimes worse amusements, if worse can be than some of *them*: in short, all labourers live above their condition.'

As old age crept on, Borlase devoted himself to painting, and to sewing together and binding those letters from which we have gathered these few extracts. His habits of industry never deserted him to the last. Every morning he rose at five, and every evening retired to rest at nine, continuing these regular healthy hours until a few days before his death, which occurred at Ludgvan on the 31st of August, 1772. The leading feature of his character was contentment, as far removed from stoic indifference on the one hand, as it was from listless indolence on the other,—a temperament, indeed, which carried him pleasantly through all the duties of life, and calmly through its cares. From an age like our own, when intellectual life has so often to be maintained amidst the jostling elements of progress which knows no rest, it is pleasant to look back to that quiet spot by the Cornish sea, where, far removed as he was from the busy hum of men, the subject of our memoir was still happily engaged in working out for himself, line by line and page by page, that mighty book of nature in which his philosophy taught him to recognise the First Cause, and his religion the Creator of the whole.

\* He had been presented with the honorary D.C.L. at Oxford in 1766.

- ART. IV.—1. *Report from the Select Committee on Habitual Drunkards, together with the Proceedings of the Committee and Minutes of Evidence.* 1872.
2. *Report by the Committee on Intemperance for the Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury.* 1869.
3. *Self-imposed Taxation.* By Samuel Smiles. Year Book of General Information. 1870.
4. *Wine: its Use and Taxation.* By Sir Emerson Tennent. 1855.
5. *The Temperance Year Book for 1875.*
6. *The Licensing Laws of Sweden; and some Account of the great Reduction of Drunkenness in Gothenburg.* By David Carnegie, Esq., of Stronvar, Lochearnhead. 1873.
7. *Suggestions for a Permissive Clause.* By James Garth Marshall. 1872.
8. *The Necessity of some legalised Arrangements for the Treatment of Dipsomania, or the Drinking Insanity.* By Alexander Peddie, M.D. 1858.
9. *Uncontrollable Drunkenness considered as a form of Mental Disorder.* By Forbes Winslow, M.D. 1866.

THE old proverb says, 'To make a Devil you must take an Angel.' If, therefore, the relative superiority of the English race be estimated by the depths to which it can fall, the national pride may possibly find some compensation for a state of things not otherwise flattering to its self-respect, creditable to its common sense, or promising for its continued prosperity. A full exchequer, and a drunken population, are concomitants which will hardly be found to answer in the end; and while we encourage one chief source of our revenue, the golden eggs may prove to have cost us more than they are worth. In the power of drinking his pocket empty, his health away, and his mind imbecile, the British subject now carries off the palm before his foreign brethren, and there is reason to believe that he has long been foremost in that race. Our climate and our cooking have furnished the excuse, and our convivialities the tradition, for deep and strong potations. Our countryman is also the freest entertainer in the world, whether on the largest or the lowest scale; whether from the contents of the rich man's own cellar, or in the form of 'one more pot of beer' pressed by one silly and thriftless labourer on another. Shakespeare's touches of character as regards his own countrymen have in no respect survived with more truth than in those where he alludes to their pre-eminence in the consump-

tion of strong beverages. 'The Song and the Clink,' it is true, have not shared in the immortality of 'The canakin.' There is little of good-fellowship or of hilarity in the revels of our present sots; still, the ancient boast is as well-deserved as ever, that 'in potency of potting, your Dane, your German, and your swag-bellied Hollander are nothing to the English.' But if as well deserved, no longer, it must be added, is it so well excused, as in the days when substitutes for the circling glass were not so easily obtained; when coffee was a rare luxury, and tea and teetotalism equally unknown.

The history of Drink, to call it at once by that much-importing monosyllable—which has come to designate those forms only of beverages which possess the prerogative of making drunk—is full of curious facts and lessons. Its statistics furnish a continuous side-stream of history, in which the habits of our English race at different times are reflected with unerring fidelity. All fermented and spirituous, and therefore intoxicating, liquors have been pronounced by writers on Political Economy to come under the category of *luxuries*, as opposed to *necessaries*. The common sense and experience of educated minds bear also witness that only a comparatively small number—the feeble and the sick—actually require stimulating drinks; that the majority of our countrymen and women are not the worse, and may be the better, for their moderate use; while some go further, and aver that most people would be better still—that is, healthier and longer-lived—if they never took any at all. Under these circumstances the true character of stimulants, as superfluities, is sufficiently affirmed; and as such, have they been dealt with as fit objects for taxation. That taxation has a twofold purpose, namely, to provide a legitimate source of public income, and a necessary control for the sake of public morals. As a principle, therefore, to be kept in view, we repeat that all fermented beverages, whether for rich or poor, are luxuries; and the happy mean at which legislation is bound to aim is that precise adjustment of the impost, and that careful limit of the temptation, where the profit to the revenue by the drink shall stop short of the demoralisation of the drinker. Beyond this no legislation is accountable. Every man in this country possesses personally a restraining limit over his right of self-indulgence, more precise than any law can make it, namely, the extent of his means. If a man of probity and sense be so circumstanced that he cannot afford strong beve-

rages at his table, he requires no interference of the State to interdict them; and, on the other hand, if a man be so unprincipled as to indulge, and even inordinately, in that which he cannot pay for, no legislation can prevent his defrauding his family of necessities, his creditors of their money, and his employers of his work; and especially if an immense organisation of private charity and legal relief give him the power to do so with comparative impunity. Where Right and Wrong are, as in the matter of 'Drink,' things not of absolute definition, but of degree, each individual has virtually the control over his own pocket and his own corkscrew. It is only when lawgivers deliberately tempt infirm human nature to excesses, that they become responsible for the results.

The 'Drink' of our country is divided into two main streams—that which is supplied by the higher and middle classes, and that which is kept flowing, at ever-increasing depth, by the wage-earning portion of the nation. As regards the stream of Wine, the beverage of the upper classes, it has been so curiously affected by outward causes,—by fluctuations of duties, by the wars that interfered with its importation, by the policy which favoured some wine-growing countries at the expense of others, by the smuggling on an enormous scale which defrauded the revenue—that the thermometer of its consumption is difficult to read. Under a 3*s.* duty per gallon on Peninsular wines, and a 4*s.* 6*d.* on French, from 1787 to 1794, the revenue from wine declined from its previous amount—averaging something under a million pounds. From 1794 to 1810, during which period the duties were gradually nearly trebled, the revenue rose in the same increasing ratio, till, in 1810, it realised 2½ millions, the largest sum derived from wine the Exchequer of this country has ever known. But the demand for a luxury which thus bore the pressure of a duty of 8*s.* 3*d.* per gallon on Peninsular wines, and of 12*s.* 5½*d.* on French vintages, and rose to its highest point under that pressure, resisted a further burden. With the small increase to 9*s.* 1½*d.* on the Peninsular produce, and 13*s.* 8½*d.* on French, the demand slackened, and the revenue fell off. The luxury had become too dear. Under these circumstances it can only be regarded as a prohibitory and vindictive act, rather than a legislative experiment, which raised the tax on French wines in 1813—the year after Moscow—to 19*s.* 8½*d.*; a larger sum than three times the amount of very fair French wine now costs; though how the revenue dwindled under that im-

position no one can now tell. For the records of that year—and the high duty lasted no longer—are destroyed. From 1810 to 1825, a period of rapidly-increasing wealth and population, with duties returned respectively to 9*s.* 1½*d.* and 13*s.* 8½*d.*, the demand continued its relative decline by remaining stationary, the revenue averaging just above two millions.

This may be said to complete one period of wine-history in this country. Another dates from 1825, when the duties on Peninsular wines were lowered to 4*s.* 6*d.*, and those of France to 7*s.* 2*d.* Here the tendency to moderation in drinking which had set in more than overbalanced the cheapened supply, and the revenue for five years stood at about 1½ million. In 1831 the invidious distinction between the wines of France and those of the rest of Europe, which had existed from the time of William III., was abolished, and an equal duty of 5*s.* 6*d.* imposed on all alike. But again the same result in principle showed itself. The increase in the consumption hardly balanced the small decrease in the tax, and, despite still more rapidly augmenting wealth and population, the revenue from wine, up to 1854, remained stationary at an average of something under two millions.

Or the sum may be worked in another way; for the same facts have been illustrated by calculations based on averages of years and of population. It is computed, for instance, that, from 1785 to 1794, with a population of 12½ millions, the annual consumption of wine in this country amounted to three bottles per head. During the time of the war, from 1794 up to 1815, with a population averaging 16½ millions, the consumption registered between two and three bottles per head. For the ten years after the peace, from 1815 to 1825, it sank to two bottles; from 1825 to 1851, during which years the population rose to above 27 millions—beyond which the calculations do not extend—it averaged little more than one bottle per head.

A statistical panorama is thus unrolled before us, commencing in dark colours, gradually becoming less gloomy, and terminating in refreshing light. We begin by that somewhat disgraceful period of our national history when the upper classes not only indulged in habits of hard drinking, now scarcely credible, but established them as a measure of manliness to which the men of weaker constitution, or higher principle, were compelled to conform as to any other usage of society: when, in short, the three bottles per annum per head for the whole population—man, woman and child—meant

really the three bottles *per diem* among a certain hard-riding, swearing, and drinking class.

We thus perceive that with heavier duties on every article of consumption, as well as on wine, these excesses declined. That, far from returning with the return of peace, these habits gave way more and more; and, finally, that despite the double influence of diminished price and increased wealth, the use of wine, reckoned individually, decreased, within seventy years, fully two-thirds. In this irrefragable proof of a voluntary moderation in the consumption of a tempting and cheapened luxury, we trace the record of that beneficent change in social habits, better home education, and general spread of domestic happiness and manly self-control, which is a truer gauge of a country's prosperity than any fiscal returns.

At the same time we shall be reminded that at the worst period of our squire and gentry convivialities, there was not that abnormal excess which now obtains among our lower classes. Their wines were of an excellent quality, and of far lower alcoholic strength—falling in that respect very much below the strong beers of this day.\* The hard port-wine drinkers entailed weaker powers on their children, but not the forms of disease now engendered.

But we must follow the course of wine a little farther. From 1862 ensued that great change in the duties which has undergone no further alteration. All foreign wines, except those of France, are taxed 2s. 6d. per gallon; while French wines, no longer inimically distinguished by higher burdens, are welcomed by a treaty of peace and good-will to the humblest tables at the small impost of 1s. per gallon. This measure was brought forward and carried with the ostensible purpose, not only of placing a cheap light wine within the reach of classes who never before tasted foreign wine of any description, but also to help to draw away even the labouring man from the inordinate use of beer and ardent spirits which had obtained. In 1860 Mr. Gladstone had publicly said, 'Wine is now the rich man's luxury—so was tea a hundred years ago. Let us bring the one, as the other has already been brought, within the scope of the poor.' This accordingly has been done; with such results as we shall presently show.

Meanwhile such a change in the duty immediately told in the figures of consumption. From 1830 to 1854, through all variations of price and increase of population, the demand had been stationary at about 6½

million gallons. In 1863 it bounded up at once to 10½ million gallons, and by 1873 it had risen to just 18 million. There is no need to dwell on the effect of this increased consumption upon the habits and manners of the educated classes. Nor will the increase of about one-tenth of the population go far to qualify the fact of a trebled consumption. The fact itself requires no qualification. For the greater fact of the non-deterioration in health and morals of those whom the change affects, is patent to all. Our educated ranks may consume about three times more wine than they did—and it would be easy to prove that the lighter wines play the larger part—but society, far from being arrested in its upward course of self-control, has most indubitably continued it. The present generation—their wives, their daughters—have little knowledge of drunken brawls; the universities show fewer of the follies of inebriety; gentlemen do not stay late at table or return to the society of ladies in an unbecoming condition; no new drinking-songs have been added to the large repertory bequeathed by former generations; while the tales of intoxication told by our police-courts have little reference to the upper and middle classes. We may, therefore, dismiss the subject of wine as far as it affects the general morals and home habits of the upper strata of the English nation, reserving a vein of secret excess of the saddest character for later mention. It is evident that the increased facility of a cheapened commodity is not more than the good sense of the country can bear, that it has not assumed the form of a general temptation, and, that we have nothing to fear on that score. At the same time, the principle we started with, namely, that wine is a luxury, holds its ground through all varying circumstances, but a luxury now equalized in its use; numbers now drinking it in moderation who never drank before; and many drinking little where their fathers had drunk too much.

We now turn to the history of the poor as connected with our subject; though that word 'poor' is strangely contradicted by the wealth of which they give evidence in one form of expenditure. The history of 'Drink' here tends unhappily in an opposite direction to that we have been considering. The Englishman, as we have hinted, has always been a beer-drinking animal, and small blame to him; it is the product of his native land; the easy manufacture of his own humble home; and, in manly moderation, the best quencher of thirst and repairer of exhaustion. But as we pen these definitions we are conscious of a certain irony lurking in them.

\* See 'Edinburgh Review,' No. 289, p. 150.

As things now stand with our working-man, exhaustion from honest labour by no means accounts for all his thirst. Home is a word which too often loses its real meaning when connected with himself; and manly moderation is a virtue of which he has not the remotest conception. Equally as it is a fiction to call that man poor who leads a life of habitual indulgence in an expensive luxury, so is it a mockery to credit him with any of the attributes of lowly station, simple habits, or narrow means. The characteristics of the upper and lower classes are indeed fast being reversed now-a-days. 'Drunk as a lord,' was the intelligible, however disgraceful, saying of the olden time; now it is 'drunk as a beggar,' and no one will dispute the justice of the appellation. There must be reasons of great cogency for this topsy-turvy rottenness in our State. In a certain degree the parallel, in the article of 'drink,' between the two classes, as far as they have been influenced by legislative measures, holds good; for the increased facilities for indulgence have been common to both. How comes it, then, that the effects have been so opposite? Many of the middle and even highest classes work as hard as the lowest; the work of the brain instead of that of the hands; the expenditure of force in phosphorus instead of in carbon; each force equally needing to be repaired, and each man having the same temptation to exceed his need; while the counterbalancing check of limited means must be abstractedly supposed to act more availingly on the part of the artisan or labourer than on any class above him. But here we are overlooking two important differences in the comparison. The temptation, though common up to a certain point to both, is, for patent reasons, infinitely stronger on the part of the poor man; while his powers of resistance, owing to causes which have undermined his self-dependence and self-respect, have become immeasurably weaker. In short, there is enough to account for diversities of effect, even from causes partially similar; both in the mal-governments of the poor on the part of the Legislature in the special matter of 'drink,' and in that gradual course of miseducation which has been the result of a gigantic system of false charity. We will look first at the mal-governments of the poor as regards the special subject of 'drink.'

In no respect have such fatal mistakes been committed in those aims to study the comfort and ease of the lower orders, which are the constant thought and occupation of the governing classes, as in such as affect the great virtue of Sobriety. In the main body of our people this is no longer considered a

virtue, either in profession or practice. While those they call 'The Rich' have so far abjured excess in spirituous liquors that a drunken man of that class is a sight most of our children, thank God, have never seen; those we call 'The Poor' have gone so much in the opposite direction that no humble home is safe from the degrading spectacle. The vice of drunkenness—rightly defined by the ancient Swedes as 'the disgrace of man and the mother of misery'—has spread over the length and breadth of our land, pervading country as well as town, agricultural as well as commercial districts, army as well as navy; sparing the young as little as the old, the woman scarcely less than the man; the destroyer of all health and virtue, the breeder of all sickness and sin; filling every haunt of vice, every prison for crime, every hospital for sickness and accident, every asylum for madness. No foul epidemic ever raged more, periodically, than this permanently; no malignant plant ever seeded and propagated itself with more fatal rapidity and abundance. The very Acts of our Legislature, directed ostensibly to stem the evil, have only swollen it. In the first quarter of this century the temptation to the excessive drinking of ardent spirits afforded by the public-houses, called for legislative interference, and in 1830 that Beer-house Bill which appointed a secondary class of drink-places, and which, by a strange obliquity of reasoning, required the beer to be drunk in the Beer-shop, was passed. This Act simply added fuel to fire, and may be justly credited with the boundless increase of that it was intended to modify. The Act itself, with its accompanying condition, was short-sighted and injudicious enough, while the working of it by placing the power of granting licenses for small prices in the hands of the Excise, left the country at the mercy of the department most interested in multiplying the number of these shops, whilst ignoring the character of those who applied for them. It would be useless to cite averages and computations of what is now drunk and spent in drink in this country. Billions of gallons and millions of pounds fail, from their very enormity, to convey definite ideas. The true statistics are those of *Crime*—the records of the Calendar, rather than those of the Exchequer or the Excise. The common police courts of London for one week suffice to prove what the last forty years and upwards have brought upon our country. The very reformation of the higher classes has helped to blind them to the magnitude of the evil. We live, as respects the vice of drunkenness, in an age of the direst iniquity; of the op-

pression of the weak by the strong, of the demoralization of the innocent by the vile; but we live, with few exceptions, in a charmed circle. Occasionally the intelligence that the cook is lying curiously asleep upon the kitchen floor,—guests perhaps expected to dinner,—startles our serenity by interrupting our comfort; or the report of a fearful outrage, in which murderer and murdered, and all who looked, or hounded on, were alike drunk, raises a passing horror; or we are distressed by the pressing demands of a poverty, which the more it is relieved the more it seems to grow; but otherwise we know as little of those teeming millions to whom such excesses are familiar as of the inhabitants of the planet Saturn.

It was in 1869 that the Lower House of Church Convocation instituted an inquiry, better late than never, on the subject of our national Intemperance. The Report which ensued, and which deals successively with the extent, causes, results, and remedies of the evil is an appalling revelation, loudly calling for the widest dissemination. In the multitude and repetition of the same hideous forms of misery, we are reminded of nothing so much as of scenes in the 'Inferno,' only that the reality of the picture far outdoes that which the poet has conjured up. The inquiry is directed to the clergy throughout the province of Canterbury, including a population of above fourteen million souls; to the recorders, governors, and chaplains of prisons, chief constables and superintendents of police, superintendents of lunatic asylums, to the coroners, and to the governors of workhouses throughout England and Wales. Also to several of our most eminent judges, to many magistrates, and to such landed proprietors as are known to take a humane interest in the question. The Report, therefore, expresses in the fullest measure the experience and intelligence of the country. The inquiry itself is framed so as to elicit answers as to the age, causes, and proportion, within the special knowledge of those addressed, of the various cases affected by drink. Of these answers, 2322 in number, we quote a few samples from each department.

According to all testimony the taste for drinking is of precocious attainment. The evil begins with mere childhood. 'From eight to ten' is the burden of more than one answer. 'Lads of nine and ten begin to frequent public-houses with their parents.' 'When the boy first begins to go out to work in the hayfield or stables.' 'As soon as they earn wages.' 'Or when they first make use of their earnings to join a benefit club.' For by a lamentable connection between supply

and demand there is unanimous testimony that 'intemperance begins when the lad joins the sick benefit club.' Boys are seen intoxicated at twelve years of age; from that time they regularly frequent public-houses, where they are enticed to drink and smoke.' 'I have seen,' a clergyman writes, 'in a public-house on Sunday a room lined all round with boys of from twelve to sixteen, drinking.'

We speak first of the young, for there is no need to ask how late the habit will continue. The child is here inevitably 'father of the man.' Thus it is that the seed is sown, and we next see how the plant flourishes. We take the testimony of the late Chief Justice, Sir William Bovill, to whose upright character no testimony of ours can add.

'Amongst a large class of our population, intemperance in early life is the direct and immediate cause of every kind of immorality, profligacy, and vice, and soon leads to the commission of crime—including murder, manslaughter, robbery, and violent assaults. In many cases these crimes are committed by parties under the direct influence of drink. In others, the fact of a man being intoxicated induces persons to take advantage of his helpless state, and they afterwards escape punishment, from the inability of the victim to identify, or to know, or remember, or give evidence of what has occurred.'

Another Judge, Sir H. S. Keating, writes in the same strain:—

'In my own experience, of more than nine years upon the Bench, corroborated by a very long experience at the Bar, I have no hesitation in saying that a very large proportion of the crimes of violence brought before us are traceable, directly and indirectly, to intemperance. Some of the saddest cases with which we have to deal are those in which men go into public-houses respectable and respected, and come out felons.'

We turn to Mr. Selfe, Police Magistrate of Westminster:—

'If the Police-sheets submitted to a London magistrate every morning contain, say twenty charges, the chances are that fifteen out of the twenty involve drunkenness in the prisoner: e.g., A. B., drunk and incapable; C. D., drunk and disorderly; E. F., drunk and riotous; G. H., drunk, and using obscene language; I. J., wilful damage, drunk when charged; K. L., violent assault, drunk when charged; and so on, through all the letters of the alphabet.'

Again from a police magistrate at Liverpool:—'Drunkenness is the cause of nine-tenths of the crime in this country.'

Let us take next the answers of chaplains and governors of prisons:—

‘From an experience of eighteen years as chaplain, I am convinced that at least 75 per cent. of those who are committed, whether for great or small offences, owe it in some shape to intemperance.’

‘8880 prisoners have passed through my hands, and quite 99 per cent. have acknowledged drink as the cause of their getting into trouble.’

‘I give an account of 1000 prisoners, to whom I have spoken personally. Of 296 females, 165 confess they are drunkards; but many more may be, for they have strange ideas as to what constitutes drunkenness. Of 704 males, 480 confess they are drunkards; and the same remark applies to the men I have made on the women. 54 of the women have drunken husbands. Many boys in prison, aged 13 and 14, are drunkards; and girls of 15 and 16 are drunkards. 44 of the younger criminals have drunken fathers, and 16, drunken mothers.’

Chief constables and superintendents of police follow next:—

‘About 75 per cent. It brings the victims of their families to poverty and want, and then crime follows.’

‘Intemperance is the hot-bed of all crime.’

‘Nearly the sole cause of crime.’

‘Habitual drinkers, who have not the means to maintain themselves in a respectable position, invariably become criminals.’

‘Intemperance is in proportion to the indiscriminate sale of drink.’

‘By inducing persons to spend their earnings in intoxicating drinks, instead of providing for themselves and those dependent on them for their bread. In fact, the public-house is a blot and a disgrace to this country.’

‘Public-houses and beer-shops induce parties to steal, &c., applying the proceeds thereof in drink.’

‘Public-houses are points of meeting, where plans are laid for burglaries and poaching expeditions.’

The policeman, especially, speaks eloquently in the following:—

‘The liquor traffic is productive of crime. Drink tends to destroy every kind and sensitive feeling; renders man cruel and savage in domestic and public life; hardens the heart to commit deadly acts of violence on unoffending persons; especially on those whose duty it is to repress wilful and lawless desires.’

‘One or two beer-shops would alone, by the crime they produce, find employment for the policemen.’

We now take a few answers from governors and chaplains of workhouses:—

‘Eighty out of every hundred are admitted into this workhouse from drunkenness, and losing their work.’

‘I have been engaged in the administration

of the new poor-law for twenty years. I could almost say that every pauper inmate of a workhouse is made so, directly or indirectly, through intemperance. I am not a teetotaler.’

‘Nearly all, immediately or remotely, by drink. Immediately, through insanity, crime, and inability to work. Remotely, through transmission to offspring of epilepsy, idiocy, semi-idiocy, scrofula, and other incident diseases.’

‘After the experience of twenty-one years as governor of this workhouse, I am prepared to say that I have never seen a husband and wife and their children becoming inmates but I have traced the cause of their poverty to the intemperance either of husband or wife—in most cases to the husband’s.’

‘Two-thirds. Drink is the most prominent curse of the land. Residence in a workhouse for three months would soon convince anyone of that.’

‘I have twenty-nine men in this house, independent of lunatics, and all, with the exception of three, are thorough drunkards. One, with whom I conversed, declared his belief that, if the question could be asked of the fiends below, “What brought you here?” the answer would be “Drink.” Of women I have twenty-five. Three of these I may call idiotic (one old woman of good character). The rest, drunkards and abandoned. Three-fourths of the children, illegitimate, orphans, or deserted, are left to the care of the Union through the drunken and dissolute habits of their parents.’

‘I have now seen twenty-eight years of public service; first as a police-officer, then as a warden in a prison, and for the last seventeen years here. I am positive that strong drink is the very curse of our land, the root of all sin and evil. In my humble opinion, so long as this curse is allowed to continue we shall have our prisons and workhouses well stocked.’

As regards the army, a few statistics quoted from a Report of some years back by Lieut.-Col. Henderson, R.E., Inspector-General of the Military Prisons, will suffice:—

‘During four years the committals for drunkenness have steadily increased as follows:—In 1863, 882 committals; in 1864, 1132; in 1865, 1801; in 1866, 1926.’

And these cases were not those of simple drunkenness which are disposed of in police-courts for a fine of 5s., but for habitual drunkenness, which is defined in the military code as having been drunk for the fourth time in 365 days.

‘Our military prisons would be nearly empty if intoxication could be kept in check.’

The inquiry, strange to say, has not included doctors; from the supposed propensity of the medical profession to prescribe stimulants—a practice now, on conviction, declining—they have been looked upon as belonging to the enemy’s camp. But had the inquiry extended to them, they would

have rung the changes on the same few sad notes. Hospital doctors bear witness that 75 to 80 per cent. of their patients, whether medical or surgical cases, find their way into gratuitous beds, much too good for them, from the effects of excess in drink.

We have allowed those to speak first whose callings lead them to administer the human penalties in various forms entailed by the vice. Let us now quote those whose duty and privilege it is not to enforce the penalty, but to hold out the means of cure. The effects of our national intemperance on the work of the Church is the saddest chapter in this Report:—

‘The Gospel fails to meet the case.’

‘Those who drink most, worship least.’

‘No drunkard attends the ordinances of religion.’

‘The utter annihilation of all moral and religious feeling.’

‘As touching religion, this place is demoralised. No one is ashamed of drunkenness; and the violent and painful deaths which not unfrequently occur are no warning. Only a few weeks since, a drunken man was roasted to death upon a lime-kiln bank, and the same day his two brothers consoled themselves by a drunken debauch. I have told them at church that Drink is the God of this parish, and the public-houses his churches.’

‘A fearful drawback on morals and religion; it ruins my senior scholars.’

‘The spread of intemperance here is entirely owing to the setting up of first one and afterwards a rival beer-house. I do not see how any thoughtful person, who cares for the well-being of the poor, can feel otherwise than that the State, by its encouragement of the multiplication of beer-shops, commits a great national sin, which must one day be punished by a national retribution.’

The late Rev. Hugh Stowell, of Manchester, taking into account the money spent in drink on Sundays, said: ‘It is questionable whether, for the majority of the people, it would not be better to have no Sundays at all.’

We now come to some of the ‘remedial measures’ recommended—many a minor cause of evil, exposed in this evidence, being doubtless capable of removal, and earnestly demanding it. Such are:—1. The system on the part of owners of collieries, iron-mines, and large manufactories of paying their ‘hands’ at public-houses. 2. The farmers’ pernicious habit of paying their labourers partly in beer or cider. 3. The meetings held by Benefit or Friendly clubs in public-houses or beer-shops. 4. The custom of hiring farm-servants, men and women, at fairs and statutes, where the agreements are made at public-houses, which always take toll from the assembled crowds,

and in the case of the young, especially the young girls, give them their first initiation in evil courses. 5. The influence of the public-houses in the recruiting of the army. 6. The billeting the militia in their periods of exercise upon the beer-shops. 7. The frequent corruption of the police themselves by the publicans; and, not least, 8. *The sluts of wives.*

All these causes of evil, except perhaps the last, are capable, even under present circumstances, of modification. But to use a homely proverb, quite in character here, ‘It is little good to keep guard over the spigot while you let fly at the bung.’ And this is evidently the opinion of all to whom these questions are addressed. For there is but one unanimous voice as to the root of the evil; namely the facilities, in other words, the temptations, which from the number of places open for drink beset the lower orders on every side. From clergy, constables, governors of workhouses, prisons, lunatic asylums, all who are intimately conversant with the lives of the Poor, comes the same cry, and almost literally in the same words:—

‘Close every beer-house.’ ‘Abolish all beer-houses.’ ‘The total suppression of beer-shops.’ ‘The abolition of the Beer Bill.’ ‘The beer-shops, as at present conducted, are a social pest.’ ‘The beer-houses are an unmitigated nuisance.’ ‘Beer-shops are the curse of the country; wholly unnecessary; under but little control.’ ‘The resort of the worst classes.’

‘I think the beer-houses should be closed altogether. The landlord is often a man without character. Where this is the case, his house is the school of the thief, and himself the schoolmaster. I have noticed this for the last twenty-five years.’

This from a superintendent of police:—

‘Shut up the beer-shops altogether, and the public-houses, if possible, on a Sunday.’

‘The spread of intemperance increases with the number of places for drink, which points to the necessity of very severe examination as to the wants of a neighbourhood before a public-house or drinking-shop is licensed.’

Let us now hear Chief Justice Bovill again:—

‘Throughout the country one principal cause of the mischief is the present system of beer-shops; which, instead of being a benefit, are the greatest curse to the working-men; and until the beer-shops and all taverns and public-houses are placed under some sufficient restraint and regulation, there is little hope of effecting any reform in the habits of the people.’

From the police magistrate at Hull:—

'Believing, as I do, that intemperance is the main and too greatly-increasing source of criminality, I am bound to say that beer-houses appear to be so many modes of lending assistance by the State to the propagation of evil.'

And, again, Mr. Selfe :—

'I cannot imagine beer-shops can be necessary where there are already too many public-houses ; and I conceive that the total suppression of beer-shops throughout the country would be an unmitigated good.'

Nor have the grand juries been silent. They have done, and are perpetually doing, their duty, by framing presentments to be forwarded to proper quarters by the Judge. From Stafford, Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham, these warnings have again and again reached the Home Office, expressive of the strongest conviction both that the number of the drink-places, and the characters of those by whom they are kept, are the great exciting causes of the awful crimes that fill the calendars.

Let us now look at this question dispassionately, if dispassionateness be, indeed, possible or advisable after such testimony. There can be no doubt of the excellence of the recommendation made by the 'Canterbury Diocesan Society,' namely, 'the formation of a sound public opinion as to the enormous evils of Intemperance, and the necessity of at once raising a practical and united protest against Drunkenness.' But there are two distinct communities in which this sound public opinion has to be formed, and a united protest raised—the one the lower orders, and the other the governing classes. If a sound public opinion, adverse to intemperance, once prevailed among the people, nothing further would be needed. For whatever the opportunities for drink the Legislature might institute, they would be powerless to keep up the drunkenness. But as things now stand, there is little chance or probability of the working-classes turning voluntarily against the sin that does most easily beset them. Unlike the ancient Lacedæmonians, our people take no lesson from the sight of a drunken man. Familiarity has bred, even with the sober working-man and woman, not so much contempt for the degradation they witness, as indifference. Even to the gentle and decent woman of his own class the drunkard is not such an object of disgust as those above them might expect. The 'drop too much' is the palliating designation for loathsome intoxication. Or the offence is condoned by the stock phrase, 'He is a very good man when not in drink ;' which only means that he is a

very good man when not a very bad one ; and the beast gets a patient wife to beat, kick, starve, or to pull down to his own level, as readily as another man obtains one to love and cherish.

It is true that the cure for this hydra-headed evil must proceed ultimately from the reformation of the poor themselves ; but meanwhile it is as unfair as useless to expect that reformation under circumstances the most unfavourable to it. A man may have power to stand firm, but not to stand firm against a force that is perpetually pulling him down. It is said, in conventional terms, that 'the spread of Education' is the only remedy. Nor will anyone dispute that the spread of *true* education, viz., the development of sound principles in a well-regulated home, under the example of virtuous parents, would effect all we could wish ; but while the evil is increasing, these virtuous parents and well-regulated homes are further and further to find ! It is not the spread of mere *schooling*, at best but a scanty instruction, which can avail, and which is all that is really meant by the cant word 'Education.' There is plenty of testimony from the source we have been quoting of the delusiveness of such plans or hopes. 'Some of the best educated are the most intemperate.' 'Moral education, mental alone will not do ; the cleverest artisan is often the greatest drunkard.' 'Our national schools, night schools, Sunday schools, have all failed hitherto.' 'Mere teaching is an empirical remedy for drunkenness.'

Let us not then delude ourselves with hopes of a sound public opinion, even supposing every man, woman, and child were competent to read, write, and cipher. 'Do men gather grapes of thorns ?' If the drunkenness of the day be not sufficient to raise a public opinion against itself, neither the School Board nor the Church will ever do it. Does not every inebriated wretch that exhibits himself, sometimes maudlin, sometimes riotous, a coward in the street, a braggart in the tap-room, a beater of helpless women, and a starver of little children ; does he not tell his neighbour, in words clearer than any pen can trace them, that if he go and do likewise he will become, like himself, a creature not to be trusted for a word he says, or a thing he does ; whom, so long as he can get at drink, nothing can touch, and no one can save ; who is a slave to a Demon whom he worships instead of his God, serves instead of his master, loves instead of his wife and children ; and who, in return, gives him nights of misery and days of despair, and leaves him at last to die in an hospital, a mad-house, in a ditch, or on a

gibbet! And does he not tell him all this in vain?

The formation of a sound public opinion must proceed, then, first and efficiently from above. That there is no lack of it in the form of protest is plain from what we have quoted. There are plenty of the excellent of the earth, intimately acquainted with the sins and sorrows peculiar to their poorer brethren, who labour in their behalf. The hard-working clergy set forth the virtue of sobriety both by precept and example. Good men and women wear themselves out in devices for promoting it, Temperance meetings are convened; Bands of Hope formed; the People's Café Company established; movable tea and coffee Stalls set on foot; the Pledge is given, Teetotalism advocated. What Miss Marsh did among the navvies of England, one good woman, Miss Robinson, is doing among the soldiers; and another, Miss Weston, among the sailors. Mr. Charles Reid, at Blackgang, in the Isle of Wight, is indefatigable in calling the sinner to sobriety. Dr. Bernardo has turned what was once a den of iniquity—the 'Edinburgh Castle,' Old Kent Road—into a place for good food and good words. All these labourers in the field will have their reward. But though they throw a plank to a few perishing ones, they cannot stem the torrent that engulfs its millions. What, then, is the mystery of all this powerlessness? Everybody's interest to arrest, or, at any rate, diminish the horrible infection, and no one able to do it! If the facilities for excess are confessedly so superabundant as to entice a poor, fallible child of man beyond his powers of resistance, why are they not curtailed? Here we touch the root of the matter, and know well the outcry which the mere suggestion will raise. Is the poor man not to drink as much as he likes as well as the rich one? Why should he not buy beer or spirits as freely as bread and meat? Is the liberty of the subject to be invaded? The answers are not difficult. If the rich man be free to drink as much as he likes, which it would be difficult to concede, the same questionable right may, for the argument's sake, be granted to the poor man; but only if he can afford it; for he certainly has no right to drink as much as he likes at the expense of others. But, we ask in return, why not place them both on the same level? Why tempt the one more than the other? The superior classes, with all their larger means, suffer no equivalent temptation compared with that which besets the lower orders. Even if a poor gentleman, with wife and family, were disposed to spend a quarter of his income in one selfish

form of indulgence, there are no places handy for him at every step unless he descend to the haunts of the poor. By what logic is it then assumed that a man who earns his 30s. a-week has more control over his sensual appetite than he who commands as many pounds? If he have more control, such multiplied invitations to intemperance are not needed; if he have less, they are doubly *de trop*. In the one case the provision made for him is ridiculously redundant; in the other, diabolically seductive. No one can really pretend to believe that so many dens of temptation are open for the wants of the labouring man, or that he resorts to them in the exercise of the same need and liberty as to other shops in his neighbourhood. On the contrary, if one fact be more patent than another, it is that the abuse of these places increases in proportion with their number. In the centre of Glasgow there are six public-houses to every thirty yards, and Glasgow is one of the most drunken places in the world. Who can forget the piteous tale of the poor woman, who, knowing her husband's infirmity, was wont to go and meet him of a Saturday afternoon after the payment of his wages. She could get him, she said, past seven places of drink, but not past fifteen! How many a heartbroken wife has mutely asked why the poor and ignorant should be exposed to trials from which the rich and educated are shielded? *They*, she may well plead, are not seen sitting in one gas-flaming den, with three others, equally brilliant, in sight. *Their* wives and children do not stand cold and hungry, watching that too-easily swinging door! or, worse still, ending by being tempted through it! She knows the fault of it comes in some way from the Government; and if the poor soul be of a reasoning turn, she will hardly join with much fervour at church in the prayer for the High Court of Parliament! It is certain that no good legislation can make all men sober, but equally is it certain that bad legislation can help to make them intemperate. Meanwhile the question why the poor should not be allowed to drink as freely as the rich, can only be justly answered when the two are put upon a level, whether in the way of protection or temptation. For many years past, unhappily, the poor have been encouraged to drink much the more lavishly of the two.

As to the great question, why he should not buy beer and spirits as freely as meat and bread! you must again have things equal in condition before you can compare them. Not even a moderate use of stimulants, which are luxuries, can be strictly

compared with meat or bread—which, bread especially, are necessities. The hard labour of the jail is no play-work, the diet of the jail includes no stimulants, and yet men, and notably drunkards, recover health and gain flesh by a few months' compulsory practice of such a regimen. The comparison, viewed in any way, is all against such argument. The poor, starved wife of the drunkard spoke as truly as feelingly when she said, 'Men can *drink* water, but we cannot *eat* stones.'

It is needless to say that we are not writing against the moderate use of anything. It is the excess of the one which must be compared with a parallel excess of the other; and even in that case the argument fails. For, grant that a man, as an extreme instance, might injure, or even kill, himself by inordinate gluttony, or some foolish bet; by cramming down ten household loaves, or fifty meat pies, at a sitting; that does not ruin his family, or murder his wife, or transmit idiocy, epilepsy, insanity, or crime to his children. A glutton may eat himself ill, but he does not eat himself mad! Overgorging may make a man gross and indolent, and engender diseases, but it does not convert him into a raging demon, seeking whom he may stab, beat, or kick to death. In short, it would be difficult to find any logical connection between the use of meat and bread and that of strong drink, except that the last usually takes away the first.

As to the actual working of complete parity between drink and bread the experiment has been tried. Liverpool has distinguished itself as a voluntary example or warning. The excessive crime which has of late given to that city an uneuiviable notoriety is in great measure the offspring of the 'free trade in drink' which for some years was practised in Liverpool. Because free trade had succeeded with corn and cotton, some of the local magistrates propounded the bright idea that the same principle was applicable to one particular kind of slow poison: not to all, for the restrictions on strychnine, opium, &c., were not relaxed. Accordingly in 1861 the trade in drink was thrown open; no limit was placed on the number of licences issued; and the street architecture became still more largely interspersed with that unmistakable form of elevation, with ornamental cornices, swinging door, plate-glass windows, and peculiar gas arrangements, which we know too well:—

and temptations offered for drinking led to an immediate large increase in drunkenness, crime, pauperism, disease, and death. Debauchery ran riot; outrage and violence multiplied; the gaols became filled with drunkards and criminals; and the death-rate ran up to 55 in the 1000. . . . The judges on circuit, at each succeeding assizes, found the Liverpool calendar growing blacker; and one after another expostulated against the drunkenness fostered by the local authorities, which they recognised as the principal cause. Mr. Raffles, the local stipendiary magistrate, stopped the business of his court one morning to call attention to the increased drunkenness; urging the early closing of public houses, and the provision of some place in which confirmed drunkards could be received and treated as lunatics. The coroner of Liverpool also—Mr. Clarke Aspinall—who shared, though unwillingly, in the harvest of death with the publicans, in the fees paid to him for inquests held on deaths caused by crime and drunkenness—deaths by falling down stairs or against kerb-stones, deaths by being run over in the streets while helpless, deaths of infants overlaid by their parents when drunk, deaths by murder and manslaughter committed under the influence of liquor—publicly protested against the prevalence of "This drink—this everlasting drink—this unpunished, unrestricted, desolating drink."\*

The city, accordingly, took alarm; requisitions were signed by tens of thousands, 123 medical men protested, and free trade in drink was abrogated.

The same tale, if we had space, might be told of Hull, where—it being just the place for the utmost caution—a wanton increase in licences doubled in ten years the convictions for crime.

We take next 'the liberty of the subject'; a most sacred plea, it is true, but how comes it to be invoked so earnestly in the person of the drunkard, and not only their liberty, but their maintenance, and their lives utterly ignored in the case of his wretched family? It is difficult to believe that such objections to the restriction on the facilities for drink are sincerely made. No one needs to be told that it is the express purpose of Law to interfere with the liberty of the subject whenever that liberty is misused against another, or even against himself. The law takes penal cognisance of a man if he attempt to murder his neighbour, and equally if he attempt to murder himself. The policeman who guards the bed of one who has taken prussic acid, or tried to cut his own throat, so long as he remains in hospital, is an agent of the law stationed there till the patient be sufficiently convalescent for committal, and watching

\* The effects were such as might have been anticipated. The greatly-increased facilities

\* 'Self-imposed Taxation,' p. 87.

that he should not escape. Surely the same law that interdicts the indiscriminate sale of chemical poisons should be equally applicable to the unlimited purchase of spirits. All these minuter poisons taken in requisite moderation are harmless, and even beneficial; or if they do kill a man it is by a quicker and more innocent process than that of gin. His responsibilities are therefore less formidable; he is not so much tempted to lie, to cheat, to rob, or to murder on the way to his self-dug grave; and he has not so much time to break his wife's heart. And if the liberty of the subject be so precious a thing in the eyes of our legislators, why interfere with it in other personal matters, such as ventilation, drains, school-boards, &c.? Not a few British subjects have a decided objection to send their children to school. Many Irish poor prefer noisome dens to airy apartments. Lodging-houses, with twelve in a room, ten feet by fourteen, with open drains underneath a rotten floor, are doubtless injurious to life, but not nearly to the extent occasioned by habits of intoxication. The one slays its thousands, the other its tens of thousands. It is calculated that upwards of 60,000 die annually in this country from the effects of drink. We shudder at the waste of life entailed by war, but '*Gula plures quam gladius peremit*' and slays them ignominiously by their own fault.

We will not insult the understanding of our readers by discussing the flimsy plea of the poor man's need of an inordinate number of places for drink. There is incontestable proof, not only that he can live healthily and happily without such equivocal privileges, but that he does so live, and that to a considerable extent, in this free country. It may not be generally known that in the diocese of Canterbury alone there are upwards of a thousand parishes guiltless of either public-house or beer-shop. The inhabitants of these benighted regions do not seem to be aware of any privation of rights or debasement of position. Their leading peculiarity consists not so much in the consciousness of being debarred the true liberty of the subject, as in an exemption from want, misery, and crime, which, after the facts we have been considering, sounds almost Arcadian. To begin with the letter B; there are no less than eleven parishes in Bedfordshire, twelve in Berkshire, and thirty-six in Buckinghamshire, which rejoice in this disability; and we have only to turn to the Report we have quoted before for the results. From chief constables and superintendents of police: 'Whenever you find a village without public-house or

beer-house, you find peace and plenty.' 'In the parishes where there is no public-house or beer-shop, I have had no case of drunkenness or crime for the past five years.' From the clergy: 'The people of my parish are remarkably moral and religious, one cause of which is certainly the absence of beer-shops. I have another parish which is exactly the reverse, where there are no less than seven of these accursed shops.' 'Police seldom come into my parish. No work for them, because no public-house or beer-shop.' 'The chief cause for the sobriety here is, I consider, that the men have to walk two miles to get drink.' 'Magistrates never have a case from this parish, nor has there been a pauper in the Union for some time past.' 'Not one public-house or beer-shop here—a sufficient reply to all the rest of the questions.' 'Thank God, no crime, no lunacy, no pauperism, no public-house.' 'No police; none required.' 'For eighteen years I have been rector, my predecessor thirty-eight years; fifty-six in all. Not a single instance of drunkenness has occurred, nor has one of the parishioners been brought before a magistrate.'

It is superfluous to add more to prove, what is our chief aim, that it is the number of places allowed for drink which has brought our population to its present pass, and that it is to this point that public attention must be directed. If we could close all the beer-shops, and limit the number of public-houses, the mischief would be, to a great extent, stayed. Considering the vast capital invested in the traffic it may be fruitless to expect any direct measures for its effectual control. Still, England is the last country to quail before sacrifices, even Utopian in extent, if once convinced of their necessity. No limit, it may safely be asserted, will ever be set to this national evil so long as the administration of the liquor trade is left to those pecuniarily benefited by the sale. Our readers may therefore be interested to know the result of a scheme, founded upon the opposite principle, which has been tried and found successful in the town of Gothenburg. The past history of drink in Sweden appears to have outdone in physical and moral evil all we are now experiencing. The country had to all purposes 'free-trade' in liquor, and that entirely spirits—unlimited distillation of corn and potatoes being considered necessary for the prosperity of agriculture. The inebriety, accordingly, was beyond belief, the criminal calendar hideous, and the physical aspect of the race deteriorating. A general cry, of course not unopposed, arose

from the people, appealing to those in high places to relieve them from the curse which previous legislation had imposed. The Diet of 1853-4 took the subject earnestly in hand, and measures were passed of such wholesale abolition, prohibition, and regulation, as soon effected considerable reforms in the habits of the race. In the town of Gothenburg, however, these measures, partly from local reasons, were not found sufficiently restrictive, and a committee, appointed in 1865, readily traced a concurrent progress between the increasing pauperism and the increasing drink. The laws were evaded, the police set at nought, and nothing remained but to inaugurate a radically new system. This consisted of various measures, all subordinate to one great principle, viz., *that no individual, either as proprietor or manager, under a public-house licence, should derive any gain from the sale of liquor.* To carry out this principle in its integrity the whole liquor-traffic of the town was gradually transferred (no licence being previously rented of the town for a longer lease than three years) to a Company, limited, consisting of the most highly-respected gentlemen of the town, who undertook by their charter to carry on the business in the interests of temperance and morality, and neither to derive any profit from it themselves nor to allow any person acting under them to do so. This company now rent all the houses and licences from the town, pay a moderate interest on the capital invested, and make over the entire profits of the trade to the town treasury. The places for drink—the number of which was immediately curtailed—are of two classes, public-houses and retail-shops, both bound to purchase their wine and spirits from the company, to sell them without any profit, to supply good food and hot meals on the premises, and not to sell Swedish brandy, except at meals. The public-houses are managed by carefully-chosen men, who derive their profits from the sale of malt-liquors—a weak class of beer—coffee, tea, soda and seltzer-water, cigars, &c., and from the food. The retail-shops are managed entirely by women, who have fixed salaries and no profits. This system began to work in October, 1865. Its effects have been immediately perceptible. In 1864 the number of fines paid for drunkenness in Gothenburg was 2164; in 1870, with a rapidly-increasing population, 1416. Cases of *delirium tremens* in 1864 were 118; in 1868, 54. Nor are the financial effects less encouraging. In 1872 the company realised, in net profits, no less than 15,846*l.*, which, paid over to the town,

more than covers the entire poor's-rate; thus most appropriately compelling the liquor-trade to pay for what is mainly its own causing, instead of saddling that tremendous bill upon the innocent and industrious. Another pleasant fact is, that this large amount of trade is carried on without virtually any paid-up capital, the whole outlay of the company having only amounted to 454*l.*\* The sale of drink in Sweden is still enormous; but that which averaged ten gallons per head in 1850, now only amounts to two gallons—about the same as in Scotland.

To return to our own misery. It is unnecessary to dwell upon three ominous phenomena—moral and physical—the abnormal outgrowth of long-continued intemperance on the deepest and widest scale:

1. Education impeded by depraved constitutions of mind and body, entailed by drink.

2. Medical knowledge puzzled by the confusion of symptoms between 'long-continued disease and drink.'

3. Justice obstructed by the temptation the drunken man presents to the ruffian, so that the fault of the victim ensures the escape of the criminal.

But there is another and fourth outgrowth of far greater significance; and the question arises what to do with it? There is a wretched class of beings, the complicated product of the evil we have been considering, whom no law of God or man can now deter from drinking their own damnation—the 'habitual drunkards,' or 'dipsomaniacs' of modern phraseology—who have no place in our criminal code, and ought to have no toleration in society. There are few families so happily situated as not to know something of a disease which renders a man or woman mad in every sense except that defined by Act of Parliament; the wretched victims of which are so many spreading centres of disgrace, misery, and ruin.

The habitual drunkard is distinguished from the common sot, as having crossed that frontier which divides responsibility from irresponsibility—the vice he could have conquered from the disease which has conquered him. Whatever the cause that first tempted him along the foul path—whether his own sin or that of his parents—he has now reached the goal whence, voluntarily, he can return no more. His retreat is cut off; a door is closed behind him which no power of his can open. There are a large number of these miserable be-

\* See further account in 'Macmillan,' March number, 1873.

ings of all classes among us—no less, it is computed, than 600,000 in England and Scotland—who riot and waste with comparative impunity in presence of terrified children and despairing partners, and too often end in suicide or homicide. Fathers and mothers of families, they are hedged round with a false respect; alternately sane and insane, they retain the authority over others which they forfeit over themselves. Every plea, every measure is tried, that religion, affection, and reason can urge. Every thought and device of the home circle is devoted to prevent the turn of the dreadful wheel which crushes all beneath it; but the demon in possession defies equally prevention or resistance, and those who would give their lives to rescue are condemned to stand helpless and passive by, while the Furies hunt their victim to destruction. Had Shakspeare lived now he would have added another line to his sonnet on 'The World's way,' illustrating that worst trial of all, the bondage of Sobriety to Drunkenness! Few sufferings in this world more deserve the palm of martyrdom than those now endured in the home which the dipsomaniac defiles. Those are most truly the victims of Intemperance who themselves never touch strong drink! There is something even tragi-comic in a case related in the Report on Habitual Drunkards of 'relatives'—not, it is to be hoped, the nearest and dearest—whose patience being completely worn out, and all attempts failing, from want of legal authority, to confine their incubus, sent him, a man of position, to board himself at an hotel, where he quickly drank himself to death! For such degraded specimens there is, indeed, but one means of cure, namely, the privation of the poison that riots in their veins. If the habitual drunkard never drank again he would be restored to his right mind, and to all that man values beside; but while his own master, however contradictory that very phrase, such cure is hopeless. That warfare which every one of us has to carry on between the two powers that be, has merged with him into indifference or despair. He is perhaps the most pitied and despised wretch upon God's earth; no galley-slave more wretched, for, conscious that he is doing wrong, he has no power but to do worse.

It is now openly admitted by the medical faculty that this last culminating '*furor bibendi*' has 'its cause, symptoms, diagnosis, and treatment, as clearly marked as that of pneumonia.\*' Recognition of it, in this

character, is known to have been recorded as early as 1817 by a physician of the name of Salvatori—one of the few men connected with the French army who remained in Moscow after the retreat. He gives the same diagnosis of the approaching periodical fit of craving as would be given now-a-days—the languor, the discomfort, the failing appetite, the restless sleep, the growing, undefinable misery, which comes upon the victim like an armed man, and renders life a burden. At this stage the fatal cup presents the only form of relief. He is driven to it by an irresistible force, and it rewards him for a time. His depression ceases, his nausea vanishes: if he never sleeps, he feels none the worse; if he is perpetually in movement, he is conscious of no fatigue. The first few days are all excitement and joy, ending generally in violence, storming, and rage; and then the reaction sets in—the headache, the thirst, the visions, the wandering, the gloom—the detestation of strong drink, the condemnation of himself—and as surely as all these, the certainty of a fresh fall. For each attack leaves that which smoulders only to burst out with increasing heat; each is in turn cause and effect, heir and progenitor.

Now, the difference between this and other forms of illness of a preventible kind consists in the fact that it overpowers the will. If a man suffer from bronchitis, he is careful not to expose himself; if he have a bad digestion, he avoids a certain diet. If he have brought misery on himself by folly or wickedness, he *can*, under certain conditions, repent and reform. Our mortal lot is a heritage of moral and physical fallibility, indissolubly connected. Most human error is accompanied by physical conditions which minister to it; most physical derangement has its root, if we could trace it, in some foregone moral derelictions. The words of our Lord give to sin and to disease a mysterious identity; saying to the sick of the palsy, 'Thy sins be forgiven thee;' and to the impotent man, 'Sin no more.' But he spoke to those capable of choosing the better part. It is not so with the dipsomaniac. 'Sin no more,' is vainly said to him. His will being in bondage, he can as little repent as stand still. No matter what the class, or the mind—high or low, cultivated or illiterate, refined or depraved; whether the statesman or the labourer, the lady or her fallen sister—the pathological results are the same. The Baronet's answer to the most urgent medical expostulation is: 'If a bottle of brandy stood on one side, and the pit of hell yawned on the other, and if I knew that I should be pushed in as sure as I took another glass, I

\* President's Address at Annual Meeting of the Birmingham and Midland Branch of the British Medical Association, 1874.

could not refrain.' The poor man's answer is: 'If a knife were at my throat, I must have it'—meaning the drink.

The man, therefore, who *cannot* refrain from that which renders him periodically mad is as irresponsible as the chronically insane, and must be treated accordingly. His own will being in abeyance, it is only by the act of another's will, and that supported by the law of the land, that he can be rescued, and his family relieved. This rescue can take no other form than that presented by a Refuge or Asylum, where the patient may be placed and detained, not only till the old habit be broken, but a new and better habit formed—till the disease in the brain has died out, and fresh blood, free from alcoholic taint, made. For this beneficent purpose, only attainable by entire abstinence, a period of detention is required varying from one to three years—a treatment, we need hardly say, impossible to carry out without the authority of the law. Many a poor wretch, in the brief period of remorse, will voluntarily, nay eagerly, enter an asylum and submit to a system which promises to break his bonds; but it is equally certain that he will not voluntarily remain long enough to ensure that end. The recurrent summons to the service of his Zamiel returns with all its miserable tyranny, and then only the absent bottle and closed door can avail.

It was especially to the relief of this class of mania that the late Member for Bath, Mr. Donald Dalrymple, devoted his energies. Himself, in early life, a medical man, and the son of an eminent member of the profession, he knew, as few of his Parliamentary colleagues can know, what the physical condition of that man is whose blood is laden with alcoholic poison; what the irresistible despotism of that craving must be which is excited by an inflammatory state of the tissues of the body. For the purpose of investigating the working of certain Refuges, Mr. Dalrymple, in 1871, crossed the Atlantic to the United States, where the same reckless liberty of temptation, and the same Anglo-Saxon nature have entailed consequences identical in kind, but, among the educated classes, more extended in amount. Thus they have been driven to forestall us in providing the only remedy of which the disease admits. Mr. Dalrymple visited nine institutions for the reception of dipsomaniacs; all originating either with societies or individuals actuated by philanthropic motives, and partly maintained by them; also most of them receiving small public grants, and all chartered by the respective States to which they belong. If difficult to

prove the exact amount of actual cures effected by them, it is, at all events, certain that a large percentage of benefit accrues to the patients and to their families, which can only be thus obtained; for, next to his cure, his incarceration is the greatest boon. Most of these institutions are based upon direct Acts of the Legislature, by which both the person and the property of the helpless drunkard can, after public inquiry, be placed in ward. This authority is found to act in America, as it would doubtless in England, far more by indirect than by direct means. For men will rather submit voluntarily to compulsory detention than face the sure exposure of an inquiry. A few months after Mr. Dalrymple's return, a Select Committee on 'Habitual Drunkards' was granted, of which he was appointed the Chairman, and before whom those physicians, both English and American, best qualified by experience and knowledge in the treatment of mania, with other individuals, were examined. The Report in which this evidence is embodied is an awful revelation of one form of human fallibility, carried by excess into abnormal conditions of terrible interest both to the physiologist and Christian philosopher.

Much curious evidence, pointing to special modes of treatment, was elicited in the first place, as to the special distinctions between the insane from ordinary and general causes, and those from the sole and inordinate indulgence of habits of intoxication. Governors of prisons, superintendents of asylums, keepers of private refuges, and even of Reformatories for drunkards, were unanimous on certain points:—1. The utter uselessness of all committals of this class to prison, on breaking the public peace, for such periods only as the law provides. 2. The fruitlessness, except for the temporary relief to their families, of such comparatively short detention in refuges as in the present absence of legal authority can alone be enforced. 3. The injustice to the dipsomaniac, who transgresses the law, to classify him even under the same roof with criminals; and 4. The equal injustice to the lunatic to place the dipsomaniac in the same asylum with the insane. In all these cases the intermittent nature of the disease—with other causes—is at cross-purposes with the continuous and uniform system of the institution. As regards the lower classes, the prison-rules are strained and broken to keep them. Their violence and excitement give trouble—their stupefaction renders them incapable of work—in both respects their example is pernicious; and when the seven or fourteen days of compulsory absti-

nence have sobered the creature, there is no further excuse for his maintenance at the public expense; albeit he only leaves the prison to return again. As regards private refuges or reformatories, or even such as are of a semi-public kind, as in Scotland, there is no doubt that the temporary rest they confer on the over-tired families is the chief result, and a very important one: but from the nature of the disease, they stop short of effecting any real change in the patient himself. A man or woman is persuaded to enter by doctor or friends, or even by the threat of consignment to a lunatic asylum, and will promise to remain for a certain time. But they know that there is no legal power to detain them; when abstinence, therefore, has partially restored them they defy their keepers, and insist on leaving, and, as a matter of course, a relapse ensues. One English medical man, head of a large provincial lunatic asylum, and with great private experience of the upper class of patients, openly states before the Committee that, for the good of the patients, he has often detained them against their will. 'Legally, one is bound to let them go; but I have been in the habit of taking an indemnity from the friends or relatives of the patients, and of illegally keeping them. In some instances it has had a very beneficial and even a permanent effect.' Another doctor, more shrewd, evaded the law by a less elaborate device. When a patient wanted to go out, who was quite unfit to be trusted, he simply took away his hat and shoes! These gentlemen were constantly threatened with prosecutions by the patients, which, however, never troubled them. In the words of one of them, 'a man who gets into that state has but little purpose to carry out anything, however strong his intention at the time.'

But of all places the lunatic asylum, by common consent, is the most inappropriate. The nature of their mania does not square with its object. Sobered, in spite of themselves, they cease to be insane, and are rightly dismissed by the Commissioners of Lunacy. A dipsomaniac also requires totally different modes of medical treatment and of moral government. The lunatic stands often in need of a considerable amount of stimulants—a form of medicine which must never be within sight or reach of the drunkard. And, finally, from the peculiar degradation of the mind, they are voted by all witnesses of experience the most intolerable nuisances in the asylum, and the worst companions for its regular inmates. The insane require quiet and

absence of excitement; but 'the habitual drunkard is an habitual liar—cunning, devoted to every artifice to gratify his morbid propensity; mischief-making, scandal-talking, inveterately idle, and quarrelling with those about him.' The wretched dipsomaniac, indeed, fares but ill as to character at the hands of those who know him. A mere drunkard in the intervals of sobriety has the possession of his mind, and often transacts both public and private business with perfect intelligence. But the dipsomaniac is both more violent and dangerous—more given to suspicion and to hating—in his fits, and more stupid and incapable when out of them. The mere drunkard in the earlier stages retains his affections for those about him; even becomes maudlin in that respect; but 'the morbid appetite of the other is always accompanied by a change of character in the direction of degradation—a loss of the sense of duty, of truth, of honour, and affection.' Another medical man says, 'they are entirely given to lying, you cannot believe a word they say;' and a third, 'no truth is ever found in connection with the habitual drunkard's state.'

The distinction between intemperance as a vice and that which has become disease—between the 'vicious drinker' and the 'inevitable drinker'—is a point to which the attention of the Commission was particularly directed. Generally speaking, the craving of the 'inevitable drinker' has no reference to externals; it has nothing to do with social intercourse or joviality. Strange to say, the poor creature has no pleasure in drinking. His very manner of taking it, away from society and observation, gulping it down as if it were a drug, distinguishes him from the drunkard who sits and sips and enjoys, convivially, and sometimes riotously, warming to his feast. Accordingly, the dipsomaniac, as we have seen, urges, as a rule, an internal impulse, 'I cannot resist it:' the ordinary drunkard, equally as a rule, some external pretext—'meeting a friend'—'a party of good fellows'—'a hot day'—'or any other reason why.' With the one it is defined as the '*vis à tergo*,' driving him on whether he will or no; with the other as the '*vis à fronte*,' tempting him forward, yet with power to resist. Again, the dipsomaniac, when the craving is dormant, will not touch stimulants; the sot is always ready to take them when he can get them. The one can be controlled by punishment or fear of consequences; the other only by actual intervention. For if the drunkard, as compared with the dipsomaniac, is addicted to a habit he can con-

quer, the dipsomaniac, as compared with the lunatic, is the slave of a habit that can be conquered for him.

All testimony goes to show that the unprincipled man lapses into the helpless man. He who gets repeatedly intoxicated passes through a series of short attacks of mental disease, which eventually result in cerebral disorder. The period when this takes place no one can precisely predict or define. Till the brain is affected, the man is responsible for his acts, and therefore the faculty do not acknowledge any but the last stage as coming within their sphere. Dr. Crichton Browne answers curtly, 'Drunkards do not come under my notice till they are dipsomaniacs. I look upon intemperance *per se* as a vice.'

That doctors should so view it is inevitable, and yet in this very fact lies the peculiar curse of this form of dementia. The vice entails the disease, and yet the vice cannot be met by the medical profession, and the disease is not met by the law. The vice can never be cured by the law alone, and the disease never cured by the doctor alone. It is here that the hereditary nature of this curse tells with double effect; the parent even transmitting as an irresponsible malady to his child that which was a responsible wickedness in himself. Nor does it travel only in a straight line; the propensity once implanted crops out in lateral branches, just like any other form of disease; 'children even being known to have shown the tendency before they had had the chance of seeing the habit.' Many instances are given in the Report; one of which, stated by Dr. Peddie, the Edinburgh physician, 'of a lady of good education and principles,' may be quoted here:—

'She began to drink at the age of 16, and died at 56, during which time she had many and protracted fits of drinking, and, in fact, drank herself to death. She was most untruthful when the desire was on her; resorting to the most ingenious methods for procuring alcoholic supplies; swearing in the most solemn manner that she had never tasted a drop, when she was incapable of walking. She was boarded in many places in town and country, and when under control was intelligent, active, and industrious. Sometimes, when under care, she employed herself as a Bible-reader; and when in the country, gave herself to botany and geology, and wrote most excellent letters from her retreat. Now, her father was an habitual drunkard; a grand-aunt, and also a cousin on the father's side, the same. The mother also was a drunkard; a brother, an habitual drunkard; another brother was insane; an aunt was a drunkard; two nieces, daughters of the same, were habitual drunkards; and other members of these

two families are said to have been mentally affected.'

It is also known that by some predisposition even one single excess in alcoholic liquor will permanently upset the mind. Dr. Nugent, Inspector General of Lunatics for Ireland, instances a case in the Cork District Asylum where three people—two sisters and a cousin—were brought in quite mad. Two nights before they had been at a wedding, where they had been persuaded to drink spirits. Two of the three died insane in the asylum. This was the most rapid case of insanity from spirituous liquors he had known; but the predisposition was in the family, a fourth member of which was insane.

Dipsomania is also recorded to have been developed suddenly by a sunstroke, or by a blow on the head (though not, it is suspected, without some preceding habit of indulgence); thus all evidence proving the same thing, that whether thus suddenly brought on, or by the effects of individual or hereditary transgressions, the state is in itself the indication of a disordered brain; in other words, of a condition of which intoxicating drinks are the secondary causes; that cerebral unhingement which creates the desire for them, the primary one. Every form of insanity has its correlative physical cause, and every maniac shows his insanity by some fixed idea in inevitable connection with that cause, though the connection may be beyond the power of science to define. A lunatic may have the conviction that he is the Great Mogul, and that it is his duty to bowstring his fellow-patient, or his own mother; no one argues with such hallucinations, for they are known to be in themselves uncontrollable; but means are taken to prevent their leading to harm. By the same rule the fixed idea of the dipsomaniac is the attainment of drink, an idea which, like other monomanias, comes and goes, and has its lucid intervals, but the indulgence of which must be prevented so long as the mania lasts. Nor is he more ingenious in the pursuit of his particular object than many lunatics have been known to be in the contrivance of suicide or homicide. But here the parallel ceases; for in the case of the dipsomaniac, the food, though not the cause of the malady, is known to lie in the drink, and the cause in most cases, happily for him, may be arrested by the stoppage of that food.

As respects the mania for drink, no agencies except such as are outside the man can stop it. Stupid as the dipsomaniac becomes, he is never so stupid as not to

pursue that which is the main business of his existence—'to procure and conceal liquor.' A gentleman who was ashamed to drink at home, and was not in the vicinity of a public-house, is known to have procured a dozen bottles of ardent spirits at a time, and buried them in different places in the fields near; taking his rounds periodically till the stock was exhausted; all the time denying that he had touched a drop. But ladies, according to Dr. Peddie, are generally the worst, as far as untruthfulness is concerned.

'I have had the most solemn assurances that not a drop of liquor had crossed their lips, when they could not have walked across the floor—that not a drop was in their houses, when I would find bottles of liquor wrapped up in stockings, and in other articles of clothing; concealed in trunks and wardrobes; put up the chimneys, and under beds, and between mattresses; and on a late occasion, in the case of a lady, after all means had failed in discovering the cause of the continued intoxication, on making a strict personal investigation, a bottle of brandy was found concealed in the arm-pit, hung round the neck with an elastic cord, so that she might help herself when she pleased. Such is but an instance of the determination to obtain the necessary supplies.'

A curious fact in the history of this disease is the length of time before it tells its own name. In this respect, again, from their greater interest to evade suspicion, their greater imputed innocence, and their more limited liberty of access to what they desire, the worst offenders are women. Their supplies have to be clandestinely obtained: sometimes from the grocer or confectioner—whose power to sell such articles is another form of temptation entailed by mistaken legislation—and entered to them under false names; aided also by contributions from the chemist, ostensibly for the family medicine-chest, or her own dressing-table—medicinal tinctures, red lavender, chloric and sulphuric ethers, quantities of 'eau-de-cologne,' spirits of wine, or in whatever form the odious thing with its cant name of 'pick-me-up' can be contrived. The husband, meanwhile, sees her much on the sofa, depressed, or excited, given to tears—hysterical,—and perhaps recommends the very thing she most longs for, a little brandy,—and then goes to his daily work, not dreaming that it is anything more than some feminine infirmity. And so it goes on, till perhaps the arrival of unaccountable wine and spirit bills, or the persistent going out of the table and hall-lamps, or the strange disappearance of the drawing-room ornaments, and finally, the sneering hint of some house-servant—reveals all his domestic misery. Even the doctor, in cases of

unimpeachable respectability, is puzzled to account for symptoms, and is treated like little less than a maniac himself if he attempt to open the eyes of the husband or father. One case is too curiously ingenious not to be mentioned. The medical head of Queensberry Lodge, in Edinburgh, an institution for the reception of female inebriates, reports that a lady came in who was known to have the habit of taking chlorodyne to the extent of an ounce at a time. After she had been a fortnight in the home she was found to be drunk:

'I could not fathom the cause of it; but on opening her trunk, I found about sixty empty chlorodyne ounce-bottles. She had rinsed them out in the washhand-basin and drank the water. On another occasion I found three persons apparently under the influence of drink, and on searching the matter, discovered that they had got possession of a box of Locock's Pulmonic Wafers, had divided them among them, and were all tipsy.'—2313.

Nor can such unhappy creatures remain stationary as to the potency or quality of their beverage. The thirst becomes stronger; the appetite more depraved; methylated drinks of the most nauseous kinds, sometimes mingled with shellac; an infusion of tobacco-leaves in whisky, and, in the instance of a lady, turpentine and shoe-blackening are known to have been enlisted in the hideous category.

In Scotland the greater prevalence of habits of intoxication led to a far earlier recognition of the mania than has been the case here, and to various forms of provision for it. For long the statutory test of the Lunacy Act was stretched so as to allow its admission into public insane asylums, and cases have been known to be sent to Scotland purposely to take advantage of that fact. But since the Commission of Lunacy in 1855, which revealed how greatly the asylums were burdened and puzzled by these misfitting cases, the test has become much more strict, and families are proportionably distressed to know what to do with their ungovernable inmates. At the same time, numerous private refuges have been established, mostly in situations protected by local circumstances; as in Skye; in the little island of Lismore; and in many a retired manse. Queensberry Lodge, in Edinburgh, already alluded to, where 'ladies,' as the expression is, are 'sent into privacy,' was even built by public subscription, though now supported by the payments of the patients. In all these cases it is openly acknowledged that if any good be done, it is done illegally—that is, by detaining patients beyond their will—for

to detain them no longer than they are willing to stop does them no good.

'Voluntaryism,' therefore, as it is called, has had a fair trial; and refuges supported on no other principle are pronounced to be, 'one and all, failures.' Just as a certain stage of improvement is reached the system breaks down. As the Report expresses it, 'where the medical difficulties end, the legal difficulties begin.'

We need not multiply proofs. From all the faculty alike comes the same testimony. Dr. Chrichton Browne (Superintendent of the West Riding Asylum, Wakefield) says: 'I believe the founding of some such institutions to be the only chance of benefiting habitual drunkards.' Dr. Peddie: 'I would have voluntary admission, but compulsory detention; and I would have compulsory detention in trying cases in any rank of life, by some authority; indeed, in any case where the relatives or friends did not, or would not, step forward to undertake the responsibility.' Dr. Austie, the well-known London physician: 'I know of nothing excepting entire seclusion for a long period, and under the most absolute and despotic restraint, that would have the least chance of doing any good whatever.' The late Dr. Forbes Winslow: 'Such institutions are to my mind one of the great and crying wants of the age. I believe such institutions would be a national blessing, and self-supporting.' Mr. Nelson (Manager of Queensberry Lodge): 'All that we want is power to detain them.' And, finally, the late and celebrated Dr. Simson, of Edinburgh: 'These are all, I think, cases of madness in the true sense of the word; and if they are not dealt with as such, they should be.'\*

Detention, therefore, whether resulting in cure or not, is a manifest duty to society and to the patient. If his restoration be not effected, it is, at all events, a far more humane measure on the part of a Christian Government to protect him from himself than to connive at a state which endangers life and property. We venture to think that the objections now urged against legislative action will, before long, be looked back upon with astonishment. These objections, which are fully ventilated and answered before the Commission, may be thus stated. 1. The danger of mistakes on the part of medical men. 2. The fear of innocent persons being incarcerated by designing relatives. 3. The expense which such institutions, which ought neither to be incorporated with lunatic asylums† nor with

jails, would cost the State. The first objection, as may easily be believed, is made very light of by medical men, who know that the diagnosis is simpler and the characteristics more marked in dipsomania than in many other forms of insanity. These refuges also, it stands to reason, would be under the same system of inspection, official and medical, as lunatic asylums now are. It is equally fallacious to fear that a legal power to restrain such patients would put a dangerous weapon into the hands of their families. That same intermittent nature of the mania, to which we have before called attention, interposes a peculiar check here. The family, according to a stock phrase, are 'afraid of consequences.' They know that sobriety will intervene, and with it ill-will, and perhaps revenge. The real difficulty, therefore, anticipated, is that of inducing the family to come forward at all. 'Not one family in a hundred,' according to a chief medical witness, 'would dare to exercise the power.' At the same time the authority of the act must be based on the deposition on oath of the nearest relative—wife, husband, father, or son—endorsed, it is proposed, by the minister of the parish, and one or more medical certificates.

But American experience, as already hinted, shows that such legal authority would be virtually a dead letter; the fact of its existence being in itself both a check in early stages of the tendency, and an inducement to surrender voluntarily. In the province of Quebec an Act was passed in 1870 enabling a Judge for the Superior Court of Lower Canada, on application on oath from relations or friends, 'to pronounce the interdiction of such habitual drunkard, and to appoint a curator to him to manage his affairs and control his person, as in the case of one interdicted for insanity.' But Mr. Dalrymple states, on the authority of the Attorney-General of the province of Quebec, that the Act was hardly ever put in force; the fact of its existence, or, at most, the threat of its enforcement,—in short, 'the legal rod over them,'—being sufficient to induce a man either to control himself, or to submit to treatment; so that 94 per cent. of the cases admitted into these institutions are *voluntary*.\*

As to the minor question of treatment, one point is emphatically decided by the medical witnesses, namely, the necessity and

caused their failure in Australia. People will not fasten on their relatives the stigma of real insanity.

\* Quotations from the Act, Question 1393, are given, too long for insertion here, which suggest an admirable model for English legislation.

\* Dr. Peddie on 'Dipsomania,' p. 21.

† Their connection with lunatic asylums has

feasibility of cutting off all alcoholic supplies *at once*. Dr. Anstie says: 'The question would only be complicated by letting them down by degrees. The only way is to cut them off from drink altogether, and that is perfectly and absolutely safe, and the only thing that is calculated to do good.'

And the continuance of the good is only insured by a continuance of the same measure. The dreadful temptation may be conquered, the spell broken, but, like a train of gunpowder, it will kindle with a spark. The most moderate taste—the joining in a toast—an injudicious prescription after getting wet—even, sad to say, the sip of the sacramental wine, has been known to summon up the demon afresh. For the man, therefore, who has been rescued, yet as by fire, there is no half-way place between safety and destruction. He must either surrender himself again to demoniacal possession, or walk the strait and narrow way, 'a Nazarite unto the Lord.'

Of course, such questions were not mooted before the Commission without 'the liberty of the subject' being fondly brought up, and as admirably answered. The hardship of a dipsomaniac being kept under restraint when sober, and therefore sane, was met by the fact that the same happens to the lunatic in his lucid intervals. The needlessness of restraining a man in cases where he can only injure himself, elicits the just retort that we have a duty as fellow-citizens to care for one who cannot care for himself. The injustice of assuming control over a drunkard's property only because he is wasting his means, when plenty of extravagant men are allowed to do the same with impunity, draws out the intelligent distinction that the drunkard's waste leads to a disease which may engender crime. Another question why the dipsomaniac should be under restraint, and the kleptomaniac not, was unfortunate; the fact being that, under the Lunacy laws, there is power to detain that class of mania in an asylum. The question of expense was also fully entered into—a question of some complication, but of no positive difficulty. With regard to the upper classes, such institutions would be entirely self-supporting, as the insane asylums provided for their more innocent brethren now are. And they would be on the same footing, only with more liberty; for the care and medical supervision is absent a time limited to the insuring the absence of the fatal cup. Books, paper, music, billiards, all would be provided: also gardens of the most inviting kind; and, as exercise is imperative, the power of horse exercise and hunting; one head of a

private asylum stating that he himself keeps a pack of harriers for his patients.

But the greater proportion of habitual drunkards in this country belong to the lower orders; filling our prisons, hospitals, workhouses, and lunatic asylums. The position of a pauper or a criminal—and the drunkard of that class is sure to be one or the other—is radically different from that of a man of independent means. He must be maintained at the expense of the State, and therefore he must *work*. Nor can society afford to let him go at large so long, or sink so fatally deep, as his richer brother. The military definition of an habitual drunkard is, as we have seen, the fact of being drunk four times in the year; or rather, being reported to be so; for the soldier may be drunk as often as he will, if he so comport himself as to keep out of the 'defaulter's book.' By the same rule it is proposed that three or four committals for that excess of inebriety which entails disorderly conduct shall be considered sufficient to qualify a man to be relegated to an asylum; there to be detained till better habits of mind and body are formed. Once there, and health restored, his work would not only keep himself but his family. If he knew no trade he could be taught one, as in the case of some prisons. The governor of the Borough prison of Kingston-upon-Hull deposes that the labour of the inmates might be very profitable; and that the surplus, after deducting 6s. a week for their keep, would leave very much more for their families than they get out of such men when at liberty. At a Discharged Prisoners' Home at Wakefield a man pays 7s. a week for his maintenance, and can make 23s. a week by mat-weaving. Nor, from the nature of the cases, would the expenses be so heavy as for a prisoner, from thirty to forty inmates being easily overlooked by one officer. Would not this be a better mode, whether of punishment or reform, than allowing a man or woman to come into a gaol forty or fifty, or a hundred times, each time more incapable of honest work or moral cure than the last? That experiment has been tried to excess, and has *never* answered. No poor wretch has ever been really bettered by reiterated sentences of seven or fourteen days. The cost of Anne Scott, with her many aliases, who had been committed fifty-nine times, would have paid for a far longer period in an inebriate asylum than would have sufficed, with God's grace, to cure her, soul and body. The poor old Bible stealer, who showed 'a root of good in things evil,' might have ended his life peacefully in his own land! If looked at reasonably it is as-

tonishing that systems of punishment should be persevered in, proved by lengthened experience to be utterly vain, whether for prevention, correction, or reformation; and which, furthermore, all connected with their administration alike deplore and condemn. Our national respect for the law has its evil side when it allows such a routine exercise of it to continue unquestioned. It is impossible to imagine a greater expense in money, crime, and lives and souls of men than is caused by that fatal vice which is allowed to spread, blossom, and seed, to all intents unchecked among us. We have said enough about the crime that appears in the calendar; but there are the wrongs of the defrauded minds of the idiots—out of 300, 145 known to have come of drunken parents; there are the sufferings of the crippled bodies of little innocents, fed, not with milk fit for babes, but with strong gin. The very shame of society hides some of the results of this prevailing curse. The frequent verdict on suicides of 'temporary insanity' is so returned when the cause is known to have proceeded from intemperance, 'because,' as the coroners depose, 'juries, for the sake of the family, are disinclined to return verdicts reflecting disgrace on the memory of the deceased.'\*

Mr. Dalrymple's Bill, 'For the better care and management of Drunkards,' had been read once, and was down for a second reading in the spring Session of 1873, when Mr. Gladstone's temporary resignation caused an adjournment of the House. This postponed the prosecution of the measure till the next year, by which time its humane and indefatigable advocate—chiefly owing to his labours and anxieties in the cause—had, in the prime of his life, passed away from this world. But he had done the good work as far as it depended on individual exertion, and it remains all prepared and ready to be carried to its desired consummation.

We have dwelt the more on this branch of the enormous subject in consequence of a late important movement to bring it again to the attention of the Legislature. A deputation from the most eminent members of the medical profession—in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin—headed by Sir Thomas Watson, and presented by Lord Shaftesbury—waited early this last July on the Home Secretary with a memorial, setting forth the urgent need of legal control over habitual drunkards 'for their own personal safety, for the protection of their families, and for the welfare of society;' and recalling the recom-

mendation for Sanatoria or Reformatories, which resulted from the Commission of 1873. The 'great practical difficulties' dwelt on, though not defined by Mr. Cross, are doubtless identical in great measure with those which the Commission successfully elicited and refuted. It is devoutly to be hoped that the public will not allow this special question to rest; indispensable as it is, under every view, to the welfare of hundreds of thousands in this country. The real reason why Government continues to ignore this evil is because, as simply stated by the late Dr. Forbes Winslow, 'the Legislature does not recognise habitual drunkenness as a form of insanity, though medical men do.' With this Report before them, such a plea can no longer be valid.

As to the larger general question of the Intemperance of the land, those particular difficulties which we have here endeavoured to refute will not present formidable obstacles. But there are others, not so lightly confessed, or easily met, because deeply interwoven with private and public interests on a gigantic scale, of which no one will attempt to make light. Still, delay will not facilitate their solution; and it is, therefore, simply a question of what the country can best afford—to let the evil gather strength with every year, or to grapple with it earnestly, and at once.

ART. V.—1. *Vejledning til det Islandske eller gamle Nordiske Sprog*. Af Rasmus Kristian Rask. Kjöbenhavn, 1811.

2. *Det Norske Sprogs Grammatik*. By C. R. Unger and P. A. Munch. Christiania, 1847.

3. *Nordiske Oldskrifter udgivne af det Nordiske Literatur-Samfund*. Kjöbenhavn, 1847–62. (Icelandic Texts, with Glossaries or Translations in Danish.)

4. *Grettis Saga*. Ved G. Magnusson og G. Thorardson. Kjöbenhavn, 1853.

5. *Lexicon Poeticum Antiquæ Lingvæ Septentrionalis*. Conscriptit Sveinbjörn Egilsson. Hafniæ, 1860.

6. *Edda Sæmundar hins Froða*. Herausgegeben von Theodor Möbius. Leipzig, 1860.

7. *The Story of Burnt Njal, or Life in Iceland at the end of the Tenth Century*. From the Icelandic of the Njáls Saga. By George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L. Edinburgh, 1861, 8vo. 2 vols.

\* 'Report of Convocation,' p. 85.

8. *Die Ausdrücke: Altnordische, Altnorwegische, und Isländische Sprache.* Von K. Maurer. München, 1867.
9. *Sæmundar Edda hins Fróða.* Udgiven af S. Bugge. Christiania, 1867.
10. *Sæmundar Edda hins Fróðu.* Udgiven af S. Grundtvig. Kjöbenhavn, 1868.
11. *Grettis Saga; the Story of Grettir the Strong.* Translated from the Icelandic by Eiríkr Magnússon and William Morris. London, 1869.
12. *Lilja (The Lily); an Icelandic Religious Poem of the Fourteenth Century.* Edited, with a Metrical Translation, Notes, and Glossary, by Eiríkr Magnússon. London, 1870.
13. *Die Edda, Die ältere und jüngere, nebst den mythischen Erzählungen der Skalda.* Uebersetzt und mit Erläuterungen begleitet, von Karl Simrock. Vierte Auflage. Stuttgart, 1871.
14. *The Orkneyinga Saga.* Translated from the Icelandic, by Jon A. Hjaltalin and Gilbert Goudie; edited, with Notes and Introduction, by Joseph Anderson, Keeper of the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland. Edinburgh, 1873.
15. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary, chiefly founded on the Collections made from prose works of the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries.* By the late Richard Cleasby. Enlarged and completed by Gudbrand Vigfusson. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. Part I., A—H, 1869; Part II., H—R, 1871; Part III., R—Ö, 1871.

THE above list of books on the language and literature of Iceland presents but a sample of the numbers which within the last thirty years have issued from Scandinavian, German and English presses, following one another with all the briskness of competitors in some newly-opened field of golden promise. Ever since the fresh stimulus given to these studies by the great philologist of the north, Erasmus Rask, the acceleration of interest has been steadily accumulating, and notwithstanding the great disadvantages under which Icelandic has had to be learnt, the books that have been produced in the present century are too numerous for us here to recite. It is the last on the list which now at length removes the difficulty of Icelandic study, and which affords occasion for the present article. Like some great road driven through the heart of a land which has hitherto been known only to the rare and hardy adventurer, this complete and masterly lexicon opens up a language and literature which has hitherto been closed to

all but the leisnrely few, and makes it the inheritance of the whole world.

And this important work, which now for the first time crowns our Icelandic library with a sense of completeness, has, with a happy chronological fitness, reached its termination in the year 1874, just a thousand years from the date of the Norwegian colonisation of the sub-arctic island. When in the ninth century the great feudalising movement had reached Norway, and Harald Harfager was relentlessly forcing the allodial owners to do him suit and service as their sovereign lord, the untamed Viking spirit of the western fiords burst away to seek a free land, and successive bands settled on the shore of Iceland, which at first served chiefly as a new base for piratical expeditions and plans of southern conquest. But when at length their wild career was run, they became gradually domesticated in the strange land; they formed a Commonwealth, which is one of the greatest of curiosities for the jurist; they produced a literature so original as to be absolutely unique; and they preserved a language which may be called the survival of Gothic antiquity.

Perhaps there is not in all the records of the world, not even in Greece itself, a more striking example of the character and circumstances of a people being faithfully mirrored in the writings they have produced. The old ancestral mythologies which they had brought with them from the mainland took shape in a series of lyrical odes, which have in modern times acquired the collective name of the 'Sæmundar Edda,' that is, the Edda of the collector or composer Sæmund. One of the characteristics of Icelandic literature is the droll homeliness of its book-titles, and the title Edda simply means Grandmother. This Edda is also spoken of as the elder Edda, and the poetical Edda, to distinguish it from a later collection of old-world lore, which is called the prose Edda, or the younger Edda. This latter was the work of Snorri Sturlason, who died in 1241; and after him it is sometimes also called Snorra Edda, which means the Edda of Snorri. Of this work Simrock says, 'it is to be regarded as the oldest and truest commentary on the Songs of the Elder Edda.' These two Eddas stand wide apart, and between them lies the first and freshest era of the Sagas. An age of wild adventure had been succeeded by a corresponding development of romantic stories; and as the Viking age had supplied the material, so the domestic life which the Icelanders settled down into, was remarkably fit for the culture and preservation of traditional narratives. In proportion as they were

further removed from the centres of population and those springs of novelty which are so frequent in populous places, in the same degree were their ancestral tales the more cherished and the oftener repeated, till, like Solon's ordinance for the recitation of Homer, some ancient tale formed part of every solemnity.

The word *Saga* (plural *Sögur*) is a substantive of the verb to say, and the English analogue is, *saw*, as in Shakspeare's 'wise saws and modern instances.' It applies to any kind of narrative or tale, whether history or legend; but the precise sentiment of the word harmonises very closely with that of the English 'story.'

Story-telling had its securest rooting-place in the winter circle of the family: from this base it spread out and became a constant entertainment at public meetings, at feasts, weddings, wakes, at the festivities of Yule, and even at the assemblies of the *Al-thing*; and narratives of banquets are extant which tell what *saga* was recited on the occasion, just as in the *Beowulf* it is told what was the Song of the *Scöþ* in the hall of the *Gardanes*. The early sagas had taken a definite shape in oral transmission before the literary period began, and as the writers of these were in no sense their authors, this may be the reason why their names have not come down to us along with their books. The title of *Saga* which properly indicated the narrative told with the living voice, had gained too firm a hold to be changed with the change of literary form, and being thus established beyond challenge it obtained the widest and vaguest application, covering all the narrative literature from the merely mythical at one extreme, through the various grades of half-historic, to the truly and fully historical at the other extreme. On the one hand we find a *saga* occupied with adventures, like those of *William Tell*; and on the other the truly historical group of the *Islendinga Sögur*, or Histories of the time of the Icelandic Commonwealth. Among these is even reckoned the highly documentary work, called the '*Landnámabók*,' that is, 'The Book of the Land-taking,' or colonisation of the country; which is for Iceland what the *Domesday Book* is for England. But of all the group the most characteristic specimens are those which tell the career of men or families between the dates of 900 and 1030; and these are 'The Sagas,' properly and distinctively so called. Of these we can happily direct the English reader to some of the best examples in the sagas of *Burnt Njal* and of *Grettir the Strong*, both of which, as well as the later *Orkneyinga Saga*, appear in

the above list in English translations. The latter is one of the more strictly historical sagas; but even of those which are less so in form and manner, and which even contain superstitious matter, we may say that their historical value, in the hands of a discriminating reader, is often very high; and we can almost endorse the sweeping words of Mr. Dasent, which were printed so far back as 1843: 'I cannot imagine it possible to write a satisfactory history of the Anglo-Saxon period, without a thorough knowledge of the Old Norse literature.\*'

In a preliminary glimpse of Icelandic literature, we must make mention of the old Laws of the Commonwealth, which form a collection known by the whimsical title of *Grágás*, that is, *Gray-geese*. Then there are the Laws after the Union with Norway in 1262. Then come Bible Paraphrases, Homilies, Lives of Saints: Romances and Fables, mostly after French and Latin originals, resembling our own mediæval translations. Then there are works of a scholastic character: the Icelandic language boasts to possess the earliest philological treatise written in any Gothic language. Then there are works arithmetical, geographical, medical, besides deeds and diplomas, and inscriptions; and all these without reckoning any of the post-Reformation literature. Taken as a whole, it must be admitted that this is the finest display that any language of the Gothic family is able to make in the way of a vernacular literature, and none is so purely native, so free from intermixture of alien material.

But interesting as this literature is for its contents, it is hardly less so, at least to Englishmen, for the language in which it is enshrined. For, as we hope to be able to show, this language contains within itself the materials for enabling us to understand much that has hitherto been very imperfectly explained in the mechanism of the English language. In truth, it offers us a direct explanation in many places where we have hitherto had to be satisfied with an indirect explanation. We have, of course, looked to the Saxon in the first place as the great basis of our mother-tongue, after that we have looked to the Old French, long dominant in England, as the most prominent modifier of Saxon forms and structures. But the more the investigation has been pursued, the more has it ever come to light, that these sources left unexplained many a fea-

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\* 'A Grammar of the Icelandic or Old Norse Tongue, translated from the Swedish of Erasmus Rask,' 1843, p. vii.

ture in our highly composite speech, while no other language seemed historically able to claim a place by the side of these two, which had severally reigned their hundreds of years in the land. The nearest approach to such a claim belonged to the Danes, and this claim was sometimes put in, but an adequate body of facts was never advanced to support it. That a language which never had a vernacular hold on any part of the soil, for which the utmost that could be urged was that it was current for a generation and a half in a bi-lingual court, a language which produced no literature in our island, that such a language should claim to be grouped, even in a minor sense, along with the great factors of the English language, must always have appeared unworthy of credit, until a work was put into our hands full of the language of our Danish settlers, and at the same time resounding on all sides with the echoes of our most homely and most deeply ingrained idioms.

This Icelandic language has almost all the rich store of its vocabulary in common with the other languages of the Gothic stock on either side of the Baltic. It is the standard language of the northern division of the Gothic family. But as an indication how deeply it is severed from its southern or Teutonic kindred, the following particulars may suffice. It possesses neither of the prepositions *by* or *to*; nor has it any substantive ending in *-ness*; nor does it appear to have ever possessed either of the verbs *to make* or *to do*. One word serves for both of these and that is *göra*, a word familiar to us in its transplanted position as the Scottish *gar*. In this language the sun is called *sól*, and the word 'sun' is only known as a rare poetic term; while in all the Teutonic languages this is reversed; moreover, the sea is called *haf*, a name quite unknown in the Teutonic regions. These are profound distinctions, and they describe a deep gulf between the Scandinavian and the Teutonic branches. Of considerable import, but still of less depth, are those commonly-assigned characteristics of the Scandinavian languages, viz., the post-positive article, and the expression of the passive verb by flexion.

The characteristics now enumerated are indeed common to the whole Scandinavian group; but they are seen to the greatest advantage in the Icelandic, which is the oldest form of those dialects, and which indeed represents the parent language from which they have all diverged. These dialects are, first of all, the two national languages of the Danish and the Swedish; then the Norwegian or Norsk, just now beginning to recover a distinctive character after long subordi-

nation to the ruling Danish;\* and, lastly, a variety of sub-dialects, such as that of Jutland, but especially in Sweden, where, next after Iceland, the antiquities of the language are preserved in their richest deposit. It is the pride of the Icelandic that it wonderfully preserves the parent language which was spoken in common before these several dialects and languages had branched off; and although we can now hardly avoid giving it the local name of Icelandic, because the term Danish now belongs to a special division of the group, yet we should remember that in the age of the Vikings, when it was the common speech of the Northern rovers, its old ancestral name was Danish†—*Dönsk tunga*.' †

To this primitive name we call particular attention, because it is the name which has a special interest for ourselves; it is the name by which this language has come into contact with our own language and history. From the second half of the eighth to the first half of the eleventh century 'the Danes' are always hovering in the background, and often pressing forward and even occupying the forefront of English history. During a tract of time that was not inconsiderable—indeed, for the half-century before the Conquest—the Court of this country must have been almost as conversant with the Danish language as it soon was to become conversant with the French language.‡ That is to say, the parent lan-

\* The present position and future prospects of the national language of Norway, about which there has been some misunderstanding, is well stated in "Danish" and "Norse," a paper read before the British Scandinavian Society, by Mr. Andrew Johnston, May 25, 1875.

† Snorri (13th century) in the Prologue to the *Heimskringla* uses the term Danish as generic, and Norsk as its modification. The native tongue of the original settlers in Normandy is also called Danish by Wace.

‡ See this remarkable passage from the *Saga of Gunnlaug Ormtungur*:

Chap. vii. 'þá red fyrir Einglandi Adalrádr Konungr Játgeirsson ok var góðr höfðingi; hann sat þenna vetr í Lundúnun. Ein var þá tunga í Einglandi, sem í Danmaurku ok Noregi, enn þá skiptuz tungu í Einglandi er Vilhiálfr Bastardr vann Eingland; geck þaðan af í Einglandi Valska, er hann var þaðan kyniaðr. Gunnlaugr geck brátt fyrir Kóng ok qvaðði hann vel ok virðuliga.'—*Sagan af Gunnlaugi, Hafs*, 1775.

'Then King Ethelred, son of Edgar, ruled England, and was a good chieftain; he dwelt in London that winter. Then was there the same tongue in England as in Denmark and Norway, but the tongues changed in England when William the Bastard conquered England; thereafter prevailed in England Welsh (i.e. French), from which race he came by kin. Gunnlaug went promptly before the king, and saluted him well and honourably.'

guage, Dönsk tunga, was for a time current in the mouths of courtiers in London. Since the subdivision of the language, the name which was once general has become special to that southern branch of the family which has been most exposed to external influences; while that which is truest to old memories has taken the new name of Icelandic—a name which we cannot avoid using, though we shall not use it to the exclusion of the name Danish in its old historic sense. The Icelandic language is the representative of the old Danish; while modern Danish, though not really far removed, all things considered, is yet that member of the Scandinavian group which has varied most from the ancestral meaning of its name. Perhaps it would be clearer, if we wrote the old language not as Danish, but 'Denish,' at least occasionally and when there is danger of confusion, restoring the old Saxon vowel of the word 'Denisc,' as it was written in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Along the whole stretch of the coasts of Denmark and Norway one language was spoken in the ninth century. Incipient and minor differences there must, however, have been, as the nations had already their distinct centres, and jealousies began ere long to appear. By the year 1000 we find the distinction between Danes and Norwegians strongly indicated in Olaf Tryggvason's boast: 'Never yet did Danes beat Norskmen, nor shall they not to-day.' At so early a date did the generic name of Danes begin to have a more confined application. Indeed, we can recognise the difference between Danes and Northmen in the traces they have respectively left in this island. The Danes settled over a large tract of country, of which the base-line extends from East Anglia to Durham.\* This country was called the Danelag, because it was governed by Danish law. It is marked by the many local names ending in *thorp* and *by*, forms which are distinctly Danish, and which are, indeed, a mere reflection of the names in *trup* and *by*, which are everywhere

found on the map of Denmark. A peculiar and remarkable feature of this district is the word *egir*, by which they designate the tidal wave or 'bore' in the rivers. This appears to be rightly identified with the name of the Scandinavian sea-god (Egir, to be mentioned below; the Neptune of the North.

As we move northward, we pass out of the region of these Danish names, but we do not escape from the evidences of Scandinavian life. The whole Lowlands of Scotland all up to Sutherland, the islands of the north and west, the Isle of Man, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and parts of Ireland and Wales, retain to this day, in one form or other, the traces of this restless people. But in these northern parts it is no longer the Danes (in the restricted sense), but the Northmen, the children of the fiords of Norway. The local names by which we trace the footsteps of these Northmen are such as *dale*, *fell*, *firth*, *force*, *gill*, *garth*, *haugh*, *holm*, *tarn*, *thwaite*. To these may be added the use of the word 'water' to designate a lake; as in Ullswater, which seems to claim affinity with Icelandic lake-names in '-vatn'; as My-vatn, Midge-water; Fiskivötn, Fish-lakes. A term which is common to both of these districts is *-gate*, in the sense of street, as in Micklegate, Canongate. This is probably as well known in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire as in Scotland.

A strong mark of the Northmen in the Lake-district is the frequent termination of river-names in *-a*, which, in the accented form *á*, is the Icelandic word for river, and is the almost universal ending of river-names in Iceland: as Reykadal-sá, the river of the valley of smoke: so in the Lake-country we have the Brethra, Calda, Greta, Rotha, and others. And not only are large tracts of the north of our island dotted over with names made of Norwegian elements: there are also names which betray a Norwegian stand-point; as when the most northern country of this whole island is called Sutherland, that is, Southern-land; and when our ecclesiastical title, 'Sodor and Man,' is traced back to the Norwegian name for the Hebrides, viz. Sudreyjar, that is, Southern Islands.

In local names the Norwegian traces are more various and abundant than those which we owe to the Danes of Denmark: and the same thing holds in regard to the local colouring of common speech. The Danish of the Danelag is but a local dialect: the Norwegian infusion in the Lowlands of Scotland has produced a national language, and a world-famed vehicle of song. This has not altogether resulted from the superior

[Since the above was in type, the Saga of Gunnlang Wormtongue has been made accessible to the English reader. It is one of the 'Three Northern Love Stories,' translated by William Morris and Eiríkr Magnússon.]

\*During the present year, an English traveller in Denmark was struck with the similarity of the Danes to his own country-folk of North Lincolnshire. Writing to a relative in that part of the county, he said that when he was on the steamboat from Kiel to Copenhagen, the appearance of the people and the tones of the conversation around him were so like those of his native district that he could have fancied himself on the Trent steamer, running from Gainsborough to Hull.

vigour of the northern over the southern portion of the Scandinavian race, but has been largely due to political circumstances. The Danish dialect in some parts of the eastern coast is much more like the broad Scotch than is generally supposed, and this is brought well out in Mr. Atkinson's 'Glossary of the Cleveland Dialect.' For example: the auxiliary *maun*, which figures as one of the most marked features of Scotch, as in this from Burns:—

'I maun see thee never, Jamie,  
I'll see thee never,'

this auxiliary, concerning which we are told in the Dictionary now before us (v. *munu*) that hardly any verb is more frequent in the old literature of Iceland, is not really peculiar to Scotland, though it is through Scotch writers that it has become known to most of us. From Mr. Atkinson we learn that there is in the dialect of Cleveland a present tense, *min*, and a preterite, *mond*, analogous to our English *can* and *could*. And it is not of Scotland specially, but of the North generally, that Southey in his 'Doctor' tells the following story:—

'A north country dame, in days of old economy, when the tailor worked for women as well as men. delivered one of her nether garments to a professor of the sartorial art, with these directions: "Here, Talleor, tak this petcut: thoo mun bin' me't, and thoo mun tap bin' me't: thoo mun turn me't rangsid afor, tapsid bottom, insid oot: thoo can do't, thoo mun do't, and thoo mun do't speedily."'

But it is through Scottish writers that this dialect has become famous, a dialect which carries with it—whether in lyric poetry or in dialogue—a certain nameless and inexplicable delight; and not only throughout England, but far beyond its coasts, it is known as 'a thing of beauty.' Of this imperishable language it is not an exaggeration to say that, so far as its effect can be traced to words, those words, all those which, to a southern ear, render it strange and fascinating, are distinctly Scandinavian. Indeed, almost all those words which we regard as distinctively Scotch are not to be traced, as has been generally supposed, to Anglian sources, but to Norwegian. Such are the words *bairn*, *big* (= build), *byre*, *fey*, *gar* (= make), *greet* (= weep), *ken*, *lax*, *sackless*, *speer* (= ask), and particularly the constant use of *till* for 'to,' the Scotchman talking of going 'till Stirling,' just as the Norwegian does of going 'til Bergen.'

There is an auxiliary which is common to early Scotch literature, and a section of early English literature, and, so far as we know,

it has never received a satisfactory explanation. This is the use of *can* in the auxiliary sense of *did*. In Wyntoun the death of David II. is thus told\*:—

'He had bot sevn vere and fourty,  
Quhen he out of this liffe can pas.'

When we find that Icelandic *kunna* is not straitened like our common English *can*, but has a long catalogue of uses—among others that of the Greek *εἰδέναι*, as in *εἰδέναι χρίν*, to be thankful, which appears in early Icelandic as '*kunna thökk*,' and when, following the list down, we find that it is also used for 'to chance, happen;' as 'ef Björn faðir theirra kann fyrr andask,' 'if Biorn their father should happen to die first:' 'hvar sem thik kann at bera,' 'wheresoever thou may happen to arrive;'—we feel footing under us for the first time as to the origin of that old English and Scotch auxiliary '*can*.'

A very remarkable word in the English language is *get*, and we shall have to consider it by-and-by when we come to the Danish influence upon English; but, for the moment, we are engaged upon the marks of Norwegian influence in the speech of North Britain; and among these we venture to reckon certain peculiar and frequent uses of this word which fall so strangely upon an English ear. In Dorothy Wordsworth's 'Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland in 1803,' the surprise of this '*get*' is well brought out:—

'The woman of the house was very kind. Whenever we asked her for anything, it seemed a fresh pleasure to her that she had it for us. She always answered with a sort of softening-down of the Scotch exclamation, "Hoot!"—"Ho! yes, ye'll get that," and hied to her cupboard in the spence. We were amused with the phrase, "Ye'll get that" in the Highlands, which appeared to us as if it came from a perpetual feeling of the difficulty with which most things are procured. . . . We asked for sugar, butter, barley-bread, and milk, and with a smile and a stare more of kindness than wonder, she replied, "ye'll get that," bringing each article separately.'

The Scotch legal term *wadset* must be referred to the Icelandic *veð-setja*, to pawn or mortgage. In the 'Fortunes of Nigel,' c. 4, we read: "'There is a mortgage over your father's extensive estate, to the amount of 40,000 marks." "I know nothing of a mortgage," said the young lord, "but there is a wadset for such a sum." "A wadset in Scotland," said Heriot, "is the same with a mortgage on this side the Tweed."'

\* 'The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland,' by Andrew of Wyntoun. Edited by David Laing. Edinburgh, 1872. Vol. ii. p. 507.

These are but fragments of the evidence that might be collected to identify the peculiar characteristics of Scotch with Scandinavia.\* The facts lie around us in a hundred familiar books, and there they have long lain, waiting only for such a work as that now before us to complete the circle of evidence; and if we offer no more in this place, it is that we may not cheat the interested reader of the pleasure of a charming investigation. The investigation is not only delightful but easy, which is more than we can say of that part of the subject which will next engage our attention.

It has long been an acknowledged question of interest, and almost of speculation, what sort of effect the Danish settlements have had upon the English language. This is a subject which has often been attempted, but in regard to which nothing has been settled. Nor, indeed, was it possible to make a definite statement of the case before there was a good Icelandic dictionary. That the English language is indebted to the Danes to a larger extent than is generally admitted, is a thesis which Dr. Dasent has consistently maintained for the last thirty years; and if he has at times been thought to overstate the claim he championed, we apprehend that the evidence now before us will go far to justify the position assumed by him and other strong assertors of the old Scandinavian influence in England.

It should not, however, be imagined that with a good dictionary before us we have only to count the words and the work is done. To trace the effect of Danish upon English is a work that requires patience and discrimination, for the problem is somewhat involved; and excellent as this dictionary is, it does not quite present the solution of our question on its surface, because this is beyond the function of a dictionary. What it does is this:—It supplies us with ample materials for the investigation of the question, and thus holds out a reasonable expectation that we may be able to reach some solid and definite conclusions.

Our task will be to find out that common element between the English and the Icelandic, which, after due consideration of other

sources, we shall find reason to conclude must have come into our language by the way of the Danish settlements. If in the districts themselves we find little more than the names of their villages and manorial farms, and a strongly tintured local dialect, we may with the help now offered us find reason to think that though the superficial relics are but few, the body of the old *Dönsk tunga* has not wastefully evaporated, but rather that it has mingled itself with the English language, and has been dissolved into it like some genial and stimulating infusion; and that it may still be possible to assign some of its effects, and to render some account of what we have inherited from it.

In order to investigate this subject effectually, we must keep before our mind the fundamental fact that, before the Danish came into contact with the English in the ninth century, there was a common family likeness between the two languages, such as made them resemble one another, even in minor details; and therefore the assignment of any contribution which the one may have brought to the other requires careful discrimination.

It is an easy matter to discern Latinisms in English, but by no means equally easy to detect them in the context of the French language. And so always, in proportion as confluent languages are related, does it become difficult to distinguish their elements after they have been blended in lengthened use.

A comparison between Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic shows us that, while they are clearly distinguished from each other in the finer parts of their mechanism, they are substantially identical in the more impassive material of the vocabulary. The effect of such a comparison is to make us sensible of the fundamental relationship of the two languages, and to apprise us that when they have blended it must be a delicate task to discriminate their several contributions. It is indeed a task that cannot be conducted much by the way of generalisation, but almost entirely by slow examination into the facts concerning particular words and turns of expression. It is a task which could never have been satisfactorily undertaken but for the possession of a dictionary like that now before us, a dictionary worthy of its name, which gathers up into a focus not only the words but also the phraseology (dictiones) of the whole period of saga literature. With this help we may once more spend labour in a field that has hitherto been rather unremunerative, and endeavour to form some definite idea of the Danish element in the English language.

\* The physique also of the two nations is remarkably like, at least in the eyes of some competent observers. It is not long ago that Dr. Beddoe, of Clifton, received from Tidemand, the celebrated Norwegian artist, a collection of photographs representing select specimens of the various types of the population in the neighbourhood of Bergen. In the opinion of the receiver, they were nearly all such as he had seen in Scotland: he being well acquainted with North Britain, and a former President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association.

As, however, there are few things more like a rope of sand than a string of selections from a strange vocabulary, we must seek for some principle of organisation among those words and phrases which we are about to present to the reader. The material of a language easily divides itself into Words and Combinations of words. Words are either presentive or symbolic.\* Combinations make either phraseology or compounds. Guided by this division, we will notice successively the presentive words, the symbolic words, the phraseology and the compounds of the Icelandic language, and observe where or how in each of these capacities it has left its impress upon the English language. After taking each main group in this philological division, as in cross-section, we will change the aspect, and briefly endeavour to present our observations in something of historical order, marking a few of the chief points where the Danish influence crops out and comes to the surface in the lapse of a thousand years. And first of presentive words. Of these, we have only been able to collect between fifty and sixty, which we now present to the reader. In the following list each word is accompanied by the Icelandic cognate, for the convenience of those who may wish to refer to the Icelandic dictionary, where the reasons are generally, though not always, to be found, which make us refer those words to the Danish source. We are the more careful to furnish the means of reference, because space will not permit us to comment on all the instances; we shall, however, endeavour by treating them in groups to comprehend as many as possible in the remarks which follow the table.

ale (öl)	earl (jarl)
anger (ánger, ángra)	egg <i>vð.</i> (eggja)
bridal	
call (kalla)	fellow (félag)
carl (karl)	flat (flatr)
cast (kasta)	flay (flá)
cow <i>vð.</i> (kúga)	flit (flytja)
cringle (kringla)	foreman (fyrir-maðr)
crop (kroppa)	foster (fóstr)
dream (draumr)	gain (gagn)
dwel (dvelja)	gust (gustr)

\* Still called by some philologists, as by Mr. Sayce in his 'Principles of Comparative Philology,' by the old name of 'empty words,' but this seems unworthy as an Epithet to be applied to a group of words which, more than any other group that can be defined, constitutes the essence and identity of every language. The term is doubtless true as far as it goes: the lady who was remarked upon by Lord Chesterfield for calling a little snuff-box so 'vastly little' had plainly 'emptied' the adverb of its presentive signification, when she used it symbolically.

hair (hárr)	shallow (skjálgr)
hansel (hand-sal)	skill (skil)
hap (happ)	skin (skinn)
heel (hæll)	sky (ský)
hit (hitta)	slit (slíta)
husband (hús-bóndi)	slouch (slókr)
husting (hús-þing)	sneak (snfkja)
ill (illa)	spoil (spilla)
irk (yrkja)	swain (sveinn)
kid (kið)	
knife (knífr)	take (taka)
law (lag)	thrall (þræl)
leet (leið)	thrift (þríf)
meek (mjúkr)	tiding (tíðindi)
	time (timi)
	ugly (uggligr)
ransack (rannsaka)	
score (skor)	want (vanr)
scrap (skrap)	wont (vanr)
scrape (skrapa)	wapentake
	wile (vél)

It has long been surmised that the duplicates 'ale' and 'beer' were due to the concurrence of the Saxon and Scandinavian vocabularies. The fact that ale, in the form of *öl*, is the one word in Denmark for this class of beverage, was alone enough to suggest that perhaps ale was the Danish, and beer the Saxon word. The question is complicated by the circumstance that in the oldest writings of both nations the two words are found. But against this we may array the observation that each nation had made a peculiar appropriation of one of the words in its own way. Each of the words had received, in its several country, a further signification beyond that of mere liquor. In Saxon a banquet was called 'gebeorscipe,' that is to say, a beer-ship: and in Icelandic we find '*öl*' in the same advanced character. This advanced use may perhaps indicate which is the domestic word in each region. It seems highly probable that beer is the word of the Teutonic region generally (as Mr. Vigfusson says), and ale that of the Scandinavian. When in the *Alvis-mal* it is said that it is called ale by men, but beer by the gods (*öl heitir meðh mönnum, en meðh Ásum bjór*), this is probably no more than a compliment of admiration paid to the foreign or uncommon word. Of *Ægir's* banquet it is said, '*hann hefðhi búið ásum öl*,' 'he had prepared for the gods a banquet.'

Out of the above there rises another interesting question of derivation:—What is the origin of our word *bridal*? We have it first in the 'Saxon Chronicles' under 1075, in the three forms—*brydeala*, *brydealo*, and *brydealoð*; and this means the *bride-ale*, or ale of the bride. There is no such word as this in the Icelandic, or any other Scandinavian vocabulary; and we think it must have been a Danish compound made in this

island. The Icelandic word is *brúð-laup* or *brúð-laup*; and the common Danish word at this day is *bryllup*, the bride's leap, with reference either to her journey or to the wedding procession. In the year 1075 The Worcester Chronicle, besides *brydealo*, brings in this Danish word also in the course of the story: 'ealle tha the wæron æt tham bryd-lope æt Norðwic,' 'all those who were at that wedding at Norwich.'

The proper Saxon word for marriage was *gifte*, and the word *bridal* was never fully current until quite modern times: we think we may say it is hardly to be found anywhere in our Bible-translations, in which the succession has been as follows: Saxon, *gifte*; Wiclif, *wedding*; Tyndale, *marriage*.

The word *call* is almost certainly Danish. The sporadic appearance of the word in Saxon literature, compared with its continuity and variations of sense in Icelandic, urge us to this conclusion. In the ballad of the 'Battle of Maldon,' A.D. 991, we read: 'Ongean ceallian tha, ofer cald wæter,' call for call across the water, defiance for defiance. And in Cædmon, Moses haranguing the Israelites at the verge of the Red Sea is styled *hildecealla*, the hero whose voice is heard above the din of armies. The presence of this and other words in the poems of Cædmon will probably raise some questions among the critics hereafter.

*Cringle* is one of an interesting group to which we are not aware that any one has ever called our attention. That we are indebted for many of our nautical terms to the Dutch is a trite observation. But that we should owe a deeper and more original debt to the Danes seems even more probable from the history of English shipping. Here is a bold and a famous example. The term indeed may be obscure to many who have had no marine experience, even while its sound may be familiar through the title of the sea-faring novel, 'Tom Cringle's Log.' Sailors know well that a cringle is the round metal eye worked into the corner of a sail for the sheet or other rope to run through. But the word has a reach of fame beyond the radius of novels. It enters into the name of that Icelandic work, which perhaps has the greatest European reputation—to use Lord Dufferin's words, 'the first great historical work that was written by any European in his mother-tongue'—'The *Heimskringla* of Snorri Sturlason.' We have already noticed the play of fancy in Icelandic book-titles; this means the circle (*kringla*) of the world (*heim*).

In assigning to *dream* a Danish origin, we are led entirely by a consideration of the

signification. There is in Anglo-Saxon a word of the form of *dream*, but its sense never touches that which we now attach to the word. It uniformly means the mirth of music in the midst of the convivialities of the hall, and has nothing whatever to do with sleep. On the other hand, the Icelandic *draumr* appears in the sense of our English dream in the earliest poems, while the Anglo-Saxon sense of the delights of song is quite unknown. Can we doubt that this sudden transition of sense has come from the Danes?

Our next example shall be *fellow*. The word seems very familiar to us, and yet, if we seek its connections in our language, it will appear to be an alien. But if we turn to the Icelandic dictionary, it becomes at once plain that the word is at home, and naturally rooted in that language. The Icelandic form is *félag*, and signifies the laying of fee or property together; and it is a word that has an important status in the legal phraseology of the Grágás: whereas in England this word is unknown until long after the Conquest. This is one of the words that have been often suspected to be Danish, and which by the evidence now afforded is established as such beyond a doubt.

The word *foreman* is the usual one in the sagas where we should use 'captain,' and, as it is unknown in Saxon, there is little doubt of its Danish introduction among us.

The word *foster* is not found in Anglo-Saxon, Mæso-Gothic, or German. But in Icelandic *fóstr* is the fostering of a child; and *fóstri* is a foster-father or foster-son.

*Hair* is a good example. In Saxon the word was *feax*; and accordingly a comet, stella crinita, was called 'feaxede steorra,' and the English name Fairfax is equivalent to Har-fagr, the nickname of the famous Norwegian Harold of the ninth century. Not that the word *hair* was wanting in the mother-tongue, but it was repressed; just as, on the other hand, the word *fax* was not absolutely wanting to the Norsk; for in the Snorra Edda, the name of the horse of night is *hrím-faxi*, frosty-mane; and the horse of day is *skin-faxi*, shining-mane.

*Heel* is a Scandinavian word; the Saxon word in its place was *hōh*.

*Hit* has all the appearance of being Scandinavian, not only by its absence from Saxon and its presence in Icelandic, but also by a touch of kin that is observable in the phraseology wherein it figures in the two languages: thus, 'hitta ráð,' to hit upon a plan, rede, or device.

*Husband* is originally a participial form, meaning house-dwelling, house-occupying person; and so it was in the Scandinavian

languages somewhat equivalent to our 'house-holder' or 'goodman,' and in this sense it appears in the Saxon Chronicle of Peterborough. But as the second part, *bóndi*, was habitually associated with the idea of ownership in land and stock, so the early use of 'husband' was that which is now reflected only in 'husbandry' and 'husbandman.' The partnership of man and wife in domestic economy prepared the way for that meaning with which we are familiar, an old Scandinavian meaning now faded in its native regions, but well rooted in England.

*Ill* is a Scandinavian form, the Danish is *ild*, the Swedish *ill*: our native Saxon word is *evil*, which we have in common with all the Teutonic dialects; Saxon *yfel*, German *übel*, Mæso-Gothic *ubils*.

Few of our obligations to the Danes are better evidenced than the use of the word *law*; the Saxon word had been a grandly conceived word, but it was reduced to a tenuity of form which made it unequal to its position. The word was *æ*, thus the Law of Moses was 'Moyses *æ*,' and this was what remained of an ancient substantive that may have been of kindred with *alei*, *alōv*, *ævum*, and which survives in English only in the poetic adverb *aye* always.

There is a compound of the word *law*, which in Saxon is written *lahslit* and means breach or violation of the law. This introduces us to a new Danish word, viz. *slit*, a word which we find in old Scandinavian laws, not indeed in any word like *lahslit*, but in the analogous compound *handsals-slit*, which signified breach of bargain.

Of the long repose of a word in provincial obscurity—of its ultimate emergence to light and celebrity, followed by its expansion into a larger sphere of thought—the word *slouch*, offers a particularly interesting example. This word appears in the 'Edda of Snorri' as *slókr*; and in our Danish provinces it has long reposed in the form *slotch*, which Halliwell renders 'a sloven.' In this sense it first entered literature: thus Henry More has, 'A foul, great, stooping slouch with heavie eyes.' Then came *slouching* as an adjective; thus Chesterfield: 'The awkward, negligent, clumsy, and slouching manner of a booby;' and we sometimes read of 'a slouching gait;' then we get a substantive abstract:

'And others for familiar air  
Mistake the slouching of a bear.'

We have also *slouchéd*, as 'a slouchéd hat.' But the movement had come full circle when the simple *slouch*, which at first designated a person, was used for the manner

or bearing, and this we find in Swift: 'Our doctor hath every quality which can make a man useful, but, alas! he hath a sort of slouch in his walk.' The next and latest step in the grammatical development has been to make a verb of this new substantive, the verb to *slouch*, and the quotation with which we close this paragraph offers a fine instance of a word making that spring to a high rhetorical use and an imposing moral significance for which its previous course had been unnoticedly preparing it: 'The Cross of Redemption is signed upon your brow; the blood of Redemption is on the lintel of your house of life. And yet, how many of you are drawing and slouching through the world, trying to make life a pastime, &c.\*'

But perhaps the most thoroughly illustrative word on the above list is *take*. It is usual to explain this word by reference to *tæcan*, and it has been necessary to ignore the wide difference of sense between English *take* and Saxon *tæcan*. This difference is so wide, that it would not be too much to say that *tæcan* meant something much more like *give* than like *take*. It is rendered by Grein 'monstrare, ostendere, zeigen;' it was often used in the sense of imparting, handing a thing to another, and it survives in our present verb to *teach*. Whereas our word for *take* during the Saxon period was *niman*, as it now is in German *nehmen*, and the root of this verb it is that constitutes the name of Shakspeare's pilfering Nym. This verb *niman* is quite extinct in English, and instead of it we have the Danish *take*. Now the most interesting, and indeed, for our present argument, the most essential part of this world's history, we can only glance at sufficiently to guide the reader who may be disposed to follow it out for himself. It turns upon the manifold applications of this word, and especially those applications which are indicated by what we are accustomed, after the analogy of German grammar, to call separable prefixes—thus: take in, take off, take to, take up, which are so wonderfully numerous that many an Englishman, referring to this word in Johnson's Dictionary, would feel that he had had no more notion of the manifold uses of this word than if he had been a foreigner in his own language. Upon this phenomenon we have space only to remark that if, after scanning the columns under *TAKE* in Johnson, he should read those under *TAKA* in Vigfusson, we think argument would be needless to convince him

\* James Baldwin Brown, 'The Higher Life,' 1874, p. 23.

that the two sets of phraseology constitute one continuous formation.

*Want* and *wont* have been explained from Saxon. The one has been referred to that particle *wan* which made the prefix in *wan-hope*—despair; the other has been associated with Saxon *wunian*, mediæval *wone*, to dwell, inhabit. In accepting these explanations, it was necessary to content one's self with vague approximations; but we no longer feel this when we read the two articles under *vanr*, which is the one form of two distinct words in Icelandic.

In order to do full justice to the above collection of examples, we must remember that they are but a remainder which have survived the chances of a thousand years, while many other Danish words which were once current in the English language have from time to time dropped away into oblivion. But although this observation certainly increases the weight of their evidence, yet, after all, they make but a small and an inferior part of the case. Even if we should add to them all the Danish presentives that have ever at any time been in our language, they would be but as so many scattered relics floating on the surface, witnessing to some vast absorption that had taken place. They would be but a superficial incident, pointing to some influence more important but less exposed to observation. A considerable number of presentive words may, through the most superficial relations, be caught by one language of another. There are many Arabic words in English,—*alchemy*, *alcohol*, *alcove*, *algebra*, *alkali*, *almanac*, *admiral*, *cipher*, *elixir*, *magazine*, *nadir*, *sirop*, *sherbet*, *zenith*, but the relation of Arabic to English is hardly worth speaking of. It is only when they become far more numerous, and when they are concerned with subjects that lie near to human life, that presentive words become evidence of any close relationship. But in the case of symbolics each word is an evidence in itself. When, for instance, we observe that the symbol *ARE* is derived from the Danes, we have a fact that may look small, but it really outweighs a whole list of more palpable words. When we perceive that *they*, *their*, *them*, are due to Danish influence, that if not actually borrowed from the Danes, the use of these words as personal pronouns was after the pattern of their speech, we have another fact of great import for our enquiry. The pronoun *same* and the verb *seem* may go for rather less, but still these also are of very considerable significance. But perhaps none that we have mentioned exceed in value the instances of the auxiliary verbs *let*, *get*; words that

went a long way towards modifying the general policy of English syntax.

When we are estimating the influence of one language upon another by means of words that have passed from this into that, we must always recognise the superior evidence of symbolic words. And a reasonable account may be given of this superiority. In the case of the presentive words there are always superficial causes in operation which tend to promote the circulation of strange and foreign words. We easily appreciate the motives which lead masses of people to say *commence* rather than *begin*, or to talk of *eliminating* instead of *removing*, or (and this we recently saw in a provincial paragraph about a fashionable wedding) to call the church gallery an *orchestra*. It is newer, and sounds more important, and that is enough. But the same sort of causes do not so readily operate to bring in such a word as *are*, and make men say 'they are' instead of 'they be.' So with the rest of those above named, *let*, *get*, *they*, *their*, *them*, *same*, *seem*.

But, unaided as these little words are by the lighter sort of motives, yet they have advantages of their own which tend to their preservation and propagation. Under permanent social conditions their security is the natural result of their position on the half-conscious side of the speech-faculty, where they are the less liable to caprice because they provoke little notice: but when in the collision of races they are dislodged, they run great risk of extinction. Yet even here they have one chance of life. That single chance arises out of the circumstance that, compared with presentive words, the symbolics enjoy an immense frequency of repetition: and if occasional words, like *commence*, *eliminate*, win favour by their own attractions, we see that such a word as *are* was able to establish itself in a new land by dint of reiteration.

Before such words are adopted and able to run upon their own feet in a new field they must have been made familiar in combination with words of a more palpable sort, that is to say, such little words are not learnt singly, but in phraseology. Along the extensive border line between the Danes and the Saxons, many of those idiomatic sayings, for which the northern language had such a remarkable talent, must have struck the Saxon ear and have kindled that pleasure which leads to unconscious imitation. The currency of Danish phrases would render their little symbols familiar to Saxon lips, and as the phrases got diluted, or even dissolved, in the Saxon language, some symbolic word might permanently survive. As

the Sarsen stones on Salisbury Plain are said to be but the residuary nodules of a vast sandy stratum that has been washed away, so are the little words under notice the surviving relics and tokens of a world of Danish talk that has been absorbed and neutralised in the contiguous and kindred Saxon.

Sometimes the irruptive language suggests a mechanical improvement of which the native language avails itself, and this may happen with either class of word. The word *law* (already spoken of) was adopted almost immediately, and probably for its mechanical superiority over the old Saxon word which was physically effete. Something of the same kind happened in the case of the personal pronouns. The Danes had long employed demonstratives for the plurals of the personal pronouns, and the example was one which it was easy for the English to adopt. This is the history of *they*, *their*, *them*. We now use these symbols as if they were the plural cases of *he*, *she*, *it*; but we cannot trace this up to Saxon grammar. The plural of *he*, *she*, *it*, in Saxon was, nominative *hi*; genitive, *heora*; dative, *heom* (*hem*); and the popular use of *em* for *them* is really a survival of the pure Saxon speech. But if we look at the Saxon demonstrative pronoun, we find the plurals *tha*, *thæra*, *tham*, and these, with Danish prompting and the increased fulness of expression which they offered, became very gradually the substitutes of *hi*, *heora*, *hem*. This is one of those many speech-changes which spring from the passion for emphasis, and it was only natural that the fierce and violent sons of Odin should take the lead in such a movement. But there is something like phonetic evidence that such is the true history of this translocation. Before the Icelandic Lexicon came to hand we were satisfied with the derivation of *their* and *them* from the Saxon *thæra* and *tham*, but we always felt that something was wanting to make *they* deducible from such a form as *thá*. This void is in the most interesting manner satisfied by the facts of Icelandic grammar. In that language the demonstrative has its three genders in the plural as well as in the singular—*their*, *thær*, *thau*; just like the Latin *illi*, *illæ*, *illa*. In active use, however, the neuter has a great advantage; for when a plural pronoun is wanted, not for masculines only or for feminines only, but for a mixture of masculine and feminine, the neuter plural is resorted to as a compromise. Thus in the narrative of 'Thorstein the White' we read: 'Thau Thorir áttu tvau börn,' 'Thorir and his wife had two bairns:' lit. They Thorir, &c. We have nothing at present to do with the quaint syntax of this

expression, any more than to observe that the word 'thau' is neuter plural corresponding to the Latin 'illa,' and that it marks a 'they' which is made up of 'he' and 'she,' Thorir and wife. This 'thau' does not seem any nearer than the Saxon 'thá' to our pronoun until we are informed that it is, in the present Icelandic, pronounced 'thöy,' so very nearly like our 'they,' as to leave little doubt that for this pronoun we are debtors to the Danes. The following example is still more complete:—'Thorgerð hét kona hans; thau áttu thrjá sonu, hét einn theirra Thorsteinn ok var kallaðr hinn fagri, annarr Einar, þriði Thorkell; allir váru their mannvænligir.' 'Thorgerd was his wife's name; they (= he and she) had three sons; one of them hight Thorstein, and was called The Fair, another Einar, the third Thorkell; they (three men) were all promising.'

The chief impression which is left upon the mind by a course of reading in Icelandic prose is the peculiarity and variety and fertility of the phraseology. This is very striking when viewed in comparison with Teutonic languages, and not least so when contrasted with Anglo-Saxon. The remarkable freedom and elasticity of Icelandic prose when compared with the straitness of Anglo-Saxon syntax, is naturally calculated to suggest that the English language has been quickened in its phraseological activity by Danish contact; and when we examine the Icelandic phraseology in comparison with much that appears in English in the Transition period, of which Anglo-Saxon furnishes no adequate account, the idea is greatly confirmed. For instance, such a characteristic phrase of early English as 'on the King's behalf'—'in his behalf'—is not to be explained from Anglo-Saxon, but is fully accounted for by what this dictionary gives under the word 'Hálfa.' When we proceed a step further, and compare the cast of many of our phrases with modern Danish, the apprehension that our phraseology received a strong impulse from the Danelag gradually shapes itself into a settled conviction. Some of the readiest illustrations of the Scandinavian influence on our phraseology are to be found in connection with the auxiliaries *let* and *get*, as they involve many turns of speech entirely dependent upon their functions, and which could not have existed without them. Thus under the verb *lata*, such phrases as '*lata naut inn*,' to let neat into (a stall); '*lata út*,' to let out; '*láið mik víta*,' let me know; have too familiar an air to escape recognition. Our auxiliary *get* has this grammatical peculiarity, that it construes equally with the infinitive and

with the participle, and this we meet again in the Icelandic *geta*, as *geta sjá*, to get to see; *geta tekinn*, to get taken.

Phraseology is very fickle and changeable. We may assure ourselves of this by opening any popular book that is as much as a century old. In the latter half of last century an eminent statesman advises his son thus: 'There is likewise a particular attention required, to contradict with good manners; such as begging pardon, begging leave to doubt, and such like phrases.' These phrases have now utterly lost their charm, and we seek for some expressions of newer device when we are upon our politest attitudes. Each generation innovates and has its own turns of expression, while it wearies of the old phrases. Therefore we must not often expect to find a verbal identity in modern English phrases with those in the Icelandic dictionary, but we may acquire the habit of discerning a family likeness where time and transmission have necessarily altered much on the surface.

From the phraseology we will pass on to the last part of our division, and call attention to the fact that we may trace a reminiscence of Danish syntax in certain Compounds. Inasmuch as compounds were originally formed by the coherence of words standing next to each other in grammatical structure, it follows as a consequence that compounds will often embalm the memory of an extinct syntax, and afford the best evidence of past states of phraseology. For example, in our present syntax we speak of 'breaking horses' and 'making shoes;' but the compounds which we employ in these matters testify to a different collocation that once prevailed, for in the forms 'horse-breaking,' 'shoemaking,' we have traces of a time when the object stood before instead of after the verb. And this may be applied to the present inquiry. In the compound *welfare*, we have a word that was already coherent in early Danish times, thus, '*welfara-öl*,' literally welfare-ale, meant a parting banquet: and it is a relic of that archaic syntax '*vel fara*,' in which the adverb preceded the verb instead of following, as now we say, to fare well. In our 'farewell' we have another compound of the self-same materials, but of later date, and belonging to the recent syntax. This is a compound which has been made out of Danish materials but upon English soil, like *bridal* and *lahslit*, which have been noticed above. This is the kind of compound which might profitably exercise the search of the young student who wished to sharpen his faculty of observation upon the Denisms of the English language. Those which, like *welfare*,

*heyday*, *handsel*, *ransack*, *foreman*, have been received by us in the compound state, belong not strictly here but to the ordinary list of borrowed words.

Having now illustrated the several parts of our analytical division, we will endeavour to give the same facts a more coherent aspect by taking them in the order of their historical manifestation, in the progress and development of the English language. The first place in which the Danish language has distinctly sprinkled our own is in those tenth-century ballads which constitute one of the most genuine beauties of Saxon literature. We cannot here indulge in any detail, but we may give indications enough to establish our meaning. In the 'Ballad of the Battle of Brunanburh,' A.D. 937, the boats of the Northmen are called by the name of *cnear*, a word that has sorely perplexed the Saxon scribes. This is precisely the Icelandic *knörr*, a word which passed into the Latin vocabulary of Normandy in the form of *canardus*.\* In the beautiful fragment of the 'Ballad of Maldon,' A.D. 991, we have probably the earliest extant instance of the use in English of the Danish verb to *call*. In the Saxon laws there are some important novelties which begin to manifest themselves after the period of the Danish settlement. The title *earl* is the Danish *jarl*, and the *thrall* is the Danish *thræl*; but above all in importance, the word *Law* itself, a word that has proved so expansive in modern times, and taken such a leading place in scientific development, was learnt by us from the wild Danes.

In the Saxon Chronicles we may say generally that the later years are tinged with the Danish element, but of one of them in particular, namely, the 'Peterborough Chronicle,' it is not too much to say, that for the last hundred years it is bespangled with Danish words, and deeply tinctured with Danish modes of phraseology. We will not cumber ourselves with the list of words, but an example of Danish phraseology from this Chronicle may be useful. We quote the *Annal* 1140: 'In the lengthen thestrede the sunne and te dæi abuton non-tid dæies, tha men eten, that me lihtede candles to æten bi:—' In the Lent eclipsed the sun and the day about noon-tide of the day, when men eat, that men lighted candles to eat by.' Although the vocable 'by' is un-Danish, yet the cast of phrase is eminently Scandinavian.

From the conclusion of the 'Peterborough Chronicle' with 1154, we have

\* 'Quatuor naves magnæ quas canardos vocant, de Northwegiâ in Angliam appulse sunt. —*Ordericus Vitalis*, viii. 23.

only to step forward half a century to meet with the long poem of the 'Diatessaron Versified,' by a monk who bears the Danish name of Orm. This grand and peculiar relic rose out of the midst of Scandinavian homesteads, and is full of the internal evidences which we should look for under such circumstances.

Of all the 'Denisc' evidences in the 'Ormulum,' that which is of most import towards the history of the English language, is the posthabited prefix after the above-quoted pattern of 'candles to eat by,' and this formula will be found by any one who has the patience to count, recurring in our homiletical poet quite as frequently as in the papers of Addison. We subjoin examples from Dr. White's admirable edition:—

Vol. ii. p. 149.	'thatt he wass borenn offe.
"	" <i>that he was born of.</i>
" 151.	Drihltin badd Noe gan till.
"	" <i>the Lord bade Noah go to.</i>
" 152.	they alle samenn ædenn inn.
"	" <i>they all together went in.</i>
" 160.	all hardr to gannenn onne.
"	" <i>all hard to walk on.</i>

And here certain symbols claim our attention, both the symbols that are coming in, and also those which are reluctantly yielding ground and falling out. Nothing perhaps shows the wide distance at which Icelandic stands from its cognates more than the peculiarity of its symbols. For example, the prominent use of 'thing,' so common in English and all the Teutonic branches, is unknown in Scandinavian, except where borrowed in modern Danish from us or from the Germans. Other words perform this service, such as 'hlutr,' lot: thus, 'i öllum hlutum,' in all things; 'aðra hluti,' other things; and stranger still, 'kostr,' cost: thus, 'at them kosti,' on that condition; 'at versta kosti,' in the worst case; 'alls kostar,' in every respect. This clears up a unique and obscure passage in the 'Ormulum':—

'Agg whil thatt I was litell child  
Icc held o childess thewess,  
And son summ icc was waxenu mann,  
Tha fæh I childess costess.'

'Aye while that I was little child, I held of child's manners, and soon as I was waxen man, then fled I the *things* of a child.'

Among the lights which guide our path through the obscurity of the Transition period, we may mention the 'Cursor Mundi' as a work in which many Danisms are preserved, and as the earliest in which we have found the verb *ARE*. But of all this outer and wider circle of English literature, there

is nothing that is so thoroughly Danish as the 'Ballads of the Percy Folio.' It is not too much to say generally that our ballad literature is a growth of the Scandinavian districts, and that their peculiar phraseology and that savour which is all their own, is the natural result of this circumstance of their birth. It is here that we find some of our choicest Danisms. Among the most prominent of these are *busk* and *bowne*, both well-marked Icelandic words: the former meaning to prepare, get ready; the latter signifying ready to start:—

'Buske ye, bowne ye, my merrimen all.'

Dr. Dasent, in his translation of the 'Saga of Burnt Njal,' while he professes to avoid antiquated expressions, claims a special exemption for these two, as being so often required and so hard to substitute, and therefore almost indispensable to his work. Another example is the antithesis, very familiar to all readers of the ballads, 'whether I ryde or goe;' which means not whether I choose the one or the other manner of travelling, but whether I am mounted or afoot—whether in high or low estate. This use of 'go,' in the sense of walk, and indeed the whole idea of the antithesis is found in Icelandic; as, 'reið jarl en karl gókk,' 'rode the earl but the yeoman walked;' and it is well displayed as a class-distinction in the Edda-song, Rígs-mál.

And if from these popular specimens we pass to the standard writers which have determined the character of the English language, we may still continue to follow upon the tracks of the Scandinavian element. We perceive certain Danish symbols beginning to take their place in the standard language. Chaucer has adopted *they*, but not *their*, *them*: he adheres to the pure Saxon pronouns *hir*, *hem*.\* One of the most interesting symbols for the present inquiry is *are*: not only does Chaucer not admit this word in his own diction, but he makes use of it to mimic the dialect of the north.

In the 'Reeve's Tale' there are two Cambridge students out of the North countree:

'John hight that oon and Alayn hight that other

Of oo toun were they born that highte Strother Ffer in the North, I can not telle where,'

\* Tyrwhitt felt the importance of this pronominal change, but he was not in a position to explain it. His words are: 'It is very difficult to say from whence, or why, the pronouns *they*, *them*, and *their*, were introduced into our language. The Saxon pronouns *hi*, *hem*, and *hir*, seem to have been in constant use in the time of Robert of Gloucester. Sir John Mandeville and Chaucer use *they* for *hi*, but never, as I remember (in the MSS. of authority) *them* or *their*.'

And these Northern lads bring out many native expressions, such as 'alhail,' 'how fares,' 'bihoves,' 'howgates,' 'whilk,' 'sal,' 'ilhail,' 'twa,' 'til'; 'com of man al atanes;' they use the preposition *ymel* (Icel. *i milli*) thus: 'ymel hem alle' — among them all; and their verb-substantive has a grammar different from the south, thus: I is, thou is; we, ye, *are* (spelt *ar* and *ere*):

'I is as ille a Millere as ar ye.'

'Now ere we dryven til hething and til scorn.'

Wiclif's Bible is not without those Danish traces which we should expect in a Yorkshireman, and the very first word of the following quotation affords an instance. But he, like Chaucer, is constant to *be* and *ben*; he never admits *are*.

'Til into this hour we hungren, and thirsten, and ben nakid, and ben smytun with boffatis, and we ben vnstable, and we trauelen worchinge with oure hondis; we ben cursid, and we blessen; we suffren persecucioun, and we susteynen; we ben blasfemyd, and we bisechen; as clensyngis of this world we ben maad, the paringis of alle thingis til ȝit.—1 Cor. iv. 11-13.

Like Chaucer, he uses *thei* constantly; and for the other cases he retains both forms of the genitive, the old and the new, *her* and *ther*, while for the accusative case he keeps to the old *hem*. Indeed, the use of *them* is so very exceptional, that when it is met with, it is a peculiarity, not shared by both versions, and we feel constrained to understand the translator as using not the simple pronoun, but the emphatic demonstrative, as in Isaiah i. 23:—

1384. 'Thi princes vnfeithfull, felawes of theues; alle thei louen ȝiftus, folewen ȝeldyngus; to the faderles child thei demen not, the cause of the widewe goth not in to them.'

1388. 'Thi princes ben vnfeithful, the felowis of theuys; alle louen ȝiftis suen meedis; thei demen not to a fadirles child, and the cause of a widewe entrieth not to hem.'

In Wiclif's Sermons we meet with strange words, evidently familiar at that time, which can be well explained by the help of the Icelandic dictionary: 'And disciplis wenten into the citee to bie hem mete; for thei snokiden not fro hous to hous and beggiden smek, as freris doon.\*' This form becomes plain when we see that 'suókr' is one of the Icelandic forms for snake; and Wiclif's word yielded to the superior expressiveness of *sneak*, which is of the same root.

Passing now to Shakspeare we will instance the nautical term *yare*, so prominent

in the opening scene of the 'Tempest,' and which we trace not to the Saxon *gearo*, ready; but to the same source as the Scottish *gar*, to do, and we think the reader may satisfy himself of this fact by a study of the article under *göra* in the present Dictionary.

In connection with the name of Shakspeare we will mention one more Danish, which may presumably be new to the reader, as we do not remember to have seen it noticed anywhere, but which is certainly very remarkable as a rare instance in literature of a word that is very familiar to our ears. It brings us in contact with Shakspeare's use of dialect, a subject which, as far as we know, remains unworked, and offers a vein of promising inquiry to the labours of the Dialect Society. We have already instanced the pronoun *same* as one that we owe to the Danes. There is a kindred word, even more interesting, but ignored by Dictionary and Grammar, and that is the old Scandinavian relative *som*, which figures in the provincial *whatsomever*. This *som* (Icelandic *sem*), disowned in English, is the ubiquitous relative of modern Danish literature. In 'All's Well' Shakspeare has put this word *whatsomever* into the mouth of Diana, as if with the intention of giving her speech a tinge of rusticity appropriate to the part of a 'gentlewoman' who might fitly wait upon a lady at her dressing-table.\*

It is symbols of this kind that claim the attention as we pass on from the superficial words that we noted in the tenth and three following centuries; and we will close this paragraph with the oft-mentioned *are* in connection with the Bible of 1611. In this version the word is frequent, but its place is undefined.† We can imagine that the claims of *are* and *be* may give some trouble to the revisers. How slow is the placing of a borrowed symbolic may be gathered from the fact that this symbol has been a thousand years arriving at its definite place in the language, and that the national Bible has not yet fully admitted it. And in some keeping with the slowness of their advent to place is the tenacity with which they cling to it. In

\* Just as in 'Henry the Eighth,' he has put a rustic expression or two in the mouths of the staid and homely lords who entertain one another on the absurdity of the new French fashions.

† For a specimen of the indeterminate use of *be* and *are* in our Bible, see Zechariah iv. Hooker's habit is the same, thus: 'All points of Christian doctrine are either demonstrable conclusions or demonstrative principles. And principles be grounds which require no proof in any kind of science, because,' &c.—*Of the Laws, &c.*, v. lxiii. 1.

\* 'Select English Works of John Wiclif,' by Thomas Arnold, M.A., vol. ii. p. 38.

Aldburgh Church, Holderness, there is an inscription which runs thus: 'Ulf het æraeran cyrice for hanum and for Gunthara saula,' 'Ulf ordered rear church for him and for Gunthar's soul.' Here every word is Anglo-Saxon, except the pronoun *hanum*, which is pure Danish, and utterly foreign to Saxon. If to this we add the parallel case of *costess* in the 'Ormulum,' which has been described above, we shall allow that the symbols die hard. And as we have passed on from the presentive to the symbolic words in the course of tracing the Danish element down the broadening stream of our language, so the next thing that will deserve our attention will be something less palpable still, namely, the turn of symbolic phraseology in which we have been largely advanced by the Danes.

After Shakspeare there was almost a century in which the Romanesque tide continued to rise unchecked, and then came the reaction under Queen Anne, which, without revolutionising the habits of the language, was of a very distinctly marked character. Addison discovered that the native idioms were available for a graceful and easy style, and the taste which he displays for the old ballads may have had something to do with the shaping of his diction. The writers in the 'Spectator' sought to extend the area of the reading public, and to this end it was fitting that a new and more familiar style should be aimed at. The difference between the style of the early essayists and that of previous writers is rather to be felt than defined or described; but there is one particular feature which has been pitched upon as a tangible characteristic. This consists in putting at the end of the clause, as a suffixed adverb, some little word which the Latin and other Romance languages would put either at the head of the clause as a preposition, or in the body of the clause as a verbal prefix. Thus: 'some certain follies which were then in vogue, and which at present we have not any notion of.'\* In the French structure it would run thus: 'of which we have not any notion.' There is perceptible throughout the writings of Addison a gentle and unobtrusive infusion of native idiom modifying the Latin or Gallic style in vogue before; and the particular structure now noticed has been selected as characteristic of this tendency, and has received the name of the Addisonian construction. This construction may be found in most, perhaps in all, the prose writings before Addison's time, though it was in him first that it was raised to the dignity of a characteristic. The attribution,

however inexact, conveys a general truth that the effect of Addison's writing was to strengthen the part of the native idiom in our literary diction. It would perhaps be correct to say that by this innovation the frequency of the sentence-ending preposition was raised to the proportion which it holds in the pages of the Danish and provincial *Ormulum*; and that this hitherto questionable structure obtained its citizenship in our literary diction at a time when Latin and French had long been our only recognised models. This was not so much the substitution of one form of construction for another as the assertion of a native right that was in danger of being swamped, and the renewed exercise of a faculty that was languishing from neglect and inaction: it still left the field so freely open to the foreign structures that it can hardly be said to have operated to their restraint; but at the same time it proffered to those who knew how to use it a valuable addition to that varying power which is so fruitful in capabilities of expression, and which never ceases to offer new opportunities of harmony in the intricate conferences between thought and language.

Lest it should be thought that we are making too much of an idiom which some writers even now seem scrupulously to avoid, we will call in the evidence of an eloquent and judicious American critic:—

'—that peculiarly characteristic arrangement which puts a preposition at the end of a sentence. This is eminently an English idiom, and nothing but prejudice arising from misapplied analogy with the southern languages, and the propensity to make style more formal and less idiomatic, would ever have led any one to suppose this construction to be wrong. The false fastidiousness which shuns a short particle at the end of a sentence is fatal often to a force which belongs to the language with its primal character. The superiority of the idiom I am referring to could be proved beyond question by examples of the best writing in all the eras of the language. As the error is pretty wide spread, let me cite a few of these. "Houses are built to live in and not to look on;" and again, "Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more a man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out." Any attempt to transpose these separable prepositions would destroy the strength and terseness of the sentences. Even a stronger example occurs in a passage in Donne, one of the great English divines, a contemporary of Bacon's: "Hath God a name to swear by? Hath God a name to curse by? Hath God a name to blaspheme by? and hath God no name to pray by?" The opening sentence of one of Mr. Burke's most celebrated speeches is, "The times we live in have been distinguished by extraordinary events." Dr.

\* 'Spectator,' No. 101.

Franklin's phrase, with its twenty-five Saxon and four Latin words, "William Coleman, then a merchant's clerk about my age, who had the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and the exactest morals of any man I ever met with." And observe such a sentence as this of Arnold's, "Knowledge must be worked for, studied for, thought for; and, more than all, it must be prayed for." I really think that people, in writing and speaking, might get over their fear of finding a preposition at the end of their sentences.\*

But what we wish particularly to draw attention to is this: that this enlargement was gained from an element which the popular speech owed to the Danish portion of the population. We must trust that this remark will commend itself to the readers of the original sagas, while for those who are without experience in Icelandic diction it hardly admits of proof, though it is possible to supply an illustration. Books of travels in Iceland commonly quote, in evidence of the attachment of the natives to their rude island home, the following Icelandic proverb: 'Island er hinn besta land sem solinn skínar uppá;' and it is constantly rendered by a French structure thus: 'Iceland is the best land on which the sun shines;' although verbal fidelity here results in Addisonian English: 'Iceland is the best land that the sun shines upon.' We have before us at this moment two books of Icelandic travels; the one by a Commander in the Royal Navy, and the other by an Oxonian; and in their translation of this proverb they both avoid the Addisonian and literal method out of preference for the French construction, plainly demonstrating that the Addisonian phrase has only gained its footing among us, and not acquired equality of recognition. But neither of these constructions was natural to our first-planted mother-tongue. The Saxon would have expressed this by a particle in composition with the verb, as, 'Thæt betste land the seo sunne on-scineth,' or 'on-lihteth,' just as the Latin would do it: 'Optima terrarum quas illuminat sol.' When, therefore, we see that the Addisonian structure can be explained only by reference to the Icelandic, and when we perceive that it is too native and idiomatic for many writers, inasmuch that some even who are strong in Gothic tastes avoid this structure only because it is too homely, there hardly remains any other conclusion than that the English language has drawn some of its most peculiar idioms from the Danish habits of phraseology.†

\* Henry Reed, 'Introduction to English Literature,' cap. iii.

† If the origin here assigned to the Addisonian structure should be generally admitted, it might prove of advantage to give it the technical de-

And this naturally leads us to consider another point, by which the probability of the above explanation will be heightened. It has been often asked—How is it that modern Danish is so very like English? The question is the more puzzling, because we do not find that the likeness which now exists between these two languages increases as we follow their respective courses upward into a higher antiquity. If it were simply the natural likeness of two branches issuing from a common starting-point we should expect to find the approximation greater in proportion to the primitiveness of the period at which we renewed the comparison. But this is by no means the case. The old Danish laws are not particularly like the Anglo-Saxon laws in diction; not nearly so much so as the Frisic laws are and the continental Saxon of the *Heliand*; yet modern English is more like modern Danish than it is like the Dutch, or any modern representative of the old Frisic and the old Saxon.

If now it be true that the Danish element has been gradually leavening the English language, and if the results of this age-long process have been slowly and imperceptibly coming to the front, and if they have displayed their greatest effect so recently as the eighteenth century, we have then an adequate explanation of the observed fact that there is a stronger family likeness between modern English and modern Danish than between these two national languages at any earlier stage of their development.

From the above review of the relations between Icelandic and English, we seem to gather two general conclusions:—First, as to the early period of the English language, we may say that the Icelandic offers a new instrument for the critical study of the Anglo-Saxon remains. This study will acquire additional interest with the increased facility of comparison with Icelandic; and several Saxon writings will become capable of nearer assignment than hitherto both as to locality and chronology. Then, also, as on the one hand the Icelandic will be the test of the Danish element in Saxon, so, on the other hand, will the demand naturally be quickened for Teutonic evidence to control and check it, and thus the old Saxon of the *Heliand*, the Frisic, and other Low Dutch dialects, will acquire a new value in the eyes

signation of 'the Danish construction,' or 'the Danish formula.'—Perhaps something ought to have been said to obviate an idea which might naturally rise in minds studious of German, that this structure has come to us from that source. But if we failed to think of it, it was because the whole evidence of history is incompatible with such a supposition.

of the English philologist. Secondly, as to modern English, we see reasons to think that it has been partly shaped by Danish influences, which have been slowly working their way forward, while they have been long eclipsed or suppressed by the more prominent and advantageous position of French and classic models. The positions held by the Icelandic and French languages respectively in their relations to the English language are not without an aspect of similarity which provokes a suggestive comparison. As the French language is in the forefront of the whole Romanesque movement, so was the Danish in its day the most advanced member of the Gothic family: and as it is through the French that we have been most indelibly tinged with the southern, so it is by the Danish that we have been led to embrace the extremest idioms of the northern type.

And if there be something in English which qualifies it for that leading place to which it seems destined among the languages of the world, we would trace this qualification not solely to the original excellence of our fine old Teutonic mother-tongue, but we would likewise bring into view the profitable intercourse it has enjoyed with the most vigorous and maturest specimens of the two chief speech-families of western Europe, whereby it has distilled from both what was best for its own constitution, and has brought from north and south into assimilation with its own natural talents other gifts richly contrasted;—the homely and the dignified, the quaint and the felicitous, the sweet and the racy of the Romanesque and Scandinavian languages.

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ART. VI.—*Registrum de Panmure, records of the families of Maule, De Valoniis, Brechin, and Brechin-Barclay, united in the Line of the Barons and Earls of Panmure.* Compiled by the Hon. Harry Maule of Kelly, A.D. 1733. Edited by John Stuart, LL.D. Edinburgh, 1874. (Privately printed.)

THE 'Registrum de Panmure' is one of the most interesting of the volumes which the literary tastes and feudal sentiments of the Scottish nobility and gentry (in this respect more zealous than their English counterparts) have produced as 'mémoires pour servir,' materials for the history of their country. Since 'The Honours of the Morton Family' were edited for the Bannatyne

Club, we have had in 1858, 'The Stirlings of Keir,' which received scant mercy at the hands of the great peerage lawyer, John Riddell, in his 'Comments in Refutation' of their claims: in 1859, 'The Montgomeries of Eglinton;' in 1863, 'The Maxwells of Polloc;' in 1867, 'The Carnegies of Southesk;' in 1868, 'The Red Book of Grandtully;' in 1869, 'The Chiefs of the Colquhouns;' in 1870, 'The Book of Caerlaverock;' and in 1874, 'The Book of Lennox.' The responsibility of arranging these has rested on Mr. William Fraser, a man of great learning in the science of family history, who has lately acquired fresh laurels by the successful issue of the great Peerage case, in which he has successfully vindicated the claim of the Earl of Kellie to the historic title of Mar. Of the value of such publications (if one may use this expression of costly volumes printed for private circulation) one cannot speak too highly. Beyond the mere genealogical and family interest, they bear very directly upon history. From the high politics of the kingdom down to the smallest details of domestic economy, there is nothing too great or too small for their notice. The religion, hagiology, manners, morals, and tone of thought of the different degrees of society in their several generations, economic development and industrial advance, prices, contracts, the condition of the law, the state of farming and horticulture, the measures of intellectual progress, the social relations, the influence of the sexes, everything that affects society—

'Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira,  
voluptas,  
Gaudia, discursus,'

are to be found here. Nor is the stock exhausted: for the Reports of the Commission on Historical Manuscripts, the Scottish portion of which has been contributed by Mr. Fraser, by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, and notably by Dr. Stuart, the learned and painstaking editor of the volumes which we are now reviewing, exhibit how much is still in store for future publication.

First of all we have the important papers of the ducal family of Hamilton, which from its relationship to the Royal Family of Scotland took such a prominent part in the politics of the kingdom. These have now been inspected carefully and kalendared. They had been little studied since the days of Bishop Burnet. The regency of Arrau, the Commissionership of his grandson at the General Assembly of Perth, when 'The Five Articles' were adopted, and of his great-grandson at Glasgow, when Episcopacy was abolished; the services of the se-

cond duke, who fell at Worcester, and of the third, who was concerned in the affair of the Darien Expedition, are illustrated copiously in the muniment room at Hamilton, and twelve precious volumes which probably belonged to the English Privy Council, throw light upon the times of James V. and his daughter Mary.

The mighty family of the Gordons, whose lands extended from sea to sea, and who were more like Sovereigns than vassals in their northern territory, where they kept up a miniature Court, are not so well represented. Probably being Roman Catholics, and waging a constant war with the neighbouring presbyteries, it was not deemed safe to preserve any compromising correspondence. At Newbattle the Lothian family possess letters of rare interest from the political personages both in Scotland and England who took part in the great rebellion. The Balcarres papers in nine folio volumes, now in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, extend from the marriage of James V. to Mary of Guise, and give a most important correspondence of the leading characters of the time in France. The State papers collected by Sir James Balfour supply materials for the different negotiations of James VI. with foreign powers, especially the Spanish marriage. The collections also of Sir Robert Sibbald and of the Rev. Robert Wodrow are most important. As might be expected, the charter-chest at Buchanan is rich in documents connected with the great Marquis of Montrose, and his correspondence with King Charles I., Queen Henrietta Maria, the Queen of Bohemia, but many of them have been already printed. Still there remain many unpublished papers, especially touching on the rebellion in 1715, and the treatment of the MacGregors, and generally the collections are not surpassed in historical importance and interest by those of any other ancient family. At Dunrobin the long missing document, the Dispensation by Archbishop Hamilton in favour of Bothwell and Lady Jean Gordon, afterwards Countess of Sutherland,—the non-appearance of which enabled her to divorce her husband, and so enable him to marry his unfortunate sovereign—concerning which there was so much mystery, and on which so much of the question of Queen Mary's character hinges, was discovered by Dr. Stuart. Its history, as detailed by that calm and judicial antiquary, casts a most painful light on the conduct of all concerned; Mary, the Archbishop, Bothwell, the estates of the realm, and the lady herself, who died in the odour of respectability at a great age, come in their different mea-

sures very ill out of the transaction, although it is due to truth to say that grave considerations affecting the formality and therefore the legal validity of the document, thus affording a reason for its suppression, have been urged as explanations of what certainly is difficult to be accounted for. Among Lord Crawford's papers is a remarkable Royal Commission issued by James VI., in 1605, for the settlement of the borders, which affords numerous illustrations of the singular conditions of society then prevalent in the Debateable land. One hundred and twelve out of one hundred and fifty Grahams are deported to the garrisons and cautionary towns of Brill and Flushing. Most of them have nicknames; John Graeme's alias is Jock of the Pear-tree, and we have Jock's Richie, and Little Andrew, and All-over-Kaines. A curious list of the names of those 'that standes in feade (feud) with otheris' exhibits a pleasant condition of society. The Youngis are at feud with the Widdringtons, with the Hallis and the Ogles; the Burnes with the Collingwoods and Dycks; the Rodderfordes with the Potts and the Fenwicks; the Elliotis with the Carletons, the Dodds and the Weltons; the Armstrongs with the Riddleys, and so on. The learned reader will compare with this the amusing account of a border night spent by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pius II., as detailed by himself in the history of his visit to Scotland.

The Cawdor papers are chiefly curious as throwing light on the early Thanes and Thanages, and illustrating the condition of the population of Argyll in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It places it in an unfavourable light. A full list of the parishioners of Muckearne is given, exhibiting the trades of that simple state of society, on the occasion of a parish clerk being appointed, who takes symbolical possession by receiving the holy-water vessel and aspersory. The papers of the ancient family of Forbes, which has the honour of being mentioned by Ariosto in the tenth canto of the '*Orlando Furioso*,' along with Huntly, Errol, and Crawford, all families of the north-east of Scotland, are chiefly remarkable for the illustrations they supply of the fortunes of the wandering Scot. Letters exist from the Forbes of the day from London, where he goes up to seek his fortune, in the reign of King James VI., when 'the envy of the English crue has so borne him down,' that he betakes himself to Florence; from another at Stralsund, where allusion is made to some circumstances which nearly led to the last judicial combat in England; from the tenth lord, who rose to be lieutenant-

general in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, who received a testimonial still extant from Oxenstierna, and who afterwards was employed in suppressing the Irish rebellion in 1642. Lastly, there is an account of two brothers of the family who go to Flanders, turn Capuchins, and one of them dying, 'victima charitatis,' in attending plague-stricken sufferers there, 'is inscribed in the Album of the Blessed.'

The Sandilands papers show how the lands of the Orders of the Templars and of the Hospitallers became alienated. In 1546 James Sandilands has licence from the crown to pass to Malta, where he obtains 'provision' of the preceptory on the resignation of the Preceptor Lindsay. Next year he obtains the 'ancianitas,' a right of expectation confirmed by Paul III. In 1547 he becomes Preceptor on Lindsay's death, and in 1551 is invested in the spirituality and temporality, by receiving chalice, missal, and keys of Church for spirituality, and earth and stone for the temporalities in the court of the place of Torphichen. In 1563 he resigns all the lands into Queen Mary's hands, and receives a re-grant of them as Baron of Torphichen, and so the preceptory was secularized.

The collection at Glamis Castle is chiefly interesting from a remarkable document, in which Earl Patrick, the most noteworthy of the family, records how he redeemed his estate from mortgage, and after a definite plan restored his castle, which is the most splendid of the chateaux of Scotland. At the end is a remarkable entry showing how little, in 1694, the author anticipated the permanence of the Presbyterian Establishment. Six months before his death Patrick, Earl of Strathmore, executed a deed, in which he leaves orders to cause, erect, and build four lodges upon the corners of the open, for the highway through the church-town of Glamis, at Westhill, leading to Perth,

'For the use of four aged men of our own surname, if they can be found, and failing them, to such depauperated tenants as, through infirmities, are reduced to want, and not through debauchery or negligence, to each of which I mortify yearly 4 bolls of oatmeal and 25 merks Scotch money with a new white-coloured wide cloth coat lined with blue serge once every three years; and that they shall render such services to us and our successors as their age and capacity will suffer, they being in health, and that they constantly keep the Parish Church and attend Divine Service and wait always at the Church-door when we go there and at their own doors whenever we shall have occasion to pass by, if they be not employed abroad, and that they be holden (if sickness and infirmity

do not hinder) to repair every day once, at the 12th hour of the day, to our Burial Place (whereof a key shall be given to each incoiner), and a form of prayer to be read by them by turns by such of them as can read, and if they cannot read that they learn the same by heart, and that they keep that room over the burial place always neat and clean, and our loft in the Church, and this to be recorded in the Session Books of the Church of Glamis. At Glamis, the 2nd of December, 1694, in the 51st year, sixth month, and 4th day of our age, in presence of Mr. John Lyon, Sheriff Clerk of Forfar; James Nairne, Jaen Greenhill, our servants. Pray God that when He has served Himself by us in this our time, we may arrive at last by a happy end to His eternal bliss, through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.'

At Cortachy, the seat of the very ancient Celtic family of the Ogilvy's, besides the usual deeds and charters, are some ecclesiastical documents of a singular nature, charters of lands held by the custody of S. Medan's bell (it is said that accidentally the bell itself was sold as a bit of old iron in the present century), and of those which accompany the office of hereditary porter of the Abbey of Cupar. There are commissions granted to the family as baillies of the regality of the Tyronensian Abbey of Arbroath, an office somewhat similar to that of the Advocatus, Vicedominus or Vidame, of the Episcopal sees and monasteries of France. A foundation of a chaplaincy on the island of the picturesque loch of Cluny by the distinguished Bishop George Brown of Dunkeld, who in vain tried to stem the tide of corruption in the Church of Scotland, at the end of the fifteenth century, affords graphic illustrations of the clerical morals of the period.

A very different class of documents are found at Oxenfoord, the seat of the Earl of Stair, whose family, like so many others of the seventeenth century, sprung from a successful lawyer. The Stair papers, arranged in twenty-eight volumes, in the main consist of the despatches, instructions, and correspondence of Field-Marshal Lord Stair, who distinguished himself in the campaigns of Marlborough, and was afterwards ambassador in France and Holland. They illustrate the politics of Europe of the period, as well as the state of parties in England during the reigns of Queen Anne and the two first Georges.

The library at Dysart possesses the correspondence of Lord Chancellor Loughborough, in which are to be found many letters from Fox, Burke, and Clive. The manuscripts of the family of Dundas of Arncliffe are such as we should expect to find in the charter-room of a race which for a very

long period exercised such bureaucratic power in Scotland.

These are specimens of the unedited and often unkalendared historical documents lying treasured up in the charter-rooms of the Scottish gentry. Long after the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions, Scotland remained a feudal country; the government of the nation was entirely in the hands of the lords of the soil; and therefore it is among their papers that we must seek for indications of many of the secret springs of political action, as well as for illustrations of the domestic life and manners of the people.\*

But the volumes before us have an additional interest. They are not the work of the present century, or of its revived taste for archaeological study. The science of palæography, which now professes to determine from the handwriting alone the date of a document within twenty years, has not been worked to test the genuineness of this charter or of that breve. They are not the result of the great and general interest which now prevails with regard to all the incidents of old-world life. It is a compilation of the early part of the last century. If it owes its origin to any source whatever save the antiquarian tastes of the compiler and his son, it owes it to the impulse given to such studies by the learned Benedictines of the congregation of S. Maur. The '*Iter Italicum*,' and the treatise, '*De Arte Diplomaticâ*,' written by the learned Mabillon to confute the undue literary scepticism of the Bollandist Papebroch, tended to create a taste for archæology in those who came under the influences of such pursuits; and who so likely to succumb to them as a Scottish gentleman of noble birth and high culture, whose political relations were with S. Germain's and not with S. James', and who would find more congenial company in the society of the learned and cultivated Superiors of the Scots College at Paris, than in that of Professors of the Universities of his native land, of whose discipline, Meston, the Scottish Butler (one of the fraternity himself, till ejected for the part which he took in the affair of the 1715), has given such a Hudibrastic description?

'He vies, if sober, with Duns Scotus,  
Sed multo magis si sit potus,  
In disputando, just as keen as  
Calvin, John Knox, or Tom Aquinas,

\* \* \* \* \*  
For he, by page and leaf, can quote  
More books than Solomon e'er wrote.

A lover of the mathematics  
He is, but hates the hydrostatics,  
Because he thinks it is cold study  
To deal in water clear or muddy.'

In the notices of the learned compilers of the '*Registrum*,' as gathered from the correspondence of their friends, and other incidental notices, we seem to get the portraiture of the accomplished Scottish gentleman of the period, a character which has again and again reproduced itself, from the days of King James I. and the Admirable Crichton, through a long list of distinguished men, sometimes cultivating letters at home, on their estates, or in the literary society of the Capital, sometimes expelled from Scotland for religious or political causes. Thus we have the many cultivated Scots who, on account of their adherence to the old religion, had to leave their country, and who filled many an episcopal see and professorial chair on the Continent, while at home we have the scholarly Latinists whose lucubrations are preserved in the '*Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*.' From the narrowness of the limits of his country, from the poverty of the realm and the consequent necessity of seeking his fortunes elsewhere, from the political connections which so often threw him into relations with France, there was a cosmopolitan element in the culture of the Scottish gentleman of the last century which has not yet entirely died out. The whitewash of French civilisation, which mitigated in some measure the coarseness of the native manners, and which has left its mark in nearly two hundred French words till lately in common use among the Scottish peasantry, remained as a social influence, and was aided by the circumstances that many of the Roman Catholic and Episcopalian Lairds sent their sons for education to Douai and to Ratisbon; that the disabilities following on the unsuccessful risings of the '15 and '45 sent many a well-born Scot to trade to Sweden, where he found friends among the ennobled descendants of his countrymen who in a previous century had borne arms for Gustavus Adolphus; and that even the lawyers in pursuit of their studies of Roman law betook themselves to the universities of Holland. Neither can we say at the present day, that this element has disappeared, so long as letters are illustrated by such men as the Earl of Crawford and the Laird of Keir.

The Honourable Harry Maule of Kelly, third son of George, second Earl of Panmure, was a fine specimen of the character which we have been describing. Soldier and politician, antiquary and enlightened Churchman, he seems to have been as remarkable for the dignity of his person (if

\* See '*Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*,' i. pp. 110-126; ii. pp. 163-206; iii. pp. 308-423; iv. pp. 470-533.

we may judge from the portrait prefixed to the volumes which we are reviewing) as for the nobility of his sentiments. Though a member of the Convention of Estates, in 1689 he submitted to the fine for non-attendance at Parliament, rather than recognise the forfeiture of the crown by King James VII. Like most patriotic Scotsmen, he opposed the projected Union, and was actually present on the Stuart side at the battle of Sheriffmuir, where, at great risk to himself, he rescued his brother the earl, who had been taken prisoner. Obligated to fly to Holland, he there occupied himself in hard study; read Grotius '*De Jure pacis et belli*' four times over, studied Struvius on feudal law as well as the constitutions of the different countries of Europe, especially the United Provinces, 'and was surprised at the blunders Sir William Temple had made in his account thereof.' Above all he applied himself to the Canon Law and Fathers of the Church, 'and studied them hard for a year and a-half.' This enabled him on his return to Scotland to take part in the great controversy which broke out in the Episcopal Church between the usagers and the non-usagers, by his learning and social authority he exercised a wholesome moderating influence. He was 'against all innovations,' and 'was for keeping the Church on the footing it was on before the Revolution; and since they could not now get bishops named by the regal authority, proposed that the bishops already made should get themselves chosen to a particular diocese by the clergy and laity of that district, and upon their death an election made, and the person chosen confirmed by the Bishop of Edinburgh and consecrated.' On his return to Scotland he kept up a great correspondence with the leading adherents of the Jacobite cause, and the prominent men of the day; and he especially occupied himself in historical pursuits, making an extensive collection of chronicles, chartularies, and documents bearing on the history of Scotland, to the consideration of which he brought the well-balanced judgment and critical acumen of his learned correspondent, the Rev. Thomas Innes, of the Scots College at Paris. Twice married, first to a daughter of Lord Wigton, and then to Ann Lindsay, of Kilbirnie, Harry Maule, on the death of his brother, styled by the Jacobites Earl of Panmure, was predeceased by his son the issue of his first marriage, James, Lord Maule, a young man of great learning and of the highest promise, who was associated with him in the compilation of the '*Registrum de Panmure*,' and to whom we shall have hereafter

to refer. The son died in 1729, the father in 1734.

We now proceed to examine the work which was the result of the labours of this remarkable father and son. Disgusted by the 'false and fabulous stories of the rise and beginning of several families of Scotland,' they set themselves 'to write the history of some one of our Scots families, like those done abroad, which nobody has e'er yet attempted,' and naturally pitched upon their own, in which they found: '1st, An antiquity not to be paralleled (*orig. paralleled*), being as ancient in Scotland as any name ever there found; as ancient in England as the Conquest, an age before we have anything certain of Scots families, and traced in France a century above that. 2nd, Their continuing in the male line so great a time as 760 years. 3rd, The nobleness and grandeur of their original. 4th, The great variety which their history affords the reader, having flourished in France, England, and Scotland, they are concerned in the wars of all these three kingdoms, the holy wars, the wars of Italy, Greece, and Hungary. 5th, Their great public and private qualities in more recent times. 6th, The compleat and full documents still preserved.'

Excellent reasons, no doubt, for compiling family history, and reasons which we shall find justified in a measure by the treatment of the subject. We use the words 'in a measure' advisedly, for, after all, the connection of the Norman Maules in France, and even those who came over with the Conqueror, with the Scottish branch, is not made out to absolute certainty, although the presumption is very strong, the testimony of the heraldry by no means to be undervalued, and the indication of a family character running through the race from generation to generation very observable.

Though Harry Maule and his sons, after his exile in Holland, made their peace with the Hanoverian Government, and were willing to take office under it (though the loyalty must have been skin-deep, if we may rightly interpret one of James Maule's literary schemes, which was to 'write a book addressed to the young C. of the St—t's, something like Matchiavel's Prince addressed to Laurence de Medicis, in which to show him all the branches of his interest, and how he ought to govern, and the false steps and errors of his ancestors'), Earl James, the elder brother, who was so nearly taken at Sheriffmuir, remained true to the heir of the Sovereign to whom his fidelity had been pledged, and lived in exile on the Continent.

He died in Paris. It is right to do justice to the memory of this chivalrous man. It was believed that he was twice offered the restoration of his estates, if he would take the oaths of allegiance to the reigning powers.

'An ample fortune he disdained to save  
Pilgrim to turn, and seek a foreign grave.'

There exists among the papers at Panmure House a copy of a letter to Lord Selkirk by one Kateson, who is known to have received much pecuniary aid from the earl, and who seems to have been a sort of hanger-on among the exiled gentry, in which there is given a circumstantial account of his sudden seizure, illness, and edifying death, in which are some slight touches portraying the ways and habits of the Scottish gentry in Paris. A more ambitious performance, still in manuscript, in the form of a funeral sermon, 'preached by one of his lordship's chaplains in his meeting-house in Edinburgh,' on the 28th of April, 1723, enters fully into the character of the man.

The touching passage in one of Smollett's novels in which the British exiles at Boulogne are described, as 'having gone to the sea-side, according to their daily practice, in order to indulge their longing eyes with a prospect of the white cliffs of Albion, which they must never more approach,' will be in the recollection of many of our readers.

The life of a Scottish gentleman in Paris, exiled for political offences, was far from a pleasant one, even when, as in the case of Earl James, there was not the pinch of straitened circumstances. If Kateson's account is true, he seems to have lived in 'a flat;' but this was nothing strange to the visitor to Edinburgh of the day, when the best born and wealthiest people lived up common stairs. He had one body servant, and his letters were directed to a café. Most of the exiled nobles were about this time in the deepest poverty, and Maule must be considered comparatively rich, for he left £1100*l.*, which was applied to the settlement of all claims against him by the Marquis of Tullibardine. Poor Tullibardine's funds were very low at this period. He had been forced to pledge his gold watch for 315 livres to Dr. Baill, and just before Panmure's death another friend advanced an additional 85 livres upon it. A sad contrast this from the rough hospitality of Blair and Dunkeld, where at this period, according to the account of Macky the spy, 'the duke lives like a sovereign prince, keeps a great table, whether company or no, and hath his degrees of gentlemen about him, as a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or the Dukes of Somerset or Chandos in England.'

Earl James appears to have died of pleurisy, after eight days' illness. He was in society in his ordinary health on the 17th, and died, after receiving the consolations of religion at the hands of an English clergyman, on the 22nd. He had the satisfaction of being attended by his nephew, James Maule, who was in Paris at the time.

Lord Panmure's residence in Paris naturally threw him into the society of the gentlemen of the Scots College, with whom he had the closest political sympathy. All that we know of that society is interesting. Lewis Innes was King James's almoner, and Thomas Innes the great investigator of the early history of Scotland. From him there are some interesting letters in the volumes now printed. Dr. Stuart has printed in the appendix to his preface a document in which there is a curious account of a visit which the banished earl and his literary nephew, James Maule, paid to the Seigneurie of Maule, eight leagues from Paris, in the Vexin François, whither they went to trace out any records or other indications of the ancient lords of the place. The narrative contains some mark-worthy points illustrating the condition of France before the great Revolution; for instance, it is stated that the Marquisate of Maule 'is worth fifteen thousand livres a-year, and would be worth twenty thousand if they did not pay so much *taille*.' Here we have the tyrannical tallage subtracting a fourth from the value of the land. The effect of this over-taxation is mentioned. 'The number of people of late is much diminished, and the houses decayed because of the *taille*.' The local jurisdiction is also alluded to. 'The lords have a haute justice, and have a baillie and a greffier. They have also a gallows, and have hanged criminals severale times.'

One circumstance greatly struck the travellers, that close to Maule, which was a marquisate, was the barony of Panmure. 'It lys half a league to the west of Maule,' and was a 'tenendry' depending thereon. Yet the relation between Maule and Panmure had nothing to do with the subsequent possession of Panmure in Scotland by the Maules. Not only did that family obtain possession of the estate so called in Angus by a marriage with the De Valoniis many generations after they had left France and been established in Scotland, but it cannot be doubted that etymologically the Panmore of the Vexin and the Panmure of Forfarshire have nothing whatsoever to do with each other. The Scottish Panmure is simply the Church of Mary, just as the neighbouring localities of Panbride and Panlathry are the Churches of St. Bride or Bridget, and St. Cormac

Leir na Liathan, one of the disciples of St. Columba; P and L are interchangeable, and the Pan of Pictish Fortren is the same as the Llan of the Cymric Gwynnedd. The Spanish language supplies the connecting link. Lleno is derived from Plenus.

The visit to what they, with good reason, believed to be the 'Stamm-schloss' of their family, naturally directed the attention of the travellers to the sources of information from whence the knowledge of the Norman race was drawn, and they were soon introduced to the graphic pages of Ordericus Vitalis, at this time known to scholars by Duchesne's '*Historiæ Normanorum Scriptores Antiqui*.' There certainly were Maules at full length, for they were closely connected with Onches or S. Evroult, the monastery in which the excellent chronicler was professed, lived, and died.

Ordericus ranks high among the ancient chroniclers. Sir F. Palgrave says—

'The monk Ordericus sermonizes occasionally; dully without doubt, yet we had better not sleep during the sermon; the prosier instructs us according to the standard of his age, and perhaps we shall be none the worse for the lessons we receive. His quotations from the classics are very trite. The preceptor thinks them only fit for the lowest place, but they reveal the extent of his classical knowledge; they show that the Norman monks had a Sallust in Saint Evroult's library. Sacred and profane are jumbled tastelessly; a text from the Proverbs flanked by Lucan's verse, yet this quaint erudition realizes the writer's idiosyncrasy. We learn and know him as a living man. We see the Vulgate and the Latin poet on his table. We learn how he was wont to study the classics for ornament, and to search the Scriptures for the perennial instruction of human nature.' (*'History of Normandy,' i. 125.*)

Of the earliest Maules, Ansold, Guarin, and Ansold II., 'the rich Parisian,' we only know by their benefactions to the church; but when we come to the son of the last of these, Peter, we get a life-like sketch of the average Norman baron. He is described as being of a gay and liberal disposition, ready to engage in any large schemes, either good or bad, and therefore amenable to the influence of Goisbert, the physician of Ralph de Conches, who moves him to endow S. Evroult. We have him at full length. He is a sort of Robert Curthose.

'He was much beloved by his tenants and neighbours, because his manners were frank, and he did not strengthen himself within craft and deceit. His alms were bountiful, and he delighted in giving; but he had no liking for fasts, and, as far as it was in his power, shunned having anything to do with them. He was free in giving promises, and made

away with things of value for a worthless price. He was at once covetous and prodigal. It was of no concern to him, whence his good cheer came, nor did he care whether his means of living were obtained by robbery or paid for fairly; nor again, however they were gotten, how lavishly they were bestowed, so that he never had command of much money.'

His son Ansold seems to have been a very fine character. His disposition was excellent and magnanimous. He was tall and powerful in person, and a most gallant soldier. Prompt and eloquent in argument, he might almost be reckoned a philosopher, and was most devout. He joined the brave Duke Guiscard in his expedition to Greece. He fought gallantly at the battle of Durazzo, in which Alexius the Emperor was put to flight. Returning home and marrying Adeline de Malvoisin, he spent the rest of his days in a most exemplary manner, gave great endowments to the Church, and, after having borne arms for fifty-three years, fell sick and prepared himself for death. Obtaining the consent of his wife, who had borne him many children,

'he was tonsured and invested with the religious habit, in which, after having worn it three days, he was also buried that in it he might rise again. It was the eve of the Nativity, and a terrific storm was raging, to the great terror of mankind. On the third day, finding that death was near, he caused his brethren to be summoned, and begged them to recite the prayers of the dying. When they were ended he asked for holy water and a crucifix. On their being brought he sprinkled himself with holy water, and bowing before the crucifix, thus commended himself to Him Who hung upon the Cross, adopting the words which had been used by some man of wisdom: Lord God, I once a sinner, but now a penitent, commend my spirit into Thy hands, as a servant should submit to his master. With these words he expired as we believe happily.'

We might continue these graphic pictures, but enough has been given to show of what sort were our Norman ancestors, men of strong wills and wayward hearts, rough yet kindly, often of coarse lives and unbridled passions, but men to whom the next world with its rewards and punishment was an awful reality, and the Creed of Nicæa a living faith.

The French Maules continued in the male line till the very end of the fourteenth century. Their memory survives in their piety. Grants to the Chapter of the Church of Paris, to the Abbey of Joyenvalle and to the Priory of Maule, attest their religious zeal, and the old roving spirit which two centuries before had sent forth Ansold II. to fight at Durazzo, found a continued vent

in the expedition of Count Robert de Maule, who having gone forth to the Holy Land with the Duke of Bretagne in 1237, was taken prisoner by the Turks; and in the more disastrous one of another of the same name, who, possessed of the great estate of the lordship of Maule, Panmore, Mountainville, and Herbrville, fell bravely fighting against the same enemy at the battle of Nicopolis in Hungary.

But while the Earl and his nephew occupied themselves in France in tracing out the fortunes of their family in *The Vexin*, till the estates passed out of the male line into the Protestant family of the Morainvilliers, and then into that of the Harlays and Ville-roys, the authors of the '*Registrum*' had next to deal with the immigration of the race into England and Scotland. The name Maule was surely found in the Roll of Battle Abbey, but 'the various versions of it,' according to Mr. Planché, 'are admitted on all hands to be not only imperfect, but what is much worse, interpolated to an extent which it is now impossible for us to ascertain.'

This at least is certain, that in the reign of Henry I., Robert and Stephen de Maule made grants to the restored Abbey of Whitby of the Church of Hatun (now Ayton or Yatton) in Cleveland with its pertinents, viz., the Chapel of Newton, Thorp, and Little Hatun, which would make probable what Crawford asserts, that a son of Peter I., Lord of Maule, received a grant of Hatton in Cleveland from the Conqueror. It will be remembered that Whitby was one of three great centres of revival in the Benedictine Order which emanated from the Abbey of Evesham, according to a notice in the *Chronicle of Melrose*, which states that, in 1074, 'three monks from that abbey, Aldwin, Elfwin, and Reinfried, restored three monasteries, Durham, York, and Witebi.' A Charter printed in the '*Registrum*' is remarkable as supplying an intermediate Danish name between the ancient Streonæhalch of the days of Bede and the modern appellation—'Notum sit omnibus Deo et Sanctæ Hildæ abbatisæ servientibus in loco qui olim Streoneshale vocabatur, deinde Prestebi [appellabatur, nunc vero Witebi vocatur.' Changes from Saxon names to Danish are not uncommon. Northweorthig grew into Deoraby or Derby, but we do not know any other instance where the name was twice changed by the Danish Conquerors.

In spite of the conscientious labours of George Chalmers, the introduction of the great Norman Lords into Scotland is a point which has not received the attention which

it deserves from the historians of that country. By the time we come to the epoch of charters, we find them firmly settled throughout the civilized districts in Scotland, living on apparently excellent terms with the Celtic gentry round about them. Thus in the *Chartulary of Arbroath* we find the great De Berkeleys, in granting a church to the abbey, employing a jury of these to determine the boundaries in the very beginning of the thirteenth century, and this at a time when the list of the burgesses of the neighbouring towns exhibit names implying Saxon, Teutonic, and even Norman lineage. That S. Margaret's marriage should bring down the dispossessed Saxons was only what was to be expected, but that these should be outnumbered by their tyrants and oppressors requires explanation, yet it cannot be denied as a fact. There is a significant passage from Walter of Coventry (quoted in E. A. Robertson's '*Early Scottish Kings*') when he says 'that the more modern Kings of Scots (he writes of the reign of William the Lion, A.D. 1212) confess themselves rather to be Franks as in race, so in manners, language, and dress; and having reduced the Scots to the extremity of slavery, only admit Franks into their service and society.' This is exaggeration, but contains an element of truth.

One main cause was the religious element. Although S. Margaret's friend, confessor, and biographer, Turgot or Theodoric (if he represents the mysterious T. which indicates the author of her interesting life), was, from his name, probably a Teuton, yet there exists a remarkable letter found in the British Museum, addressed by Archbishop Lanfranc to her on the occasion of her choosing him as her spiritual father, which must have been written before 1089. The Charters of the period in the subscription of the witnesses exhibit the proportion of the races. Those of her son Edgar are addressed *Scottis et Anglis*. In the celebrated inquisition of King David, while Earl of Cumbria, about 1120, in which inquiry is made by the elders and wise men into the lands anciently belonging to the See of Glasgow, there are twenty-four attesting witnesses. After the Royal Family, eight of the ancient magnates of the land sign, and after these fourteen Normans. In his charter of Horvendine his witnesses are Prince William, Osbern his chaplain, and Hugh de Moreville. In his charter to Durham, in 1126, seven Normans sign first and Cospatrick, the great Cumbrian chief, last but one. In the great Charter of Holyrood, after the bishops and Royal Family, Gillemichael and Cospatrick sign, then three

Normans, and lastly nine who seem to have been Bernician Saxons. In that of Melrose, after the Royal Family, comes Maddoch the Earl, nine Normans, one Englishman, and then on a separate list 'the men from that land,' twelve Celts and Saxons, and three Normans evidently settled in the neighbourhood. One of these is Robert Brus, and the charter which bestowed Annandale upon him has escaped the ravages of time.

From Cleveland to Scotland the journey is not long, and in the days of King David it must be recollected that the land to the north of the Tyne, Hexhamshire and Carlisle belonged to that monarch's dominions. Accordingly we find a William de Maule (now Latinizing his name as Willelmus Masculus) witnessing a deed of confirmation of lands to the Church of Haddington in 1152, and granting a charter to a nephew, which implied the possession of the lands of Balruddery and Fowlis, the ancient territory of S. Marnoch on the edge of the fertile Carse of Gowrie. This line ended in females, one of whom married Walter de Ruthven, the other Roger de Mortimer; and the race of Maule was perpetuated in the male line, one of whom married into the mighty Norman family of the Valloignes, or De Valoniis, and thereby acquired the estate of Panmure, which to this day is the chief seat of the family, and has conferred a title on individuals ennobled by three several creations, first, that of the earldom of Panmure by Charles I. in 1646, then the Irish creation of 1743, and lastly the British barony of 1831.

It has been remarked by a recent historian that the Normans in Scotland abstained from the habit of their brethren in England, who used to build enormous castles to overawe the neighbourhood. This would be natural from the fact that they came north under very different circumstances. Still we must accept the statement with reservation, and the ruins of Kildrummy and Dirleton show that some of the Norman castles in Scotland were the rivals of Berkeley or Headingham. One of these seems to have been built by the Valoniis at Panmure; and in the family record of the Commissary of St. Andrews, a document of the greatest interest, we have a long and most minute description of the great castle of the Edwardian type, as traced out in the ruins which lasted till the time of the author, as well as several incidents of historic interest connected with it; among which was its temporary occupation by Anthony Beck, the warlike Bishop of Durham, to whom the castle and barony of Panmure, with all rights and liberties, are said to have been

leased for thirty-one years by Sir William Maule for a certain annual payment, the reputed deed of agreement being dated at Alnwick in 1296.

It was a Maule of the name of Peter who married Christian or Christine, daughter of the High Chamberlain of Scotland, who with her aunts—Sibella, married to Robert D'Estoteville, Lora, married to Henry de Baliol, and Isabel, the wife of Sir David Cumin—became co-heiress of Christine Fitzwalter, wife of William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex.

The De Valoniis from the Cotentin took their name from 'the pleasant Valognes, where temple and hypocaust, theatre and amphitheatre, testified how, in the luxurious Roman days, the locality had been prized.\* It was part of the dowry which Richard III., Duke of Normandy, settled upon his bride Adela, daughter of the King who reigned in Paris. It was the court of William the Bastard, when the first great conspiracy headed by Nigel de Saint Sauveur and Grimauld de Plessis broke out, and the future conqueror was only saved by the fidelity of his jester, Golet. Few of those who crossed with the Conqueror seem to have become so well endowed as this family. According to Dugdale, Petrus de Valoniis was owner of fifty-seven lordships or manors; and in the catalogue of all the tenants in capite that held all the lands in every county of the king, as they are found in Domesday Book, he had estates in six different counties. They were very liberal to the abbey of Binham, in Norfolk, a cell of St. Albans, and the deeds of confirmation still preserved exhibit in the attestations the very great predominancy of Saxon names in the eastern counties, and also the great pomp in which the Norman barons lived—the steward, the chamberlain, the huntsman, the baker, the cook, the groom of the stables, all subscribing their names.

This great lady, Christine de Valoniis, in her widowhood confirmed certain lands which she had received in exchange from her relatives, the Baliols, and in the deed there are two remarkable limitations. John de Lydel may dispose of it freely with two exceptions; he may not grant it either to monks or to Jews. The document, which must have been written some little time after 1254, shows that by this time there was a reaction setting in against the endowment of the great religious houses, and that

\* Like Percy and Moion, it was styled *curtes*, a domain in contradistinction to a fortified *bourg* or *castellum*.

the universal money lenders of Europe had by this time established a footing in Scotland which, as yet, undevastated by the wars of the Succession, afforded as fair a field for their exaction as the neighbouring kingdom. Christine's second son figures in the graphic pages of Matthew of Westminster as defending the Castle of Brechin in 1303 against the English. He is described as mocking the English by wiping with his handkerchief the places where their heavy bolts from the warlike engines had struck, and when wounded to death his servants asked whether they were to give up the castle, 'cursing them, he breathed out his soul in cursings at the suggestion.' In the submission of the barons of Scotland to Edward I., the name of 'Dñs Williellmus de Maule, miles,' appears. The family gradually increased in importance till the beginning of the fifteenth century, when we find that the chief of the day fell bravely fighting at the battle of Harlaw, the memory of which is preserved in one of the most authentic of the ballads of Scotland.

'The knicht of Panmure, as was sene  
A mortal man in armour bricht  
Sir Thomas Murray, stout and kene  
Left to the world, their last gude nicht.'

His posthumous son Thomas, by the failure of heirs, now became inheritor of the third great appanage of the family, the lordship of Brechin. It had been vested in Margaret de Barclay, wife of Walter Stewart, Earl of Athole, who murdered James I. On her death it reverted to the descendants of her aunt Jean Barclay, wife of Sir David Fleming, whose daughter Marion having married William Maule, his grandson, Sir Thomas, inherited, though actually he only got some portion of the lordship, the rest being annexed to the crown. A soothfast witnessing in the racy Scots of the period testifies the relationship; and a document exists relating how certain persons visited the earl on the afternoon of the day in which he should suffer in the prison of Edinburgh after he had made his confession, in which he asserts that his lands were possessed by him after the death of his wife 'simply by the courtesy of Scotland,' and that his son was never in fee of the Barony of Brechin-Barclay.

The Maules increased in power and consideration till the Chief of the day fell under the Royal banner at Flodden. According to the family history already mentioned, drawn up by Robert Maule, Commissary of St. Andrews, uncle of the first Earl of Panmure, Sir Thomas was 'grown in the wombe, and therefore was not able, bi reason of the great presse, to draw his sword; wherefor

the Laird of Guthrie drew it furth to him.' He appears to have reproduced the character of his Norman ancestors, and to have combined the qualities of violence and devotion: 'For ane indignation consawit against Jhon Liddel, of Panlathyn, he brwnt the said Jhons heale biggine, quharwpone he did obtain ane remission vnder the gryt seale . . . efterwardis he became werie penitent, as may be easily perseawed bi syndry donations to religious houses and pilgramages done bi him. He did pes in pilgramage in France to Sainct Jhone of Amiens, in Picardie.'

Of his son Robert the Commissary gives some quaint details. He was 'evil wondit in a brawl with the Laird of Balfour and the Laird of Fintrie;' but the feud was patched up, after due compensation, by the interest of Cardinal Beaton. He was taken prisoner to England in 1547, out of his own house, 'in the takinge of which he was schot with one coulwerene in the chaftes and evil hurt.' On his return he devoted himself to sport. He took pleasure in 'playing at the fut-ball; lykewise he exercisit the gowf, and ofttymes past to Barry Links when the wad-fie (stake) was for drink.' If he lost he never entered the inn, but sent his servant to pay for all. He became very penitent of his past life, and embraced the reformed religion. He had been brought up rudely without letters, and could neither read nor write.

Another Thomas succeeded, who lived during all the stormy times of Queen Mary. At first he attached himself to Cardinal Beaton, and would have married his daughter, but was dissuaded by James V., who said, 'Marie neiver ane preists geat.' In spite of this he adhered to the Cardinal till his murder, and next is heard of at the Battle of Pinkie, from which his escape is detailed in very graphic terms:—

'He did cast off his jack, and had impediment to git it fra him, bi resson he had his purs under his oxter (armpit), yet at the plesur of God he was releivit of it and took the narrowest way to Edinburgh on his fut. The Englishmen followed fast on horsbak, quha till eschew, and being tyrit entred the corne-yearld of Brunstone, quhar fynding ane gryt cherrie-tree clam up in the thickest of the branches thereof and he scarslie settlit, thear enters tua Englishmen on hors and lowked up and down if they could find any man; but so god völd he vas not persavit. In the menetime there fell from one of them what apperit to be ane pwrse. The Englishmen being on hwrse drew his sworde and had mikil ado to git up the sam wpen the point therof, whilk space Thomas was in gryt fear. He said he never thought ane tyme so longue. Thearefter they riding away he past to Edinburge.'

He just escaped being present at the Battle of Corrichy, and finally attached himself to the party of the Earl of Murray.

Hitherto we have seen the Lairds of Panmure in the capacity of country gentlemen of good condition, intermarrying with their neighbours, hunting and hawking, and taking their share in the hard knocks that were going in the troubled politics of Scotland. Now, in the person of Patrick, grandson of Thomas, the family emerges into political importance, and recruits the Peerage of Scotland.

Earl Patrick makes his first appearance among the favourites of James VI. Though there are traces of his presence in London so early as 1603, Nisbet says he was first noticed by the King on the occasion of his entertaining him with excellent sport on Monrimmou Moor, when the monarch paid his well-known visit to Lord Southesk at Kinnaird Castle in 1617. He was the playmate of Prince Henry, the rival and enemy of the beautiful favourite Carr, and afterwards the client of the Duke of Buckingham. Court favour enabled him to lay the foundation of his future success. 'His ands held ward, so he got that in gift frae the King; thereafter he began to quit and relieve piece and piece parts of his estate, till at length it pleased God to bless him with great lands and honour, and a long life.' He was one of the bedchamber of King James and King Charles. He married first a daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope of Grimston, by whom he had four children, and then Mary Waldron, one of Henrietta Maria's maids of honour. He got a lordship in Northamptonshire from the King, as well as the keepership of Eltham Park, received a complimentary letter from the Queen of Bohemia, and was made Sheriff Principal of his native county. He purchased the Lordship of Brechin, to which, as it will be recollected, he had some hereditary right from the Earl of Mar, his guardian, in 1634, and in 1642 the Abbacy of Arbroath from the Earl of Dysart. That great Tyroensian foundation was one of the greatest estates in Forfarshire. Its wealth may be estimated by a singular document preserved in the 'Registrum Nigrum' of the Abbey, in which the regulations for the management of the house by Abbot David Lychton, are laid down. By it we see that the monks used annually 800 sheep, nine score of beeves, fresh and salt, besides lamb and veal, swine, geese and chickens, large supplies of sea-fish, and eleven barrels of salmon from their fisheries at Dundee, Broughty, and Montrose, not to speak of saffron, pepper, ginger, cloves,

mace, and almonds. It is true that the King that year paid them two visits, the Archbishop was there thrice, and the lords of the realm and all others received hospitality.

During the civil wars Patrick Maule took the King's part, and engaged in the battles fought for the Royal cause. Charles created him Earl of Panmure in 1646, and he was in attendance on the King while a prisoner at Holmby and Carisbrooke. An interesting document, detailing the movements of the unfortunate King, is now printed in the preface to the 'Registrum.' It traces the various removals of 'the grey and disrowned head' from Holmby to Finchingham, Newmarket, Royston, Hatfield, Windsor Castle, Cousan, Lankmoor, Woburn, Stoke, Oatlands, Hampton Court, from whence the unwise escape to Carisbrooke took place. The King's friends 'soone perceived that his Majesty was betrayed.' His usage in the Isle of Wight is thus described: 'So imediatlie his Majestie was restrained from ryding abroad, and som of his serwands discharged from their attendance, so by leetl and leetle al those that hade formerlie attendit him was dismis'd, speciallie those that was his sworn servants. Upon the 24 of Januarie Haray Muray and I was dischargd from attending him, whoe was the last of his suorne servands that was with him.'

In the family manuscript, already quoted, there is recorded at full length the touching account of the parting between the King and his devoted follower:—

'He was the last servant that stayed with him, and stayed ever until that unlawful parliament did put him from him. The King himself told Panmure that the order for his departure had come. Panmure asked his Majesty what he should do in it. His Majesty told him there is no help, but you must obey; but deal with him that has the warrant for a continuation for two or three days quhilk he got granted to him. Panmure's servant that was there with him told me when Panmure took his leave of his Majesty, he did that quhilk he never saw him do, nor heard of any that ever saw him do the like, quhilk was, he burst out in tears; and the King was standing, and his back at ane open window; and when the tears came in the King's eyes, he turned him about to the window a while till he settled, and prayed God to bless him, for he knew him to be a faithful servant; and called for his man and gave him a kiss of his hand and said, "John, thou hast a faithful master." This John Duncan, who was Panmure's man all the time and had been long with him before told me this.'

Loyalty was expensive in those days. The Government of the Commonwealth inflicted

a fine upon the Earl of 10,000*l.*, afterwards restricted to 4,000*l.*

His second wife died several years before he left the King's service, and in 1639 he married, for the third time, Lady Mary Erskine, daughter of the Lord Treasurer Mar, and widow of the Earl Marischal. Family tradition asserts that he had proposed for her in early youth, and that her father, his guardian, had refused to grant his consent for reasons honourable to himself, and very characteristic of the Scottish manners of the period, but which may not be stated in these pages. However, in their maturer years their marriage was arranged; and the contract, written in the lady's own hand, is a very businesslike document:—

'As these resolutions of marriage is without worldly ends, and meerlie from a religious affection, whereby they may live together to enjoy the company and conversation of each other, and to witnes the same, seeing that either of them has sufficient estate . . . it is appointed that neither of them shall intromit with one another's estate further than it shall be by the free allowance of the partie whom it concerns. And seeing that both the said parties are blessed with children and grandchildren, whose necessities will require their assistance of the naturall affections and kindness of their parents; and seeing that the said parties live in some sort according to their degree and qualitie, the charge of the house shall be so equally laid that they may have content therein; the wages of the servants shall go in with the charges of the house, and the ordering and directing of the house and family shall be done by the said with the assistance and advice of the foresaid upon all occasions.'

After leaving the King at Camisbrooke, Panmure remained for the rest of his days quietly at home; but on the arrival of Charles II. in Scotland, he testified his unabated loyalty by sending 2,000*l.* to the Royal coffers, and by devoting his son to the good cause. The old cavalier, after employing the leisure of old age in composing a history of Sir William Wallace, just lived to witness the Restoration, and died full of honours in 1661.

Having long desired to build a new mansion and to have a demesne in keeping with his dignity and wealth, he busied himself in acquiring the leases of the farms which surrounded the family residence of Baleshan, not far from the site of the present house of Panmure; but, owing to the troubles of the times, Earl Patrick never began to build, so that the work was left to his successor, Earl George, who to a considerable extent carried out his father's wishes.

Long before he succeeded to the estate

he fought in the Royal army as Lord Brechin, in the actions of Dunbar and Inverkeithing; and leaving a family by the daughter of Lord Chancellor Loudon, another George succeeded as third Earl, who continued the work of embellishing the place. He died without surviving issue, and was followed by Earl James, the hero of Sheriffmuir.

The family papers contain many details of the erection and adorning of the house. Not the least worthy of preservation is a list of the fruit-trees planted there, many of which appear to have been imported from Holland. The Scots have always been celebrated for horticulture. The monks of Kilwinning were noted for their apple-trees; and the amiable Abbot Reid of Kinloss, in the interesting biography of him by Ferrerius of Piedmont, is mentioned as having brought from Dieppe William Lubias, 'a good man and skilled in the arts of planting and grafting fruit-trees,' who left tokens of his skill not only at Kinloss, but all through the province of Moray. Of him Ferrerius says, that 'his only fault was, that he had lost one foot from a gunshot wound in a sea-fight, near Marseilles, against the Spaniards;' but we are hardly prepared, at the end of the seventeenth century to find on the higher lands of Forfarshire six kinds of apricots, ten sorts of peaches, two of nectarines, figs, and grapes, fourteen sorts of cherries, twenty-one plums, besides almonds and quinces; and all this is the more to be wondered at because, seventy years later, Pennout's account of a garden in the neighbouring county of Perth gives a very different picture. Speaking of the garden at Dupplin, the seat of the Earl of Kinnoul, that author says: 'Fruits succeed here very indifferently, even nonpareils require a wall; grapes, figs, and late peaches will not ripen: the winters begin early and end late, and are attended with very high winds.'

It was Earl James who bought the mansion in the Canongate of Edinburgh, which has borne his name ever since. He also made extensive improvements both at Panmure and Brechin; and in 1714, probably to increase his political power in view of the coming rising, purchased the fine highland properties of Edzill, Glenesk, and Lethnot. The account of the acquisition is so illustrative of the manners of the time, that they are worth recording; the more so, because the details have never hitherto been published.

The estates belonged to 'the lightsome Lindsays,' ancestors of the house of Crawford, but had become so entirely burdened with the debt that the laird was forced to

part with them. They were brought to the hammer by order of the Court of Session; but so poor was the laird, and so entirely at the mercy of 'unsubmitting creditors,' that when requested to go to Edinburgh with the title-deeds, he besought the intending purchaser to give him, on his own 'line,' enough to pay his expenses, and also a protection for his person against the creditors who would have seized him. He used neither, for he was taken ill of the gout at Balgavies at the time his uncle Strachan died.

Instead of proceeding to Edinburgh the needy laird set himself to collect the rents of his old tenants, and to cut down the trees. However, the movables were sold out of the castles of Invermark and Edzell, and the keys of his old ancestral mansion, in the presence of the laird, were given up to Lord Panmure's factor. This was not done till he had been persuaded to give up one of the gates of the castle to Lindsay, that he might take it with him and be able to say, wherever he might happen to place it, that 'he lodged within the gate of Edzell.' He was not content with this; and six days after the ceremony of resigning the keys, he took with him several people with a horse and cart, under pretence of carrying away a meal-chest, but really to remove another gate, which he effected, holding his cane over the gardener's head and threatening that, if he did not yield, 'he should disable him from gaining a bannock of bread before lambes (lammas).' Legal proceedings followed, but a compromise was agreed to, and the gates restored.

Such were the concluding scenes which the last of the Lindsays of Edzell enacted at his old abode. These details are new, but there is much more about him told in the account of the old laird in Lord Crawford's charming 'Lives of the Lindsays,' the perfection of a family history.

But Earl James did not long enjoy these newly-acquired possessions, having, as we have already stated, taken part in the rebellion of 1715, which broke out a few months after, with its sad consequences of perpetual exile.

His countess, an able and brave scion of the ducal house of Hamilton, stayed at home to keep together what she could of the family property. A jointure from the forfeited estates was allowed her, and even after the sale of the estates to the York Buildings Company, at a price of 60,400*l.*, she became tenant of Panmure on a lease of ninety-nine years, and was enabled to buy for the family the estate of Inverkeilor.

The letters from this lady to her hus-

band, in which she recounts the difficulties by which she was met in all this administration, must be singularly graphic, if we may judge by the specimen of one printed in the preface of the 'Register.' It describes a scene very far from uncommon in those days.

'London, 31st December, 1719.

'MY DEAREST HEART,

'I wrote to you from Dover. We came here this afternoon, and had, I thank God, a good journey, tho' mett with a small misfortune; for as the byeword is, "They never lost a cow that cryed for a needle." In short, we was robed about ten miles from this by two highwaymen on horseback, which we had no warning of but by their holding a cockt pistole at each window, so there was no resisting. Mr. Maule had about 10 guineas in his pocket and I 5, which we gave them: he lost his watch, sword, and pistole, but by gott luck I gave my watch to a gentleman who went post that morning from Dover that we left it. I must tell you that I was not frightened the least, nor would I have writt of it to you, if I did not think that you might chance to hear of it some other way. They made us come out of the coach that they might search it, but 2 gentlemen on horseback coming up in the meantime, they left us and went and robd them close by our coach. The highwaymen took the gentlemen's horses with them, but left the horses at some distance, and the gentlemen gott them againe.'

The Maules had got a lesson, and made no attempt to help the house of Stuart in 1745. The earl, steadfast to the end, continued in exile till his death. Harry Maule conformed on his return from Holland, and his second son, William, kissed the hands of George II., and accepted the commission of ensign-colonel in the Royal Scots Regiment. This William succeeded his father. He represented Forfarshire from 1735 till his death. He served in several campaigns in the Low Countries, and was present at Dettingen and Fontenoy. He rose to be a general, and in 1743 was created a peer of Ireland. In 1764 he re-purchased the family estate in Forfarshire for 49,157*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*; thus recovering all that had been lost save Belhelvie, in Aberdeenshire. He never married, and settled his estate on his half-brother, John Maule, Esq., Advocate, a Baron of the Exchequer, a man noted for his conviviality. He, however, died before his brother, so the race ended in the male line. The estate descended to Jane, the only child of Harry Maule, who had married. She became the wife of Lord Ramsay, eldest son of the sixth Earl of Dalhousie, by whom she had issue, and thus the fine estates passed into that family.

This destination did not remain unchallenged. In 1782 Lieutenant Thomas Maule,

grandson and heir of the Right Reverend Dr. Henry Maule, Lord Bishop of Meath, raised an action in the Court of Session against George, Earl of Dalhousie, as administrator for his son. Informations were led for both parties, but with the exception of certain long leases, the Irish branch were found to have no claim to the property.

With the death of the last heir male of the family, this notice must cease. We approach times which could not be alluded to without pain to those who are still alive, and whose feelings demand the sincerest respect; else it might have been shewn how, that even when tempered with the gentler Ramsay blood, the old strong-willed character of the Maules survived. The memoirs of the bookseller, Constable, have exhibited to us what was the life of the Forfarshire lairds in his time, and the tone was mainly given by William Ramsay-Maule. But to describe him as a mere man of conviviality and inventor of practical jokes, is to give a most inadequate description of his character. He had great mental powers, an indomitable will, an unrelenting temper, and a tender heart. His faults were the faults of too early prosperity, of habitual association with those who were every way his inferiors, of the abiding results of the non-religious habits produced among the Whig gentry of the period by the principles of the first French Revolution. But all these deteriorating influences failed to quench the generous instincts of a naturally noble soul; he detested tale-bearing, and honoured those who refused to carry stories to him; his ear was ever open as his purse to the widow and the friendless, and to 'live and let live' was the standard of morals which he proposed to others, and amid many imperfections endeavoured to carry out himself.

But if reserve is needful in speaking of one who died in 1852, still more is it becoming in speaking of him over whom the grave has so recently closed, and to whose munificence we owe the splendid volumes which we have been reviewing. And yet Fox Maule is in a sense public property, and his character part of the inheritance of his country. Inheriting his father's indomitable will, he was in many respects his counterpart, but modified by the very different circumstances of his career. His early youth was not lapped in luxury, and he bravely fought his way to the high position to which he attained. Though from the beginning supported by his Whig friends, his start in life was not that to which he was entitled from the position of his family. He got on by his admirable powers of administration, and by the clear business-like turn of his

mind. Without pretending to eloquence no one could make a clearer statement. His conduct of a public meeting was perfect. His force of character bore down opposition, but while men yielded they were convinced. When in the confusions consequent upon the Duke of Newcastle's unsuccessful administration in the midst of the Crimean War he was called to the helm, the army was saved. On the other hand, for twenty-two years he was one of the prime offenders in Scotland in the matter of the inordinate preservation and sale of game. But for this it is very doubtful if the representation of the county of Forfar would have passed out of the hands of the gentry. As it was, under the protection of the ballot, the farmers rose, and the edifice of political power, which had been built up with care by able men in two generations, fell to the ground like a house built of cards.

The part which the late Lord Dalhousie took in the politics of the Free Kirk is well known. Not one of the Scottish nobility did so much for the remarkable movement which followed upon the disruption in the Scottish Establishment in 1844. It was the fashion to doubt his sincerity; and a Churchmanship, which was compatible with sport on 'the Sabbath,' and with the partaking of the Communion in the English Church at Cannes, was perhaps open to suspicion. But the doubt was most unjust. What may have begun in political expediency ended in religious conviction. He would year by year hurry home from his delightful villa on the Mediterranean to take part in the debates of the General Assembly of the religious communion to which he adhered; yet withal the political element prevailed in him, otherwise he never would have advocated the fusion of the Free Kirk with the United Presbyterians, implying, as it did, a *modus vivendi* between those who maintain the principle of Establishments, with due subordination of the Civil State, to be tolerable, and those who consider all Establishments essentially sinful. He had strong family affections; he was a devoted brother and a kind uncle. His friendships, especially for those below him in the social scale, were as warm as his enmities were decided.

In the 'Registrum de Panmure,' besides the memorials of the members of the Maule family, we come across interesting notices of several of the political characters of the time. We have already alluded to the letters of Thomas Innes; there are also specimens of the correspondence of the tempter Mar, the crafty old Lovat, Lockhart of Carnwarth, Lord Grange, Mr. George Craw-

ford, Alexander Edward—to whose father we owe one of the earliest and most curious accounts of Forfarshire—and James Green-shields, rector of Tynan, who was thrown into prison, at the instance of the presbytery of Edinburgh, for the use of the English Prayerbook. Among Edward's papers is an account of the murder and funeral of Archbishop Sharp, so circumstantial, that it deserves to be given here :—

'My father having gone to Crail after the synod, and being engaged to preach on the Sabbath (Sunday), as he did at Kingsbarns, at seven hours at night in the Murrose, we got information of the execrable murder of Dja. Sharp, L. Archbishop of St. Andrew's, that day at eleven hours in the afternoon, in Magus Moor, by nine emissaries and a part of a greater waylaying number of Presbyterian incarnate devils. The first disarmed his attendants, who were fewer than his ordinar, shoot many pistols in at the stern of the coach ; but all missed both my L. and his eldest daughter Isabel, who was with him therein. Then they wounded the postilion boy and houghed the postilion horse. Then he came out of the coach, and while they wounded his daughter thrice, he desired to spare the child, and asked if there was mercy with man, for he hoped there was with his God. They said no mercy, for he was not a Christian. Then instantly saying let me pray for you and for myself, while kneeling down and while so praying with uplifted hands, they immediately fell upon him, shoot at him near the shoulder-blade and along the side, wound his hands five times, then so struck upon his hind head that pieces of his skull was lost and much of his brains fall out, so that three surgeons who embouched him thought there had been twenty-three strokes on that place, but gave upon oath that there were at least fifteen ; and before they hit him on the hind head, they wounded him thrice on the face, the deepest two whereof the deriding murderers expressed St. Andrew's cross, and last of all they run him through with a sword ("How long, L., holy and true, doest thou not judge and revenge the blood of these that were killed for thy word on these wicked that duel on the earth") Rev. vi. 20. Jo. Haks-town of Rathilet, and Jo. Balfour of Kinloch, were the principal murderers, but all were Fians ; whereof two were Websters (Weavers), and one Taylor, and two Hendersons, husband-mans' sons. They took considerable gold from off my L., and from off his daughter twenty-five pieces, she being shortly to be married, wherewith she at first offered to ransom her father's life, and even took away my L.'s cas-sock-belt. He had on his morning cloth-gown, which was not his ordinary. And that day the postilion-horse, which was wounded, would not at all yoke right postilion in Kennewey. That day the sun appeared not—not at all, though it was Saturday, contrary to the seamen's rule—no, not before Tuesday afternoon. His spilled blood, even to more than a quart, being but gathered up off the place on Tues-

day morning, and yet of a very fresh and clear colour and unmixed with the rain. The murderers got in my L.'s pocket D. Bruce's Congé d'Elire for the See of Dunkeld, and his Majesty's letter to him to go to London, which voyage he intended to begin the Monday next.'

It only remains for us to say something of the editing and execution of the present work. It is done with the care and accuracy we should have expected from Dr. Stuart, especially when aided by the local knowledge and familiarity with the papers of Mr. Jervise. Still we cannot but think that even more might have been made of a family history so interesting. Why have we not had the whole of the narrative of the Commissary Maule, with its racy Scotch, accurate detail, and family enthusiasm ? or the letters of the Countess to her exiled Lord, of which we have just enough to tantalise us ? or a further supply of those of James Maule, who seems to have been the flower of the race ? or the correspondence of the Jacobite agents ? Then we have no account of the collateral branches, or the scions of the house, who were settled in Sweden, England, and Ireland. At this moment one of the noble families in the first of these countries, now named Mel, traces from a Maule, who first emigrated to Dieppe, and then to Sweden. It is well known that the blood of the race ran in the veins of the sainted author of the 'Christian Year ;' and we have already alluded to the lawsuit which was raised against the destination of the estate to the Ramsays by the Irish branch.

However, these abatements from the perfection of the work are not due to the editor. We believe that it was only a very short time before Lord Dalhousie's death that the work was entrusted to him, and it was at first intended that it should consist entirely of a reproduction of the MS. of Harry Maule, and be comprised within a single volume. The preface, &c., were therefore matters of afterthought. Although, as he tells us himself, family histories have not hitherto occupied the attention of one who has devoted himself so ably to historical disquisitions of more general import, yet the success of the present undertaking induces us to express the hope that he may be entrusted with the duty of editing the contents of some of the muniment rooms in Scottish castles, the treasures of which, as we have seen, he has so diligently explored.

ART. VII.—1. *Ruskie v svoikh poslovnitsakh.* [*The Russians in their Proverbs.*] By Ivan Snegiref. 4 vols. 12mo. Moscow, 1831–34.

2. *Poslovnitsui russkago naroda.* [*The Proverbs of the Russian People.*] Collected by Vladimir Dahl. Imp. 8vo. Moscow, 1862.

3. *Istoricheskie Ocherki, &c.* [*Historical Essays on Russian Popular Literature and Art.*] By F. Buslaef. 2 vols. Imp. 8vo. St. Petersburg, 1861.

4. *Mudrost narodnaya, &c.* [*The wisdom of the people in the proverbs of the Germans, Russians, French, &c.*] By M. Masson. 8vo. St. Petersburg. 1868.

WHILE Peter the Great was sleeping one night, his chamberlain Kikin attempted to kill him. But when his pistol had thrice missed fire, the would-be assassin aroused his unconscious master, announced himself as a messenger sent from God to state that the Emperor would be secured by Providence against all hurt, and ended his tale by saying, 'I wanted to shoot you, but God did not allow it.' Peter replied in the words of an old proverb: 'Ambassadors are not to be struck or flogged,' and pardoned the culprit. Kikin eventually perished on the scaffold, being convicted of having aided the unfortunate Crown Prince Alexis in his attempted flight. On the eve of his execution, when he was asked by Peter what had been the cause of the Prince's fatal attempt, he quoted another proverbial saying: 'The mind loves free space.' This adage doubtless sounded unwelcome to the Emperor at that moment, but as a general rule he dearly loved a Russian proverb. In the year 1717 we find him writing from Amsterdam to Colonel Levashev for 'a small book which belongs to us, "On Russian Proverbs."' It was probably required for the 'Arithmetical Manual' published by his command at Amsterdam, in which were contained some moral sentences in Latin and Russian, beginning with 'Fear God, honour the Tsar.' He even seems to have made some notes on the subject; and his example was followed by his great successor, Catherine II., who herself compiled a selection of Russian proverbs, observing of them that, 'they point sense, and strengthen speech.'

The first appearance in print of an actual collection of Russian proverbs took place at St. Petersburg in 1769, when Professor Kurganof devoted to them seventeen pages of his 'Universal Russian Grammar.' Next year a 'Collection of 4291 old Russian Proverbs' was published at Moscow, since which time several works of a similar kind

have appeared. Kniajevich's collection, published in 1822, contained about 5300 proverbs, to which Snegiref added about 4000. From these and other sources Vladimir Dahl took about 6000, and added thereto about 24,000. His collection, which appeared at Moscow in 1862, forms a tall volume of 1095 pages, and contains about 80,000 Russian proverbs, or at least proverbial sayings. On this bulky work, on that noble memorial of Dahl's industry and erudition, his vast 'Dictionary (in Russian) of the living Great-Russian language,' and on Snegiref's most valuable work, 'The Russians in their Proverbs,' the greater part of the following statements are based.\*

We often hear that a nation's character is reflected in its proverbs, that by the study of the adages in which it delights we may form a just idea of its prevailing thoughts and feelings. In the case of a fully qualified student this statement may be accepted as true; but such students are rare. He must be able to distinguish between the sayings which are constantly on the lips of the people, and those which, although they may find a place in a printed collection, are all but, or even quite unknown to them. Otherwise he runs the risk of being led by suspicious though unsuspected evidence to conclusions the reverse of correct. And he must be thoroughly familiar with the proverbs of the whole world, in order to be able to recognise at a glance what sayings are alien to the race or land he is studying, and what are so widely spread that they testify only to qualities which, instead of being peculiar to one family, are the common property of at least a vast section of the human race. It is the same with the proverbs of a people as with its popular tales. To him who is qualified to read them aright they reveal many secrets, but the unqualified ethnologist gains about as much from them as is acquired by an amateur philologist from researches among languages of which he knows nothing except from dictionaries.

To the vast host of proverbs contained in Dahl's collection, a powerful contingent has undoubtedly been supplied from abroad. As in other cases, so in this, the influence of Greece upon Russia was great, and the apophthegms of Greek sages have passed into the conversation of Russian peasants, who know as little about the philosophers they unconsciously quote as about Menander, Thucydides, or Aristotle, whose im-

\* A copious store of Russian proverbs, translated into German by Julius Altmann, will be found in the 'Jahrbücher für slavische Literatur,' &c., for 1854, published at Bautzen.

ages they see depicted in the Cathedral of the Annunciation at Moscow. To Rome may be traced many sayings which are manifest translations, such as the Russian equivalent of *Finis coronat opus*,\* which Alexander I. quoted in his Manifesto on the occasion of the capture of Moscow by the French in 1812, when Napoleon thought the war was finished. But we are doubtful whether Snegiref is right in deducing from Rome the belief that 'To marry in May is to suffer away'; the action of suffering being expressed by the verb *mayat'sya*, a word probably suggested by its apparent connection with *Mai*, the borrowed name of the month. We may agree with all that he says about the attentions paid by the Romans to the dead during this month, and we learn from Ovid that

'Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait.†

But it must be remembered that the old Slavonians, as well as the Romans, paid special deference in spring and autumn to departed spirits, and the prejudice against May marriages may, therefore, have sprung up independently among them. 'Good folks do not wed in May,' says another Russian proverb; but this may refer to the fact that peasant weddings usually take place after harvest time, when the field-labour is finished, which in May is only beginning. After the union of White-Russia and Little-Russia with Great-Russia, a number of Western proverbs were imported into the Russian language. Among the French contributions is an expression which is of special interest, as showing the changes to which a popular saying may be subjected by transmission or translation. The French say of a man who is 'out of sorts,' or not in his usual vein, 'il n'est pas dans son assiette.' The word *assiette*, according to Littré, originally meant situation; then the place occupied by a guest at table, and the successive courses; then the *plat* set before each guest; and eventually the plate. The phrase in question is probably derived from the technical meaning of *assiette* in nautical parlance, the trim or balance of a ship. But as plate is now the usual meaning of the word, the Russian translator has rendered *assiette* by *tarelka*, a word which distinctly means an actual platter. This fact would be sufficient, if it were needed, to prove that the Russian phrase was a translation, and

one of comparatively recent date. By no means equally capable of proof is Dahl's supposition that La Rochefoucauld's maxim, 'Le soleil ni la mort ne se peuvent regarder fixement,' may have travelled to him from Russia, where men say, 'On death, as on the sun, you cannot gaze with all your eyes.'

We have just witnessed the case of a proverbial saying which has been altered in transmission; but the instances are countless in which proverbs lose, if not their significance, at least much of their point, while passing through the ordeal of translation. For the Russian proverbs which will be quoted in the course of the present article, great indulgence must be entreated, on the ground of their having been shorn of their original attractions, deprived of all the charms which alliteration and rhythm and rhyme can confer. Even where reason remains, the want of rhyme in a popular saying is often fatal. We recognise a magic force in 'A stitch in time saves nine,' which 'A stitch in time saves eight,' would never have exercised. Swift's famous rebuke to the stingy fruit-rearer would have been somewhat tame had he invented for the purpose such a maxim as 'Always pluck a peach when within your grasp;' and the unhorsed proverb-lover would have received but slight solace for his fall in a miry spot from such an observation as, 'The more dirt, the less injury.' All poetry is hard to translate, but hard indeed to represent is the humour which delights in quaintness of rhyme. Let any one try, for instance, to give an idea, in a foreign tongue, of the merit of Pope's lines on the Dean of St. Patrick's, beginning,

Jonathan Swift  
Had the gift  
By fatheridge, motheridge,  
And by brotheridge,  
'To come from Gutheridge.

Russian peasants are very sensitive to the charms of any kind of song, and their 'common-folk prose' often takes to itself rhythm and sometimes even rhyme. To this day, 'to speak in verse' is an expression used to signify a speaker's wisdom; and 'wailers' who are able to improvise long metrical laments over the dead are not uncommon in remote districts. Throughout the *Skazki*, or Russian *Märchen*, there runs a kind of musical movement; sometimes, indeed, their language rises into actual verse, but as a general rule it is a modulated and cadenced prose. The proverbs almost invariably take a metrical form, and some of them are tiny songs in themselves. There are three forms which the Russian proverbial saying may take: those of the *poslōvitsa*, the *pogovōrka*,

\* *Konets dyelo ryenchaet*, a literal translation. There is much more of the look of a Russian proverb in a rhymed variant of the same adage; *konets dyelo ryenets*, i.e. the end to the work [is] a crown.

† 'Fasti,' v. 490.

or the *pritcha*. In olden times the proverb bore the name of a *pritcha* ;\* at least, Nestor and Daniel Zatochnik always designate by that word the proverbs they quote. We will take the following expression, which is of no small value to the comparative mythologist, as a specimen of this class of sayings : 'There is a *pritcha* in Russia, even to the present day ; "Perished like the Obrye,"' says Nestor. These Obrye, whom the Russian peasant of the eleventh century still vaguely remembered, were once the numerous and terrible Avars, who ruled in Dacia some four hundred years before Nestor's time, but afterwards utterly disappeared. With their memories mingled dim traditions about the members of that race of colossal beings to which each country looks up as to its original inhabitants, and so one of the names given to giants by Slavs is *Obra*. In the 'Pereyasavl Chronicle' the name given to the above saying is altered, and we read that 'There is a *poslovitsa* in Russia, even to this day ; "Perished like the Obori without remains."'†

The word *poslovitsa*† was originally used to express consent, convention, &c. A chronicler states, for instance, that 'there was a *poslovitsa* between the inhabitants of Pskof and of Novgorod.' This technical signification of the *poslovitsa*, as a symbol or expression of consent, gradually changed into its ordinary modern meaning of a comparison, between the two parts of which there must be some kind of consistency or concord. For if a Russian popular saying has not two parts, the one compared with or weighed against the other, it is not called a *poslovitsa* but a *pogovorka*. A Russian proverb says that 'a *pogovorka* is a bud, a *poslovitsa* is a berry,' meaning that the former is the germ which may develop into the latter. The former is a circumlocution, a means of describing a fact or announcing a truth, but without drawing an inference or expressing a judgment. The latter generally comprises, together with the statement or expression, some comparison or conclusion. 'A mere statement (or speech) is not a proverb,' says a Russian adage ; and so a *pogovorka* seldom speaks the naked truth, but usually wraps up its meaning in a metaphorical garb. Instead of 'he is drunk,' for in-

stance, it would say 'he sees double.' By a very slight addition, an adage may often be transferred from the lower form into the upper. Thus, 'He stirs the fire with another's hands,' is a *pogovorka* ; but 'To stir the fire with another's hands is no hardship,' is a *poslovitsa*, or complete proverb. Sometimes, however, the second part of the proverb is unexpressed, being merely suggested, and in that case the *poslovitsa* assumes the character of a *pogovorka*. In addition to the three classes of proverbial sayings which we have mentioned, there exist others, such as riddles, observations about the weather or disease, and many other expressions of popular wisdom. Russian riddles closely resemble those current in other lands. As a specimen of Russian observation we may quote the prevalent opinion, that during a visitation of cholera frogs do not croak, and neither flies nor swallows are to be seen. Among astronomical observations may be cited the following : Comets are 'brooms which sweep the sky before the feet of God ;' the moon 'shines but does not warm ; without return does it eat God's bread.'

'The philosophy of proverbs,' and the relations existing between the expressions of popular wisdom in different lands, have been so fully and so ably treated by the erudite Isaac D'Israeli in his 'Curiosities of Literature,' that we propose to confine our attention, for the present, to Russian proverbs in particular, and to refer to his pages the reader who wishes to compare them with their foreign kindred. A strong family likeness prevails among the various groups of European proverbs, many of which, indeed, are identical in all but their linguistic garb. It is a matter of no slight danger for a 'paræmiographer' to claim one of the proverbs he has collected as peculiar to the soil on which it was found. Too often, if he does so, he is confronted with its twin brother, discovered by a rival collector in a distant field.\* But every collection of national proverbs offers some characteristic features, which he who is well acquainted with it can readily detect though not always easily define.

The characteristics of the Russian pro-

\* The word *pritcha*, or *pritchka* (*pritchkat*—to run or flow to), was used in ancient and popular speech to designate an unexpected event, a sudden occurrence, &c. It then acquired the sense of a judgment, fate, &c. Eventually it was used for a saying expressive of some fact or event.

† Pronounce *páslóvitsá*. It is derived from *sloro*, a word, with the prepositional prefix *po*, by.

\* Take, for instance, the phrase *vino de dos orejas*, 'wine of two ears,' expressive of something not very excellent, a negative shake of the head bringing both ears into sight. This is sometimes quoted as an illustration of Spanish wit. But the expression was used in France, also, long ago. Thus in 'Les illustres proverbes historiques,' published in 1664, we are told (p. 157) that—

'Jamais vin à deux oreilles  
Ne nous fit dire merveilles.'

verb may be said to be brevity, terseness, simplicity, and a species of humour generally dry, at times somewhat grim. But the qualities which mark a popular saying in its native state sometimes desert it when it changes its home and its speech. Some of the elements contained in these specimens of a national coinage are sublimated during the ordeal through which they pass in the transmutator's crucible. Still there is many a *poslovitsa* which speaks acutely or agreeably even in an alien tongue. Every one will recognise the neatness of expression shown in 'The heart has ears,' or 'Home is a full cup,' the poetic charm of 'A maiden's heart is a dark forest,' the aptness of the comparison in 'Calumny is like a coal: if it does not burn it will soil,' or in 'Good luck disappears like our curls: bad luck lasts like our nails,' the pathos of 'Sorrow kills not, but it blights,' or, 'Rust eats away iron, and care the heart,' or, 'Sorrow comes often, but only once death.' In 'The pine stands afar, but whispers to its own forest,' we hear a sound well known in Russia, the sad voice [*shoom*] of the pine-tree; in such phrases as that used by an entering guest: 'Blame not my *lapti* [bast shoes], my boots are in the sledge,' we catch a glimpse of the 'Dear Mother Winter,' which occupies so large a space in the Russian year. Genuine Slavonic kindness may be recognised in such expressions as, 'The poor man has a sheepskin coat, but a human soul too,' or, 'An orphan's tear falls not in vain,' or, 'Behind the orphan God Himself bears a purse.' A vein of shrewd humour runs through such wise saws as, 'Poverty is not a sin—but twice as bad,' or, 'Seven nurses cost the child an eye.\*' Sometimes a saying explains itself at first sight, as does the simile, 'He blushed like a crab,' sometimes it requires explanation, as in the case of 'A quiet angel has flown by'—an expression used when a causeless silence falls upon a company—or of 'The Evil One has hidden it with his tail,' employed when an object seen a moment ago suddenly disappears. Similarly, 'A sweetheart [or bridegroom, *jenikh*] for a rouble' is unintelligible till we are told that a rouble is the price of a country coffin. The different meanings of 'A corpse does not stand at the gates [like a beggar], but takes his own,' are not apparent, unless we know that the proverb was originally used with reference to the ancient *vira*, or penalty for homicide, but now refers to the necessary expenses of a funeral. 'May God make me fleshy, rosi-

neas I can get for myself,' is explained by the comments of old travellers on the Russian love for fat forms and rouged cheeks; 'Set out a crust for the wanderers,' tells its own tale to all who know that the peasants along the road, to and from Siberia, place bread on their window-sills for the benefit of convicts who are attempting to escape. 'Not christened, then a Bogdan,' requires the explanation that all children before their baptism are provisionally named Bogdan—equivalent of Theodore or Deodatus, God-given—to secure them against evil spirits. Sometimes a jocose saying bears a thoroughly Russian stamp, like 'Every devil is Ivan Ivanovich'—an allusion to the Russian fondness for the name Ivan, John—or 'One Ivan, good! Two Ivans, possible! Three Ivans, impossible!' [as the German said of Ivan Ivanovich Ivanoff]; sometimes it presents itself to us in the guise of an old friend, as when we hear the familiar story of 'I've caught a Tartar,' told of a man and a bear. Sometimes we are reminded of some well-known voice, as by the remark in Mrs. Poyser's style, that 'The sun gets up without consulting the squire's clock.' Specially characteristic of Russia, as of a land abounding in endless plains, are two jocular allusions to the inhabitants of the Steppes—'I can't bear this crowding,' a Khokhol, or Little-Russian, is supposed to say, as he upsets a kettle which he finds suspended over a camp-fire in the open plain; and 'These accursed Muscovites! there's no driving-room left!' cries another, as he runs into a verst-post (answering to our milestone) in the midst of the boundless waste. The great number of proverbs current in Russia to the disadvantage of womankind is often cited as evidence of the Oriental character of the Russian mind. But proverbs of this class are cosmopolitan. Not in Russia or the East only, but all over Europe, may they be heard. Take, for instance, a saying dear to the Calmuck as well as to the Russian mind, 'Long are a woman's locks; but short are a woman's wits.' This is confronted by M. Masson with 'Longs cheveux, courte cervelle,' and 'Sub longis tunicis brevis est animus muliebris' and so equivalents can doubtless be found in many lands for the Russian sayings, 'A woman's preparation—a goose's lifetime,' 'A dog is wiser than a woman: it does not bark at its master,' 'Seven axes will lie together, but two spin-dles asunder,' 'Let a woman into Paradise, she'll be for bringing her cow with her,' and so forth.

Perhaps the best use which we can make of the great collection of Russian proverbs now before us is to select from it such pop-

\* Literally, 'From seven nurses, the child is without eye.'

ular sayings as may serve to convey an idea of Russia itself, and of the people who now occupy it, or which are in some way connected with its past history, and the successive generations of its inhabitants. Many an expression which can scarcely lay claim either to beauty or intellect, is rendered valuable by its links with the historic past, or may be prized for the light it throws on disused customs or old-fashioned ideas. Sometimes also an adage which seems rapid to the ordinary reader, assumes an attractive appearance when viewed by a historian or a mythologist. For some proverbs have fared like many words. In the course of time they have lost their original significance, which only he can recognise who examines them closely. Thus the usual word for a petition, *chelobitie*, probably conveys no more meaning to ordinary Russian ears than its synonym *prosha*, but it tells much with reference to earlier manners to hearers who resolve it into its original elements. Formed from *chelo*, the forehead, and *bit'*, to beat, it speaks clearly of the times when he who offered a petition to the Tsar grovelled before the monarch, and struck the ground with his brow. Similarly the remark, 'The sun works by day and rests by night' is now a commonplace metaphor; but it once expressed an actual belief.

Of Russia itself many a Russian proverb speaks. 'The Holy-Russian land is large, but everywhere the dear sun shines,' is a cheery reply to 'Numb lies Russia beneath the snow,' and 'Between Russia and summer is there no alliance?' Not that the moujik hates or fears the cold. To him winter comes as a *Matushka*, a 'mother dear;' in his songs and stories, 'Frost the Red-nosed,' often appears as a being somewhat akin to our own 'Father Christmas.' In so vast an empire, of course great differences in climate mark the different provinces. In the twilight of the North, the vague forms under which wintry influences are personified take a different shape from that under which they reveal themselves to the dwellers on the shores of the Caspian. But still a Russian winter, wherever it reigns, rules despotically; and its firm sway enforces a respect, or even ensures an affection, which the half-measures of our own cold season cannot always secure. 'In wintry cold no one feels old,\*' says the moujik, whom it braces and fortifies against the enervating effect of the summer heats, and who looks forward to the winter months as

the time in which he will be able to earn a little money by services rendered away from home, at a distance from the farm which he can now safely leave to the trusty guardianship of the snow. When the winter has passed away, however, the bright spring is welcome to the Russian mind, especially dear to the hearts of young men and maidens. Its arrival is marked by different signs in various places. Thus a proverb familiar to every European land warns the Russian observer of Nature, that 'one swallow does not make spring;' but in the Arctic neighbourhood of Solovets, the death of winter is announced by the arrival of seagulls, the departure of crows. In the Kostroma Government, close attention is paid to the bittern,\* for 'As many booms as the bukhalo booms forth, so many tubs of grain shall be threshed out from the corn-kiln:' there also the children chant in spring to the lady-bird ['Our Lady's-Bug'] a song not unlike that which may be heard in our own fields: 'Little cow of God, fly beyond the Volga! there it is warm, but here cold.' In Little-Russia the departure of the frost is announced by another bird, a kind of titmouse, which the peasants hear crying *Pokin sani!* 'Away with the sledge!' as distinctly as our yellow-hammer (*Gelbammer*) cries 'A little bit of bread and no cheese!' Every season, indeed, and every month has some associated tale, or belief, or saw, attached to it. To the rustic calendar are devoted no less than thirty pages of Dahl's collection of proverbs.

If we turn now from the moujik's outdoor life to his indoor existence, we gather from his proverbs some idea of his *izba* or wooden cottage,—with its Red or Holy Angle (*ugol*), the centre of its spiritual life, for there hang the Holy Images, with the lamp burning before them; and with its huge stove, the centre of its material life, for from it come warmth and food, on it the elders of the family sleep, in it the house-father weekly obtains the solace of a vapour-bath. 'Good is the news that the *izba* has a stove,' says one popular phrase. 'Our stove is our own mother,' affirms a second, while a third asserts that 'On the stove is always summertime fair.' More practically serviceable on the whole is the Russian *petch* than the English fireplace, but it does not yield itself so readily to figurative speech. The sentiment which responds at

\* *V zimny kholod vsyakoi molod*, 'In wintry cold every one is young.'

\* *Bukhalo*. The Russian name is derived from the word *bukh*, expressive of the cry it utters after burying its bill deep in the swamp. 'Lonely as a bukhalo in a bog (*bolota*)', is a common Russian proverb.

once to an appeal to fight for 'hearth and home,' may be slow to listen to a summons to 'rally around the family stove.'

To the moujik's fare are devoted many sayings. That 'Bread and water form the peasant's repast,' is too often true. But he generally has also *shchi*, or cabbage-soup, so loved that 'To get shchi, folks wed;' and he has *kasha*, or stewed grain, to which alludes the rustic's simple pedigree: 'Bread is our father, and kasha our mother.' On great occasions, also, there are meat-pasties, of which it is said that 'Not corners (*uglui*) but pies make an izba fair;' and there figures also the species of pudding recommended in the adage: 'Kissel ne'er tried a man's inside.' Among refreshing drinks are usually mentioned *kvas*, of which we are told that, 'Even bad *kvas* is better than water;' and beer, which is so cheering, says one proverb, that 'At beer a glance makes one ready to dance;' although, remarks another, 'Before bad beer, folks disappear.' These sayings about eating and drinking are somewhat commonplace; of more special interest are those which relate to Russian abstinence. 'Half the tree moist, half dry, and golden at top,' refers to the year, during only half of which may meat be eaten, and which is crowned by Easter week. 'Not always to the cat is it the *Maslyanitsa* [Butterweek or Carnival]; there will come also the Great Fast [of Lent],' dolefully remarks one proverb; but 'No man ever died of fasting,' cheerily replies another. To the peasant the Russian Bath\* is 'a second mother'—so health-giving a remedy against mortal ills that Peter the Great, when he was advised by foreigners to introduce hospitals and dispensaries into Russia, was wont to reply that Russians needed nothing else while they had baths. As regards physic, we may observe that some of the good old Russian medical apophthegms are of a homœopathic turn, as 'By a wedge may a wedge be driven out;' or 'By that which wounded may your wound be cured'—though these sayings probably refer to superstitious beliefs, like those often attached to lethal weapons in the Middle Ages, or such ideas as give rise to our own recommendation to try 'A hair of the dog that bit you.'

Agricultural pursuits naturally form the subject of numerous proverbs, for the Russian peasant is essentially a tiller of the soil. 'Black may be toil,† but white is its price,' says the rustic who is recommended to live with 'Prayer on the lips and labour

on the hands,' and to obey the precept: 'Moujik, prepare to die, but till the soil.' How highly Peter I. valued manual labour is shown by one of his favourite adages: 'It is not so much the dew of heaven, as the sweat of man's brow, which renders the soil fruitful.' As rye is the staple produce of Russian agriculture, many allusions to it occur in popular speech, such as 'Mother Rye feeds all fools alike; but wheat picks and chooses.' There is much difference, also, between rye and the oats to which cold and wet regions are restricted. 'Sow me in ashes,' says the rye, 'and it will be all right;' but 'set me in the muck and I'll be a prince,' say the oats. With all field operations many old sayings and superstitions are connected. To this day the spring and autumn sowings are called 'ancestral,' from their taking place at the times in which the dead\* are held in special remembrance, when the labourer goes straight from the graves of his ancestors to the fields which they were wont to till. On the ideas connected with special days countless pages might be written; let it suffice to mention one day as a specimen. 'On August 29th,' says Snegiref, 'peasants object to visit a garden, and refuse to eat an apple, because the day is sacred to St. John the Baptist, whose head, when cut off, rolled about like an apple in the dish which the daughter of Herodias bore.'

Some of the most interesting of the proverbs are those which refer to religious matters, more especially those in which some traces are still to be seen of the old heathenism of Russia. In the remote period in which the ancient Slavs led the life of pastors and hunters, a special worship was paid to sacred forests and trees. A hollow trunk was considered the probable home of one of those sylvan deities who have long since been transformed in the popular mind into hostile demons. 'From a hollow tree comes either an owl or Satan himself,' is a proverb common (with slight variations) to several Slavonic races. To a worship paid to trees is supposed to refer the old saw, 'He lived in the forest and prayed to stumps;' and to the heathen custom, still prevalent in India and other Oriental lands, of celebrating a marriage by walking three times round a tree, may possibly have once referred the saying that 'Around the fir-tree did they wed, and devils sang,' which now alludes merely to an unhallowed union. The memory of what were often 'the fair divinities of old religion' still lives among the Russian peasants, who unconsciously

\* A moist variant of the Turkish Bath, now so familiar to us.

† *Rabôta* (cf. *Arbeit*) originally meant ploughing, then any work.

\* *Roditeli*, begetters, ancestors.

reverence the dethroned deities of paganism, while attempting to propitiate the *Lyeshy* or Woodsprite, the *Vodyanoy* or Watersprite, the *Rusalka* or River-nymph, and above all the *Domovoy*, the Russian House-spirit, Brownie or Hobgoblin. The *Vodyanoy* is alluded to in 'Every devil can haunt his own swamp,' and in the Russian equivalent for 'Still waters run deep'—'In a still pool swarm devils.' Some allusion to old superstitions seems to lurk also in such proverbs as 'No taper for God, no *ojog* for the devil'—the *ojog* being a stake hardened by fire, and so well adapted to serve as a murderous weapon; for which reason, perhaps, like the *kočerga* or stove-rake, it acquired an evil name, as indeed did most of the implements connected with the hearth, and thereby with old ancestral worship. Proverbs sympathising with the poor, on the other hand, seem to be of Christian origin. The Russian word for poverty, *nishcheta*, originally meant blindness or the state of a cripple; but one of the equivalents for the epithet 'poor' is *ubogý*, 'Away from Bog or God;' and so an Archangel proverb says, 'The devil is poor; he has no God.' To some heathenish belief in the pauper being alien from God, thinks Snegiref, may possibly be referred the belief that the lightning is apt to kill him from whom, during a storm, a beggar asks alms; but this seems to be as doubtful as the idea that to some old myth, representing the contest between darkness and light under the form of an attack made by a wild beast on the celestial luminaries, may be attributed the saying that 'The grey wolf catches the stars in heaven.' Now and then, however, a proverb is explicit in its reference to supernatural beings: as is the case with 'From a Kikimora don't expect a shirt;' the Kikimora, a female fiend connected with the French *cauchemar*, or nightmare, being addicted, like the Lithuanian Laume, to spinning, but never getting to the end of her work.

From these fragmentary allusions to heathenism, we will now turn to the direct teaching of Russian proverbs with respect to religion in general. As might be expected, all Russian collections contain numerous sayings relating to God, the Church, and the Devil. Among those which allude to the divinity in a heathen sense may be quoted: 'What is the use of praying to that god who does not benefit?' and 'Money is not a god, but a demigod;' or 'Money is not a god, but it grants much.' Of a more Christian nature are such as 'God listens, but does not quickly speak'—'God waits long, but hits hard;' and this poetic

allusion to actual security and fancied perils: 'Terrible are dreams, but God is merciful.' 'God is high, and the Tsar far off,' is an often-quoted Russian proverb, supposed to express despair. But many of its kinsfolk breathe a manly and independent spirit, widely removed from the fatalism of that Mohammedan East which is often supposed to have materially altered Russia. Such are: 'Trust in God, but look to yourself;' 'Pray to God, but row to shore;' and many others of a like kind. Specially interesting are some of the sayings about divine matters current among the schismatics: 'We have one God, the Niconians another,' say the 'Old Ritualists,' speaking of themselves and of their 'orthodox' brethren, on whom they bestow the nickname of Niconians, derived from the name of the Patriarch whose reforms produced the schism. 'Who fears God, he goes not to Church,' is a thoroughly Dissenting proverb, which assumes a mystical air when quoted by the Dukhobortsy or 'Spirit-wrestlers,' under the form of 'A Church is not of beams, but of ribs;' that is to say, it is a community of believers, not a structure made by hands. Singular is the opinion that 'He who reads the Bible right through will go out of his mind.' Of a more dangerous nature is the following piece of schismatic teaching: 'A great sin is sooner forgiven than a small one, because of a man's repentance.' Among phrases in general use is the remark, that 'The devil is weak, but his servant [*i. e.* man] is strong;' or this cautious piece of advice: 'Call upon God, but do not irritate the Devil.' 'Be silent, when God has struck,' is an admonition to those who laugh or sneer at cripples or idiots. 'God straightens the crooked arrow' is a terse expression of the idea that 'There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will.' Of purely fatalist proverbs there is, of course, no lack: such as 'The wolf catches the destined sheep;' 'Be born neither wise nor fair, but lucky;' though even luck or chance is often said to be modified by Providence, for 'Luck gives to the foolish, God to the wise;' and when 'A fool shoots, God guides the bullet.' It is in matrimonial affairs, however, that fate is supposed to have most power, so that 'Not even on horseback can you escape from your destined one.'

Passing from theology to morality, we find great stress laid by the 'Old Ritualists' on the wickedness of shaving. 'Without a beard will no man be admitted into Paradise,' they say. When Peter the Great ordered his subjects to shave, these conservative Nonconformists besought him to cut

off their heads rather than their beards, and not 'to destroy Christ's likeness.' From the penalty then exacted from them arose the saying: 'Without a rouble thou canst not let thy beard grow.\*' Among ordinary mortals, two conflicting proverbs are current. As the moujik is always bearded, he says: 'A beard is honourable, but even a cat has moustaches;' to which a *Zapadnik*, or Western, may reply, 'Moustaches for honour, but even a goat has a beard.' While alluding to the schismatics, we may mention that, according to them, 'Tea, coffee, tobacco, and potatoes have been cursed by seven General Councils;' that 'He who smokes tobacco drives out of himself the Holy Ghost;' that 'Who drinks coffee, him shall thunder slay;' and that 'He who drinks tea must not hope for salvation.' With respect to the latter beverage, a more poetic saying laments the fact, that 'Into Russia has flown a Chinese dart, and fixed itself in the peasant's heart.' More consolatory than these statements is the schismatic's opinion that 'In the other world every pockmark will become a pearl.'

Similarly conservative, but conceived in a rational spirit, are the moujik's opinions with regard to the deference due to age, the respect to be conceded to parents. 'Even in the Horde are old folks revered' is a time-honoured adage; and a sad picture of unrespected age is suggested by the statement that 'The Devil is old, yet he has no birthday'—or, rather no name-day, for the Russians honour not the anniversary of a friend's birth, but the day of the saint whose name he bears. As a general rule, age and wisdom go together, and a greybeard's advice commands respect, for 'An old crow croaks not for nothing.' Sometimes, however, a man becomes vicious in advanced life, and of him folks say, 'There's grey in his beard and the devil in his ribs.' As regards the treatment of a wife by her husband proverbs differ. 'Love your wife like your soul, and beat her like your *shuba*' (overcoat or furs), says one of a stern class, to which another responds in the same spirit, 'Not long hurt the bumps from a loved-one's thumps.†' Wives have undoubtedly been subjected to much ill-treatment in Russia, where many husbands have always been of the opinion that 'He who gives his wife liberty robs himself;' or 'Liberty spoils a good wife.' Some proverbs are cynical as to the advantages of

matrimony. If 'The bachelor cries "Oh! Oh!"' the married man ~~says~~ "Ai, Ai!" and those who 'Wed ~~as~~, wail always.' Nor can the marriage-yoke be got rid of, however much it ~~may~~ gall. 'A wife is not a guitar; ~~when~~ your playing is done, you can't hang her up on the wall;' nor is she 'A saddle which a man can fling off his back.' One of the brief dramatic proverbs tells a mournful tale. 'Why so blithe?'—'I'm going to be married.' 'Why hangs your head?'—'I've got married.' But this is one of the skits on women familiar to all lands. More complimentary to the married state are such remarks as, 'God help the bachelor! the housewife helps a husband;' 'The master is the head of the house, the mistress its soul;' or the statements that 'The cuckoo complains, because she has no nest,' and 'It's a bore to go alone, even to get drowned;' or this recommendation: 'A good wife and rich cabbage-soup: other good things seek not!'

To wooing and wedding countless proverbs refer, but they are for the most part similar to those current elsewhere. Sometimes, however, they bear a special stamp. Thus, 'The bride is just born, the bridegroom is set on horseback,' refers to the custom prevalent among the old Slavs, as among the Tartars, of setting a lad solemnly on horseback when about seven years old, his flowing locks being cut short at the same time. 'Birds in cages, and maidens in terem,' bears witness to the old custom of secluding the women of the family in the terem—the upper chamber, the harem of the house\*—which lasted from the time of the Tartar yoke to that in which Peter I. restored the women of Russia to liberty. Not only were girls rigorously treated by fathers in old days, but boys also. The ancient Slav enjoyed the right, indeed, of selling his son, but only once. Discipline was always rigorously maintained, for 'An unchastised son is a disgrace to his father;' but it was tempered by the family affection so strongly rooted in Slavonic hearts, and children seldom failed to love as well as to honour their parents. To the parental prayer or benediction, a special value is still attached; for, 'A mother's prayer has power to save from the bottom of the sea;' and, 'A parent's blessing can neither be drowned in water nor consumed in fire.'

The moral commonplaces of which so much use is made by writing-masters abound in every collection of Russian proverbs. But

\* For fuller information on this subject, see Dean Stanley's 'Lectures on the Eastern Church,' 1861, pp. 484 and 486.

† Literally, 'A dear one's blows hurt not long.'

\* The word *terem* seems to be derived from *тѣснѣнъ*, 'anything closely shut fast, or closely covered, a room, chamber, &c.'

in addition to these, there occur also some axioms or adages which may be considered worthy of quotation. Thus, 'One's word is a law,' and 'Hold your own till your word; but having given your word, keep it,' are valuable as pointing to a love of honesty and fair-dealing with which the typical Russian has not always been credited. A similar spirit is breathed by a number of sayings having reference to honour and dishonour, such as, 'Honour is better than wealth,' and 'Honour's loss, a great woe;' or branding with contempt him 'Who fears not God, nor is ashamed before man,' and who wears 'Conscience under the sole and shame under the heel.' At one time public acts and treaties ended with the words, 'And to him who does not keep his word shall it be shameful.' To women proverbs naturally sing the praises of modesty and self-effacement. 'Modesty is a maiden's necklace,' urges one; another declares, that 'A visible girl is of copper, but an invisible one of silver,'—for in older times, as has already been observed, girls were kept in thorough seclusion, partly from an Oriental prejudice, partly for fear of 'an evil eye.' But that village girls, at all events, were happy in their homes, is shown by the vast mass of songs in which are depicted the sorrows of a young bride, forced to depart from under her parents' well-loved roof. This love of home is the theme, also, of many proverbs, such as, 'Where it has grown up, there is a pine-tree fair;' or, 'From the parental land—die, but go not forth.'

For endurance the Russian has always been famous, and his proverbs frequently inculcate the duty of bearing misfortune bravely and patiently. 'Hold out, Cossack; thou wilt become Ataman' (or Hetman), is a characteristic saying which has spread from the South all over Russia. With this dogged endurance there is no doubt allied a fatalism which may prove dangerous. The ancient Slavs, according to Procopius, recognised no Fate; but this sweeping statement was an error on the part of the historian. Modern Russians, undoubtedly, lay too much stress on such sayings as, 'Fear or no fear; fate cannot be avoided,' or, 'It was so written down to him at his birth;' but their belief in predestination is modified by a firm trust in the power of God and of the Saints, and by the manly independence to which we have already referred. 'He who sweats afield, and prays to God at home,\* will never starve.' Sometimes, it is true, a deplorable audacity or carelessness is expressed by a proverb. 'One can't die twice,' is a

favourite truism: 'It will last our time; what matter if after us no grass grows?' is an adage which unreasonably consoles the Siberian peasant for the gradual disappearance of forests. Russian criminals have always been recklessly bold, ready to undertake all risks with this saying on their lips, 'Judge me, God and the Gosudar!' or, since Peter's time, 'Judge me, the Senate and the rope!' whereupon it often arises, that 'Boldness drinks mead and chafes fetters.'

In one respect the Russian differs entirely from many other Slavonians. He is not revengeful, and seldom bears malice long. A Morlachian proverb says, 'Who does not revenge himself, he cannot be saved;' but in Russia an opposite sentiment makes itself heard. 'From him who remembers old times, knock out an eye,' is supposed to refer to the need of letting bygones be bygones; and a similar prudence is recommended by such adages as, 'Remember friendship, but forget evil,' and, 'A bad peace is better than a good quarrel.' A *pogovorka* of frequent use in Russia, Poland, and some other Slavonic lands, is 'Like a stone in water.' This is supposed to preserve a formula employed in ancient days at the signing of a peace, or the ratification of any similar agreement, to express the fact that evil feelings should now disappear as does a stone when thrown into a pool. 'So be it; all devils into the water and bubbles to the top!' is an expression used by a meeting of peasants when an agreement has been come to. A later and more unpleasant formula was that current up to the time of Catherine II. among the robbers in the Briansk forests, who used to tie stones round the necks of their victims, and then drive them with pitchforks into the waters of the Desna, crying, 'Not we drive you, but the forks.' Many another virtue is inculcated by Russian proverbial philosophy. 'Where simplicity is, there are a hundred angels; but where duplicity, there is not one,' and 'He who lives guilelessly shall live to be a hundred,' are strongly in favour of sincerity: moderation is recommended by, 'Whosoever is content with little, him will not God forget,' and sloth is warned by, 'On him who rises early God bestows gifts.' Thriftlessness is discouraged by, 'He who neglects copecks will never be worth a rouble;' and hospitality recommended by, 'A good guest is always dear to a host,' though 'An untimely guest is worse than a Tartar.'

With respect to good and bad language, we are told that 'A word of kindness is better than a fat pie;' but on the other hand, threats must sometimes be used, for 'If the thunder rolls not, the moujik will not cross

\* In his *klyet*, or closet.

himself.\* 'Don't beat the moujik with a cudgel, but beat him with a rouble,' has a kindly air; but the recommendation more frequently takes the form, objected to in print by the censorship, of 'Don't beat the pope [or priest] with a stick, but try him with a rouble.' The force of a spoken word is well expressed by, 'A word isn't a bird. If it flies out you'll never catch it again.' On commercial honesty we may quote two conflicting proverbs: 'Theft is the last handicraft'; and, 'To rotten wares the seller is blind.' Kindness to the poor is inculcated by numerous sayings. Though 'One's own shirt is nearest to one's body,' yet it is necessary to give freely in order to win God's favour. And kindness as well as money should be bestowed upon poverty: 'Offend not the poor man; the poor man has just such a soul as yours,' an idea expressed metaphorically by, 'A snipe is small, but for all that a bird.' 'Fear not the threats of the rich but the tears of the poor,' is good advice, and money-lenders ought to remember that 'In the other world usurers have to count red-hot coins with bare hands.'

About one of the chief weaknesses of the Russian peasant, proverbial philosophy has much to say. That Russians could not get on without drinking was admitted by St. Vladimir nine centuries ago, and the love of liquor has not diminished since that time. Many are the proverbs in praise of good drink, but they hold that a man ought to imbibe sociably. 'Drink at table, not behind a pillar,' is sound advice; a useful warning is conveyed by, 'Ivan drinks beer, but the devil beside him bows to the ground.' 'From another's drunkenness one's own head does not ache,' seems to refer to drinking at another man's expense; and on a widely spread belief is based the adage, 'God watches over little children and drunkards.' 'He is not a drunkard who drinks, but he who after-drinks,' refers to a Russian custom of drinking off the effects of a debauch. To express the state which follows intoxication, and the means of removing it, the Russian language has invented several technical terms. Thus *khmel'* means firstly, hops, secondly, drunkenness; *khmelyet'* is to be drunk; *pokhmeliye* is the state succeeding drunkenness; *pokhmelya'sya*, or *opokhmelya'sya*, is to drink away this state of after-drunkenness.

We will now turn from the proverbs which illustrate the ordinary life led now-a-

days by Russian peasants, in order to glance at the very interesting class of popular sayings which refer to the historic life of the country, or the manners and customs of its ancient inhabitants. Some of these are strangely archaic relics of a far-off past; here and there we see one standing out from the ordinary level of rustic speech, like a granite boulder from a grassy plain, its history altogether unknown to the peasants who make use of it. Among the earliest of this group is the *pritcha* to which we have already referred, as having been quoted by Nestor: 'Perished like the Obrye.' A little less ancient are the sayings preserved by the chroniclers of the Princely Period of Russian history, such as that employed by the Drevlian chief when he induced his tribe to slay Igor, husband of the afterwards saintly Olga: 'If the wolf gets into the fold, he will slay all the flock:' or the line, 'Seeking another's, thou hast lost thine own!' said to have been inscribed on the gold-bound skull of Sviatoslaf by his Petchenegian conqueror. To the same period also may be ascribed a number of sayings which require historic explanation. Thus, 'The cricket has conquered Tmutarakan,\*' was first used when Igor was overcome by Iziaslaf, to whom he had said in scorn, 'Fuss not, O cricket, behind the stove.' In 'The Radimichi fly from the tail of the wolf,' is conveyed a sneer first levelled against those people when they were defeated by one of Vladimir's Generals surnamed *Volchy Khvost*, or Wolf's Tail. A Novgorod saying ran thus: 'Putyata christens with the sword, and Dobruinya with fire.' This referred to a rising which took place at Novgorod, when the people protested against the new doctrines of Christianity, and refused to accept baptism. In order to quell the revolt, Putyata, Vladimir's Voivode or General, put a number of the inhabitants to the sword, and Dobruinya, the Prince's uncle, burnt down their houses. An obscure saying is quoted by the chronicler who tells how Sviatopolk the Accursed 'fled into the wilderness between Lekh and Chekh.' This is explained by an actually existing Polish phrase, 'Between Czechy and Lechy,' meaning Goodness knows where!'

The excuse for cruelty pleaded by Prince Romān of Galicia, 'To eat the honeycomb in peace, one must stifle the bees,' was borrowed from abroad; but the conduct of another Romān gave rise to an original saying. Having overcome the Lithuanians in

\* It is the thunder which the moujik fears: till it follows the flash, he does not cross himself.

\* An ancient principality on the eastern shore of the Sea of Azof.

1173, he yoked his captives to the plough. One of them, having a ready wit, apostrophized him in these words: 'Thou doest ill, Romān, to plough with a Lithuanian;' and the phrase was still current in Lithuania in the sixteenth century. To the two great municipalities of Pskof and Novgorod, which flourished so long and so gloriously till they were crushed by the despotism of Ivan III. and the tyranny of Ivan IV., alludes many a popular saying. Thus 'Novgorod honour' and 'The firm word of Pskof' long prevailed as familiar expressions. The pride and independence of the older and greater city made themselves heard in the statement that 'Novgorod is judged by its own laws,' or 'by God alone,' and in the arrogant cry, 'Who can withstand God and Novgorod the Great?' To the union which existed between Pskof and Novgorod referred the saying, 'Soul on the Velika and heart on the Volkhof,' the latter names being those of the rivers on which the two semi-republican cities stood.

To the nature of the Government which prevailed in those days, and the character imputed to the governing classes, old Russian sayings frequently bear witness. The Prince is often mentioned, and always in terms of respect, not unmingled with fear, whether he be the Grand Prince, (*Veliky Kniaz*) presiding at Kief or Vladimir over the Russian semi-federal body, or an 'appanaged' or locally-independent Prince, (*Udyelny Kniaz*) controlling the destinies of Tver, or Rostof, or Novgorod. The evidence of these adages is sometimes conflicting. On the one hand we hear that 'A generous Kniaz is a father to all,' on the other, an ominous warning is conveyed by, 'Don't build a house near the Kniaz's Court.' To the sometimes rudely-manifested independence of Novgorod and Pskof may be attributed the uncourtly cry, 'If a Kniaz be bad, into the mud with him!' The constant risings against the Grand Prince, the head of the ruling family, essayed by those of his kinsmen to whom had been assigned an *udyel* or appanage, gave rise to, 'A Boyar answers for a fault with his head, a Kniaz with his udyel.' The congresses in which princes met and swore to be life-long friends, and immediately afterwards behaved as deadly foes, may, possibly, have suggested the remark that, 'Where there is an oath, there also is a crime;' and if not relating to, at least suggestive of, the jealousy of interference from without prevailing in each separate Court, are such old saws as, 'One's own judgment is quickest;' or, 'When dogs of the same house differ, let not an outside dog inter-

fere!' For five centuries,\* more or less, did the 'Separate' or 'Appanaged' principalities hold their own, but, as time went by, with ever-failing power. At length the last traces of Russia's nearest approximation to a feudal system were effaced by the sweeping measures of Ivan the Terrible. The title of Grand Prince paled its glory before the fierce light which shone about that of 'All-Russian Tsar,' and to the latter became referred in the popular memory almost all the adages which were once connected with the former. The number of proverbs relating to the words Tsar and *Tsarstvo* (or Tsardom) is very great, as well as to the names of various royal appurtenances—such as *Kazna*, for instance, originally the Tsar's private treasury, now that of the State, the funds of which the people still regard in the light of the Emperor's privy purse, and of which they say, among other things, 'The *Kazna* is not a poor widow: you will not drain it dry.' Most unqualified is the submission to the Tsar which proverbs inculcate. 'The Tsar is God on earth,' 'Our souls are God's, our bodies the Tsar's,' 'All is God's and the Gosudar's,' and many other sayings of a similar kind testify to the willingness of the nation to obey 'God's will and the Tsar's decree,' to believe that in all dark and disputed questions 'God will judge and the Gosudar.' It has always been a matter of faith that 'Prayer to God and service to the Tsar are never thrown away,' but that an element of fear was combined with the nation's love and loyalty is proved by the numerous proverbs of a like kind with 'Going near the Tsar, as near fire, you will be scorched,'† or such warnings as, 'Near the Tsar, near unto death'—an adage originally due to Tartar terrors, but afterwards adapted to the rule of Ivan, justly styled the Terrible, during which it was so often seen that 'The Tsar's wrath is the messenger of death.' More than three centuries can bear witness that 'The Russian

\* For more than seven, if we date the appanage system from the dimly-seen period of Rurik; but it is popularly supposed to commence with the death of Yaroslav, in 1054, to expire under Ivan IV. (1533–1584).

† *Opalish'sya*, [*opalit'*, *pal-it'* = to burn]. As fire was of old the symbol of wrath, says Snegiref, so did *tsarskaya opala* signify Tsarish wrath, and to be *opalnye*, in opala, was to be subjected to that wrath. The *opalny*, or victim of the royal anger, could not go to Court, being confined to his house in town or his estate in the country, where he wore his hair short, and his raiment sad, until the Tsar forgave him—or took his life, and seized his property. Another form of the above-mentioned proverb is, 'The Tsar is not fire; but going near him, you will be scorched.'

nation is truly Tsar-loving; and in its case loyalty has always been combined with a species of worship. Thus a proverb says, 'If the people sin, the Tsar can pray the sin away: but if the Tsar sins, the people can do nothing.' 'Not every one sees the Tsar, but every one prays to him,' says another; so that King Stephen Batory was justified in addressing to a Tsar Ivan the words, 'Thou art called the God of the Russian land.' Even the mightiest boyars effaced themselves before the Tsar, styling themselves not his servants but his slaves, and protesting against all ideas of rivalry with him in the words of the proverb, 'The ears do not grow higher than the forehead.' 'We Russians are devoted to the Tsar, whether he be clement or cruel,' said a Russian Prince to one of the Emperor Maximilian's ministers, who reproached him for yielding blind obedience to a tyrant. One of the aristocratic victims of Ivan the Terrible is said, after having been impaled, to have constantly repeated, during the twenty-four hours he spent on the stake, the words, 'God preserve the Tsar!'—a heroic expression of loyalty which throws into the shade our own Stubbs's cry of 'God save the Queen!' after his right hand had been cut off by her Council's decree. This story may seem doubtful, but we can readily believe the foreign witness who says that in the sixteenth century, a Russian to whom any one wished good health always replied, 'God grant that our great Gosudar may be healthy, and after him also we who are his subjects.'

As the Boyars sat in Council with the Tsar, royal decrees stated that 'The Tsar has commanded, and the Boyars have assented,' a formula which has become a popular saying. The old title of *Boyarin*, or *Boyar*, now abbreviated into *Barin*, or *Master*, is still preserved in the memories of the people. Thus, 'At a wedding all are Boyars,' for all the guests invited to a rustic marriage feast bear that name, the bride and bridegroom being styled the Princess and the Prince. Many of the intermediate officials of early days have dropped out of proverbial memory, such as the *Possadnik*, a kind of Burgomaster, and the *Tysatsky*, or *Thonsand-man*, a military officer, together with many others; but the *Voevode* is still remembered. The old Russian *voisko*, or army, was divided into 'polks,' each of which had its *Voevode*; the senior, or chief, of these officers being called the 'Head *Voevode*.' In some towns, as at Novgorod in 1584, there were two principal *Voevodes*, to whose agreement is allusion made in the adage, 'In one den two bears

live not peaceably.' But ~~they~~ <sup>they</sup> were civil as well as military *Voevodes*, nobles who were given a province from which 'to derive nourishment,' as their petitions for employment expressed themselves. That they behaved in office rapaciously may be surmised from the existence of such proverbs as, 'To be a *Voevode*, is to live not without honey;' 'It is bad for the sheep when the wolf is *Voevode*;' 'God has punished the people, He has sent *Voevodes*.' Naturally enough it was not easy to obtain redress for an injury inflicted by a powerful noble, especially as the law dealt severely with false accusers, administering 'To the informer the first knot:' many proverbs may, therefore, have once existed, similar to a saying preserved in the Tula Government: 'To petition against a *Voevode* is to go to prison.' In the Vaga district when a man modestly refuses an office, his protest is said to take the form of, 'To judge and arrange I know not, yet they set me in a place of *Voevodship*;' but if a native of those parts blows his own trumpet too loudly, his neighbours cry: 'We won't hear you! you're not the *Voevode* of Vaga, forsooth!' When the *Voevodships* were finally abolished in the time of Catherine II., there arose among the common people this touching complaint: 'Formerly we fed a single sow, but now one with a litter.'

Among the inferior officials whose memory survives in proverbs, are the *Okolnichie*,\* a species of judicial officers who attended the Tsar on his expeditions, and of whom we learn, 'Without money even an *Okolnichy* is worthless.' In 'A wise man, like a *Starosta Gubnoi*, is feared by all,' reference is made to a criminal judgeship abolished by Peter I., in 1702. As in early days the clergy were the readers and writers of the land, and deacons generally filled secretarial posts, the name *Diak*, Deacon, attached itself to the person of every Secretary, whether a layman or a clerk. The *Diaks*, who assisted at the signing of all State papers, obtained great influence, as is observed in the saying, 'So be it, if the *Diak* has made his mark,' a phrase which now means that 'what's done cannot be undone;' or the simile, 'A *Diak* in office is like a cat beside piecrust.'

To the administration of justice, a great number of very interesting proverbs refer. That it was terribly corrupt many of them assert or suggest. 'Fear not the law, but the judge,' says one; 'God loves the just, but judges love the pettifogger,' is a Siberian

\* *Okolo* = around. *Okolitsa* means *environs*, and *okolnichy* *environing*.

But thing; 'What are laws to me, if I know the judges?' asks a third; while a number of others chime in with, 'Before God with justice, but before the judge with coin;' or, 'Before God set a taper, before the judge a purse;' or, 'A judge is like a carpenter; what he wants, that he carves out;' or, 'The devils themselves have scratched their heads at such a decision.' Bribes were always forbidden; but, in the sixteenth century, judges were allowed on Easter Sunday to receive money as well as the customary 'red egg,' whence arose the saying, thinks Snegiref, which asserts that 'Eggs are dear on Easter Sunday,'—one which now means, that every service is dear, or well appreciated, on that day. Of the *Yaryzhka*, a kind of police-officer, the memory is preserved in the warning, that 'He who consorts with a *Yaryzhka*, will find himself without a shirt.'

In the old Princely Period each district jealously clung to its ancient customs. 'A custom is not a cage; you cannot remove it,' says one proverb: while another asserts that 'Custom is older than law;' and a third expresses the feeling that only foreigners and infidels would neglect established custom by the words, 'It's all one to us Tartars.' The Princes met in Congresses, and the people in the Common Council or *Vetché*. With the conclusions therein arrived at, and indeed with the laws and customs of the land in general, the Mongol Khans, in spite of the proverb last quoted, meddled very little. The *Vetché* bells long continued to call together the inhabitants of the great cities; but their welcome clang was finally silenced during the terrible reign of Ivan IV. The *Mir*, however, or Commune, has not only survived to the present day, but still flourishes, in spite of there being so much less necessity for its existence now than there was in the times of Princely confusion, of Tartar inroad, of Polish domination, and of that serfdom which has but recently been abolished. In every village the *Mir* stood as a bulwark between the lord and the thrall; and the love and reverence with which it was regarded by the people is attested by many such proverbs as 'What is settled in the *Mir*, let that be!' or, 'No one judges the *Mir* but God alone.' That even widely-scattered individuals may gain strength by combination is expressed in 'The *Mir* is thin, but long.' 'The *Mir*'s neck is stout,' refers to the infliction of heavy taxes, especially if the sum raised is mis-spent. On the expression of public opinion in the Communal meeting great stress was always laid, and many an evil action was prevented by the thought of 'What will be said in the street?' Thus at Moscow people used to meet together

after church in the Red Place. There unjust dealers and the like were publicly deprived of their hats or kerchiefs; and this punishment was greatly dreaded, for years afterwards folks would say of a man, 'His father was publicly unhatted.'

To the administration of justice numerous proverbs refer—usually in unfavourable terms—holding that 'First is most right;' or, 'The stronger is the most in the right.' To civil cases allude the statements about sureties: 'Who goes bail, he will suffer,' and, 'I bailed him out, he taught me a lesson;' and about witnesses: 'A wife cannot give evidence against her husband,' 'A Christianised Jew and a reconciled foe' (are not to be trusted). Peter I., it may be observed, ordered that not only should not a man's present enemies be accepted as witnesses against him, but not even his professed friends, if they had ever been inimical to him. 'A sister can never be an heiress while her brother lives,' is merely a legal statement; but it takes a genuinely proverbial form in 'A cut-off slice does not belong to the loaf'—a married daughter being, as it were, cut off from her family after her dower has been paid. Among proverbs relating to criminal law: 'Better forgive ten guilty, than punish one guiltless,' is threadbare with use; but there is an air of novelty about 'The blood of the guilty is water, but of the innocent a woe.' 'By fighting shalt thou not be righted,' refers to ukases against 'self-help' in case of injury. An olden proverb says, 'One's own justice is shortest;' but this may be intended only for princely application. 'Don't strike a man when he is down,' a proverb common to England and Russia, dates from the period of the old fisticuff combats. By quoting this saying at the right moment, Count Razumofsky succeeded in modifying the Empress Catherine's wrath against her former favourite, Prince Orlof. 'Better is it to die, but not to kiss the cross,' is a proof of the sanctity attached to an oath in Russia. It is edifying to compare the solemnity with which an oath is administered at the present day in a Russian court of law with the corresponding process in our own country.

To the employment of torture as a means of getting at the truth—a blot on Russian justice not removed till 1801—allusion is often made by proverbs. Sometimes the allusion is direct, as in 'They break ribs when they torture the thief,' or, 'Thrice torture they the thief.' The latter saying is explained by the fact that a robber might be tortured three times in a day; but if he held out he could be tormented no more. An insolvent debtor, or a peasant behindhand with his

dues, will sometimes say, even in modern times, 'Though you burn me to a cinder, yet have I nowhere to turn to;' words which have long lost the significance they possessed at a time when it was legal to roast prisoners on a spit, or suspend them above a fire. The expressions, also, 'To roll into a duck,' and 'To bend into three ruins,' allude to the ancient custom of tying a man up in a triply-folded parcel. Among the most interesting of the indirect allusions is the following. In the phrase, 'To tell all one's secrets,' the word for 'secrets' is *podnogot-naya*. It is derived from *pod*, under, and *nogot*, the nail, and bears testimony to the practice of extracting secrets from prisoners by driving splinters under their finger-nails—a practice borrowed, according to Karamsin, from the Tartars. The sayings, 'Joke not above a rouble,' and, 'A rouble guards the head,' are supposed to refer to an *ukaz*, by which torture was forbidden in the case of thefts of small sums. It was issued in 1722, when a rouble was considered a large sum. The torture by the *dyba*, mentioned in 'Innocent in deed, but on the dyba guilty,' consisted in hoisting the sufferer into the air by a rope fastened to his hands behind his back, weights being attached to his feet. In this position he was scourged. The proverb afterwards changed into 'Innocent in deed, but on paper guilty,' innocent prisoners being often obliged to confess to crimes which they had not committed. The *viska* seems to have been the same as the *dyba*. Of another instrument of torture, the knout, the origin is unknown. Of it some proverbs speak, such as 'The knout is not the devil, but it will seek out the truth;' or, 'The knout is not the archangel, it will not pluck out the soul;' a statement more consolatory than correct.

There is an old form of words which, although not a proverb, became proverbial, and therefore may be mentioned here as a significant commentary on the administration of justice a couple of centuries ago in Russia. *Slovo i dyelo*, 'Word and Deed;' thus ran a formula which was long capable of striking terror into the boldest heart. He who employed it signified thereby that he had something of importance to communicate, but secretly, with reference to a crime against the State. As soon as he uttered it, whether in-doors or out of doors, at a gathering in the market-place or at a social feast, he and all persons compromised by it were taken into custody. Then began a process. First of all he was tortured, to ensure the seriousness of his charge. If he endured the torment, and adhered to his accusation, the persons ac-

cused by him were tortured in their turn. As an instance of the hardships to which this custom gave rise, the following story may be extracted from Snegiref.\* At a name-day feast, a certain citizen of Moscow addressed to his fellow-godparent,† who was uttering the conventional protest against emptying her glass, various complimentary and caressing expressions. Among other titles which he bestowed upon her was that of *Vsemilostivaya Gosudaruinya* or 'All-gracious Mistress.' This appellation, the prefix *vse*, or 'all,' being omitted, is now the equivalent for our 'Dear Madam,' and even at that time it was merely an expression of politeness. But it was used also as a designation for the Sovereign, just as the words *Gosudar'* and *Gosudaruinya* have special reference at the present day to the Emperor and Empress. Accordingly, some enemy of the citizen in question, who happened to be present at the feast, suddenly uttered the terrible 'Word and Deed!' and charged him and his *Cummer* with the crime of *Leze-Majesty*. They were carried off to the *Suisknoi Prikaz*, or Question Chamber, near the Kaluga Gate, and there tortured. While stretched on the rack or suspended from the pulley, they confessed to every crime which the Judges suggested; but when released they protested that they had done so only because they could not 'endure the torment. The trial ended by their conviction and sentence to the Russian equivalent for the galleys, *Katorjnaya rabōta*, a very aggravated form of our 'hard labour.' It may easily be imagined what fear must have come upon any assembly of men among whom was raised the ominous cry of *Slovo i dyelo*—as effective for ill, as the old Norman *Haro* could ever have been for good.

To other judicial ferocities various proverbial sayings bear witness, many of which are now used in utter ignorance of their original significance. Thus of a *molodēts*, or springald, it is said: 'Though on a stake, yet a hawk,' a reference to the horrors of impalement, unknown in Russia since the sanguinary period of Biron's regency, when the Pretender Minitsky was impaled in 1738. The phrase 'Inside a

\* 'Russians in their Proverbs,' iii. 174-5.

† He was the godfather, she the godmother. The spiritual relationship between him and her is expressed by the word *kumacōf*, he being her *kum*, she being his *kumā*. But to the godchild he would be a *krestny otēt*, or 'Father of the Cross,' and she a *krestnaya mat*, or Mother of the Cross. *Kumā* answers to the French *commère*, the Scotch *cummer*, the English *god-sib* or *god-sib*.

sack and into the waters,' alludes to the former practice of drowning in a sack wizards, parricides, and other offenders. The common Russian expression used as an equivalent for our 'thunderstruck,' or 'rooted to the ground,' to describe the temporary immobility produced by sudden fear or grief, is *kak vkopanny*, or *vkopannaya*, 'as if buried in the earth,' *kopāt'* meaning to dig. This refers, as does the phrase 'Our Fofan is buried in the earth,' to the old custom of burying up to the neck, or, as the saying ran, 'up to the ears,' certain offenders, such as women who had killed their husbands, and keeping watch over them till they died. This punishment was abolished in 1689, but the superstitious practice of burying a villager alive in a sack, together with a dog, a cat, and a cock, in order to keep off the cattle plague from a village, may still be kept up in some dark retreat, some backwater in the stream of Russian life. That the practice throws a valuable light upon the old Roman punishment for parricide scarcely need be pointed out.

The method of recovering debts during the period of the Tsars, savagely simple in its nature, gave rise to a number of proverbial sayings, some of which still exist, but in a form which now-a-days requires explanation. Thus, 'A brother has paid a brother with his head,' conveys but little meaning to a hearer who does not know that of old an insolvent debtor was made over as a slave to his creditor. This surrender bore the name of *otdacha golovoyu*, a rendering of the Western *deditio capitis*, the slave being regarded as *sine capite* or 'headless.' A creditor was originally allowed to treat the debtor thus handed over to him as a slave, and might beat him with impunity to any extent short of death. Even as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, a debtor might be made over, together with his wife and children, to his creditor, in order to work off his debt. But as a male labourer could earn only a few roubles a year, and a female still fewer, the creditor was obliged to feed and clothe them while in his service. Not only were debtors thus figuratively deprived of their heads, but some other offenders also. Thus, in 1589, Prince Gvosdef was in this manner placed in the power of Prince Odoefsky, with whom he had quarrelled on a question of *myestnichestvo*, or precedence. When a grandee was thus humiliated, his enslavement was merely nominal, but he was obliged to throw himself on the ground before the person to whom his head was supposed to belong, and remain prostrated till

he received permission to rise in the words, 'The repentant head will not the sword strike: God forgive thee!' A method of recovering debts, which is still employed in India, was long current among the Russians—that of sitting at a debtor's gate until he is shamed or frightened into paying what he owes. A more savage method is supposed to have been brought into Russia from Central Asia or China by the Tartars—that of the *pravēzh*.\* 'Give time; beat not off from the legs;' 'The heart has sinned but the legs are found guilty;' are still current expressions which originally referred to the practice of setting insolvent or obstinate debtors 'on the *pravēzh*,' and beating them on the legs with sticks. This summary proceeding was suspended by Peter I. But it was revived under the Empress Anne by the ferocious Biron. By his orders, the peasants who, in consequence of a famine, were unable to pay their taxes, were compelled to stand bare-legged on the snow during a severe winter, and were beaten on their shins and the soles of their feet. The final abolishment of this refinement on the bastinado gave rise to a saying among the people, 'You can't set me on the *pravēzh*, forsooth!' The following phrase formerly referred to the *pravēzh*, but it is now used when a visitor will not sit down: 'In legs is there no justice.'

This Tartar importation, if such it was, brings us to the subject of the Tartar conquest of Russia, and the references to it which exist among the proverbial sayings of the Russian people. The word Mongol is unfamiliar to them, the ancient conquerors and devastators of Russia being known to the moujik by the same name as is borne by the peaceful Tartars of Kazan, or the Crimean *Tartarui*. The modern Tartar, who is a courtly and well-informed member of society, when he enters a Russian village with wares to sell, is constantly addressed by the title of Prince, whence may have arisen some wonderful ideas about the value of Russian titles. But in many Russian proverbs the Tartar bears, as is natural, an evil repute. 'None have brought no such evil upon Russia as the Pope of Rome and the Khan of the Crimea,'† declares one; 'To a Tartar flesh-eater there is no end.'

\* Derived from the root which has given rise to so many words like *pravy* or 'right,' *pravda* or 'truth,' *pravit'*, or 'to rule,' *pravilo*, or 'a rule,' &c. In his 'Russe Common Wealth,' Dr. Fletcher gives a graphic account of the poor debtors whom he saw 'stand together on the *praveush* all on a row, and their shins thus beudged and beasted every morning with a piteous cry.'

† *Papa Rimsky i Khan Kruimsky*.

complains another. 'Stop, Tartar! let me draw my sword,' is suggestive of hostility; and so is, 'Teach not a swan to swim, nor a Boyar-son to fight the Tartars.\*' 'O Tartar honour, more evil than evil!' cries an old chronicler when mentioning the honours paid by Batu to Prince Daniel of Galitch. But in many cases the reference to the former lords of so great a part of the Russian soil is rather historical than critical. Such is the case in the assertions that, 'Greybeards are honoured even in the Horde;' or, 'Even Mamai did not eat up truth;' or, 'As is the Khan, so is the Horde.' To travels into the realms of the Mongol rulers of Russia, and to the tales which travellers brought back, refer 'Ivan was in the Horde, and Marya has news to tell,' and 'He will talk of wheeled *turusui*.' The word *turusui* is defined by Dahl as 'nonsense,' and the saying is now used of a vain babbler. But it has been suggested that *turusui* is a popular form of *ulusui*, the Mongol name for an 'aoul' or 'yourt,' a collection of the Calmuck kibitkas, or dwellings on wheels. As *taravarskaya* is a corruption of *Arabskaya*, Arabian, so may *turusui* be a corrupt form of *ulusui*, and the proverb may mean that a man talks nonsense, inasmuch as he talks about houses on wheels. Another name-corruption occurs in 'The Tartars have ridden away into Tar-Tarary, and you after them!' a saying used when one person follows another with whom he has nothing to do.

Karamsin thinks that the saying 'Near the Tsar, near death,' refers to the Mongol period when so many Russian princes went to the Horde and died there; afterwards the Moscow princes became the tsars alluded to, and the proverb changed into 'Near the Tsar, near honour.' An interesting phrase is, 'It is early for the Tartars to go against Russia,' telling as it does of the time when each spring brought with it fears of Tartar invasion. To the remembrance of such invasions is due the name of a species of wild onion, known in some parts of Russia as the *luk Tatarin* (in Polish *tatareczka*), because it makes its appearance as soon as the snow has melted, as the Tartars used of old to do. From among the other recollections of the Tartars preserved in proverbial philosophy we will select only one or two which refer to distinct historical events.

\*The bird is called 'a white swan' in the proverb, but the epithet is purely conventional. Not only swans, but also hands, are always 'white' in popular literature—so much so that a negro may be spoken of in a song as 'folding his white hands.' So the earth is always 'moist,' probably meaning 'fat' or 'fertile'; wine is 'green'; and a maiden is ever 'fair to see.'

There used to be an old saw, says one of the chroniclers, *za Piyanoyu piani*, 'Beyond the Piyana are they intoxicated;' it referred to the rout of the Russian forces on the river Piyana in 1373, when Mamai and his Tartars suddenly fell upon them 'like snow on the head.' Better times are commemorated by the phrase, 'When Mamai warred,' used in reference to anything ancient, and by the proverb, 'Not always to a priest's children is it Dmitry's Saturday,' alluding to the feast held every year upon the *Dmitrievskaya Subbota*, the anniversary of the day upon which Dmitry Donskoi wrested from Mamai on the field of Kulikovo the first victory gained by the Russians over the Tartars.

Many other historical events naturally gave rise to proverbs, some of which are still used in utter unconsciousness of their original meaning. Thus 'On one side the Cheremisa, on the other take care (*beregisyay*),' referred to an unsuccessful expedition against Kazan in 1524, when the Tcheremissses waylaid the Russian vessels, and assailed them from the shore. 'The Cossacks came from the Don and drove the Poles home,' was a figure of speech constructed in honour of the part played by the Don Cossacks in the campaign which ended in the expulsion of the Polish conquerors from Russia. 'The Cossack mother is not dead,' contains an allusion to the sword of the great Cossack leader Bogdan Chmelniecki. A *pogovorka*, to which a curious tale is attached, was, 'He looks at the book but he says fire.' This was coined at the time when, after the expulsion of the Poles, the Tsar Michael Romanof and his father, the patriarch Philaret, tried to root out certain practices which had crept into the Church. Among other things, the use of the word *ognem*\* (by fire), in the prayer for the consecration of water at the Epiphany, was forbidden by a rescript in 1626, that word not occurring in the Greek originals of the *sluzhebnyki* or service books, but having crept in by accident. Some of the priests of that period, however, having learnt the service by heart, continued to employ the forbidden word, whence the saying just quoted arose. It is not clear whether the erring ecclesiastics knowingly preferred their old *mumpsimus* to the new *sumpsimus*, or whether they sinned from downright ignorance. But there were among the common people vigorous protesters against the omission of the word, which gave rise at Moscow to a riot among the bakers, who thought the

\*Pronounced *agnyom*. The Russian *ogon*, fire, is closely connected with the Sanskrit *agni*, the Latin *ignis*, &c.

suppression of the word 'fire' might deprive them of the services of the element by means of which they baked.\* The assertion that 'Seven shepherds spoil a flock,' is attributed by Snegiref to a recollection of the *Semiboyarshchina* or Seven-Boyars-Rule, during the period of Polish ascendancy at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but this is doubtful; the phrase 'To put into a long box,' has been supposed to refer to the box attached to one of the pillars of the house of Alexis Mikhailovich, for the purpose of receiving petitions. Among more recent events, the victory of Peter I. over Charles XII. is commemorated by the saying, 'He has disappeared like the Swede at Poltava;' a disastrous expedition against Khiva, during the same reign, gave rise to 'He has vanished like Bekovich,' that being the name of the unsuccessful general. The rapacity of a Vice-Governor of St. Petersburg in 1712, is commemorated in, 'God is not Manukof; He grants without a bribe.' To the French invasion refer many proverbs, such as 'He was not scorched (*ne opalyon*, i. e., Napoleon), but he left Moscow scorched;' or, 'The frightened Frenchman runs away even from a she-goat.'

With one most interesting chapter of Russian history, that which tells how the Russian peasant lost his liberty, many proverbs are associated. In 'One can see he is a *kholop*: rings in his ears;' or, 'To the lord freedom, to the *kholop* constraint,' we find one of the names by which a slave was anciently known. Under the Tsars, every Russian called himself the sovereign's *kholop*, but Peter ordered the word *rab*, a less abject expression, to be substituted for it in petitions; and Catherine II. altered *rab* into 'truly-subject.' Another name occurs in 'Where the *smerd* thought, there God was not,' the designation *smerd* being, as some suppose, of foreign extraction, introduced into Russia from the side of the Wends, whom the Germans so degraded that the terms Slav and Slave became synonymous. In old times it was generally by entering into a *kabala*, or bond, that the freeman became a *kholop*, or bondsman; a bond of which mention is often made in proverbs. A thrall could not be a witness, for 'A *kholop*'s word is like a spear,' and 'A false *kholop* is to his master a terrible foe.' But his position was not intolerable if his lord was a good one. 'Serving a good master,' says Daniel Zatochnik, 'one gains freedom;' and a proverb asserts that 'A *kabala* bends upwards, but the [entire and desperate] want of freedom downwards.'

Of course it was easier to enter into a bond than to evade its consequences. 'Wide is the gateway leading into a boyar's court, but narrow [that leading] out of it.' But it often happened that the free peasant was worse off than the thrall, having to pay the equivalent for our rent, or as the proverb puts it, 'Slavery drinks mead, and freedom water.' However this might be, the ordinary rustic was at liberty to change his quarters once a year, the annual time fixed for his migration being St. George's Day in Autumn, November 26, or rather, the two weeks preceding and following that day. Tradition asserts that when that day drew nigh, landowners who wished to retain their peasants used to brew strong beer. The peasants drank themselves into forgetfulness, and did not recover their senses till St. George's Day was past, and they found themselves unable to depart for another year. It is from the day when Boris Godunof abolished this right of yearly migration, that the serfdom of the Russian peasant is generally supposed to date, though the change which took place in his position was really of a more gradual nature. And in the minds of the common people the day which was once to them suggestive of freedom, has for nearly three centuries been associated with a feeling of sadness. 'Here, grannie, is St. George's Day,' is a phrase still expressive of regret for some disappointment or loss.

Here, though unwillingly, we pause. So wide is the field of Russian proverbial philosophy, that whole volumes might be compiled by one who might minutely describe his explorations therein. 'To know this book is to know the Russian language,' said Dahl, when presenting to an English visitor a copy of his great collection of Russian proverbs. We may not go so far as to agree with him that a nation's proverbs form its 'popular code of laws,' but we trust the foregoing pages will suffice to show that Russian proverbs may, at least, serve to illustrate some noteworthy points in Russian history, some interesting phases of Russian manners and morals.

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ART. VIII.—*Census of England and Wales for the Year 1871. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.*

\* See on this subject an interesting passage in Dean Stanley's 'Lectures on the Eastern Church,' 1861, p. 473.

THE labours of Government Departments often receive but a scant recognition from the general public. It is probable that the

last Census has already almost faded from the memory of most men, and yet the Census of 1871 deserves to be held in special remembrance; for on that occasion a census was taken the first time, not only of the United Kingdom, but of the whole British empire. To enumerate the inhabitants of Great Britain alone might well be thought a very considerable undertaking. When at the commencement of this century a census was first made, it extended only to England, Wales, and Scotland. In 1801, and again in 1811, even under the keen eye of the late Mr. Rickman, nothing more was attempted. Perhaps nothing more could have been carried through at that period of our history. It was not till 1821 that the population of Ireland was counted. Fifty years later, what at an earlier date might well have seemed to be impossible, has been accomplished, and the muster-roll made out of all the subjects of Queen Victoria. A work of enormous difficulty it proved to be. Difficulties caused by differences of climate, differences of race, differences of religion, all have been overcome, and a trustworthy statement of numbers, not a mere estimate, has been constructed for the whole of the empire.

The vastness of these figures is such that it is almost impossible to take in at one view the full meaning of their value. As in a mountainous country the stupendous size of some giant of the Alps is scarcely understood, till the slow labour of the traveller painfully attempting to climb the shelving sides even of its lower slopes, brings home to his mind how enormous that mass must be of which but a small portion can be traversed in a day of severe toil, so it requires a considerable mental effort to arrive at an adequate appreciation of what those amounts of human life mean, which form in the aggregate this immense power; of the might of an Empire containing two hundred and thirty-four million subjects. Let any one try to remember the names of those persons whom he himself knows; let him count them carefully and put down their number. Then let him compare that handful with the hosts of those who owe allegiance to her Majesty, and he may form some rough idea of what enumerating such a multitude really means. A quotation from Gibbon, in the Report, reminds us that the numbers are twice as great as those under the Roman sway in the reign of Claudius, and that the territory they occupy is nearly five times the extent.

Over these vast regions it is impossible at this time to cast more than a transient glance. The importance of such an inquiry as the Census, and the advantage which such

information may be in the administration of so wide a dominion as the British Empire, can hardly be overestimated. Let it suffice to cite here one instance of the practical value which the making so exact an investigation may have; perhaps the best illustration that can be given, is to mention that in one province alone, and that one a district already supposed to be fairly well understood, it was discovered that twenty-five million inhabitants more existed than had been previously known of. We quote from a very remarkable statement recently made by Mr. Henry Beverley, Inspector-General of Registration in Bengal.

‘On no previous occasion had any endeavour been made to ascertain by actual house to house enumeration the numbers of the heterogeneous masses subject to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The result was, that the Census of 1872 in those provinces brought to light some 25 millions of her Majesty’s subjects, of whose existence our Government had previously been in complete and utter ignorance. The population of Bengal rose in one day from 42 to 67 millions. The Lieutenant-Governor, who was already supposed to have one of the largest gubernatorial charges in the world, suddenly found that he had unconsciously been the ruler of an additional population more than equal to that of the whole of England and Wales.’

When all the results of such a discovery as this are considered, we shall be the more struck at what it really means. It means that the whole administration of a province, it means that the whole distribution of the incidence of taxation, it means that the entire basis on which the idea of government turns, requires re-adjustment.

To quote the Administration Report:

‘The result has already been almost to revolutionise our ideas both in regard to the total amount of the population, and relatively in regard to its distribution in different districts, races, and religions; while by showing that the numbers vastly exceed any former computation, it has wholly altered our calculations with respect to the incidence of taxation, the consumption of salt, and many other matters.’—*Journal of the Statistical Society*, 1874. p. 70.

The whole idea of a government in India centres and depends on the numbers of the people. And when we are further reminded in Mr. Beverley’s forcible words, that, as to Behar merely, during the late famine,

‘had there been no Census, it may be assumed that there would have been upwards of 8 millions of souls in that province alone utterly ignored in all measures of relief,’

we may well feel how opportune, as well as how necessary to good administration, is this exact information.

But to dwell longer, however tempting the field, on the more distant portions of the British Empire is impossible. Enough has been said to vindicate the need for such an enquiry as is contained in the Census. We will now endeavour to concentrate our attention on the central group which contains the mainspring of the mechanism, whence the governing force proceeds which directs the whole. And here, though the importance to the empire is almost infinitely greater, the numbers dealt with are almost infinitely smaller. For it is of one portion of Great Britain alone that we propose to treat.

From the consideration of 234 millions of souls we must now descend to less than a tenth of that number, strictly speaking to 22,856,164 persons, the population actually enumerated in England and Wales on the Census-day, April 3, 1871. Yet this number, small as it looks by comparison with the myriads just cited, would have appeared an overwhelming multitude to our grandfathers—even to our fathers. Just as the sum of the National Debt seemed to them enormous and crushing when considerably less than one-third of its present amount; and the country so burthened was considered by one of our foremost statesmen to be on the verge, nay, in the very gulf, of bankruptcy; so by the inhabitants of England in 1801, 22 millions would have been reckoned a most redundant population. In 1801 barely 9 millions appeared a large number. By 1851, but half a century later, the population had doubled; and still the increase continues. A complete comparison of the state of England now with what it was in the earlier decades of the century is, on account of the state of war then prevailing, barely possible. There is, however, but little doubt that the population of 1871 presses with less severity on the means of subsistence than the population of 1821. Great and continuous as the augmentation of numbers has been, yet the rate of that augmentation has been far from uniform. The annual rate of increase diminished, mainly owing to emigration, from 1811–21 to 1851–61, and as the diminution had been progressive, there appeared to be reason to expect it would continue. But between 1861 and 1871 a change took place. The development of the population within that decade was not only larger in number but larger in proportion, a point which we shall advert to further on.

The increase in the population has not, however, been uniformly distributed over the surface of the country. This fact will be obvious to any one from his own observation. While every town with which any

one of us may be acquainted, almost without exception, has extended its boundaries and augmented its numbers, the rural districts have not received, or rather, have not retained, any increase. On the contrary, the numbers of the dwellers there have declined. On first examining the Census Report the difference appears small; there are but three counties in England and Wales in which the population had declined between 1861 and 1871. These were Huntingdon, Cornwall, and Rutland, of which only two are strictly speaking agricultural counties. But this statement only inadequately describes the real condition of matters. In the rest of the country the increase in the towns included in a county has, in several instances, caused the whole numbers of the people in that county to be larger, while in reality the agricultural population has considerably diminished. Of the fifty-four main divisions into which England and Wales are divided for registration purposes, if we compare the population in towns, and that in villages and the surrounding country, for 1871 with 1861, we shall find that

in 16	the rural population is now larger;
in 37	“ “ is less;
in 1 (Anglesea)	“ it is stationary.

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By this we can see that it is not in three counties alone, as appeared at the first glance, that the agricultural population has declined. Indeed, on examining more closely still a greater alteration in the proportion will be discovered. We shall find that the same division of the country has not exactly been followed at the last Census as in the previous years. If we rectify this, and rearrange the divisions upon the basis followed in 1861, we shall find that in three of the sixteen divisions in which the numbers appear to be larger, the counties of Northampton, Bedford, and Wilts, the increase in the rural portion is so slight that their position is practically unchanged; while in Suffolk, where the proportion of the rural population appears to be larger, if the basis of 1861 is employed, it is really less. Taking the whole together, it may be said that throughout four-fifths of England and Wales the rural population has declined during the last ten years, and, of course, even to a higher degree as compared with twenty or thirty years ago. As the inhabitants of England and Wales have rapidly increased in number during these periods, this depopulation of the rural districts has been accompanied by a considerably larger proportionate increase in the towns.

We will consider, first of all, the agricul-

tural districts, Take the case of Surrey. In the so-called 'extra metropolitan' portion, the parishes and hamlets really beyond the influence of London, those which are not, in fact, suburbs of the metropolis, will be found, in many instances, to have scarcely received any augmentation of their population. In some cases the numbers are actually less; where there is an increase, 'additional railway communication with London' supplies the cause. In Bedfordshire, out of 154 parishes, including the towns in the county, the population in 70 parishes is less than in 1861, and exactly the same in four more. To go further into details on this point would be out of place here. But enough has been said to make it clear that since there has been a decline in the population of a great part of the rural districts, we must expect to find a diminution in the number of agricultural labourers in England. At any period a reduction in the ranks of a class so important to the State would be a matter deserving of the most serious consideration. Adding together the numbers of the men described as agricultural labourers, shepherds, and farm servants, we find that the aggregate of men following these industries dropped from being more than 1,100,000, in 1851, to being but little over 900,000 in 1871. Some doubts are thrown on the exact accuracy of this statement by the writers of the Report, who remark, that 'notwithstanding the explicit instructions on the subject to householders and enumerators, it is not improbable that many agricultural labourers returned themselves simply as labourers,' and so, consequently, have swelled the ranks of the general labourers, who are returned separately. Such mistakes may have influenced the Returns in some degree; it is inevitable, though provoking, to the inquirers into the social status of the population that such errors should take place. But they may be imagined to occur in fairly constant proportions at each Census. It is hardly likely that less care is now exercised in the choice of enumerators, or that those selected in 1871 evinced less intelligence than those employed twenty years before. It appears most likely that the statement made at the present time is fairly correct. The opinion that the number of agricultural labourers has declined, is held by competent authorities—by Mr. C. S. Reed, M.P., and Mr. Caird—and is supported by some collateral evidence. A Return for the purposes of the Census was obtained from farmers in seventeen representative counties. This was compared with a similar return made in 1851, and thus there was clearly shown to have been a diminution in the number of labourers in these seventeen coun-

ties, from about 280,000 in 1851, to about 200,000 in 1871. The diminution in these seventeen counties is somewhat greater in proportion than in the rest of rural England; but this is exactly what might have been expected, as these districts contain in general a distinctly agricultural population. The number of labourers, when compared with the extent of the land on which they worked, gives an average of about 35 acres to every man employed. If we refer to the agricultural returns for 1871, and take the number of acres under cultivation in England and Wales, and then calculate the number of men who would be required, in the proportion of one man to every 35 acres, we arrive at a number so close to that of the men stated in the Census Tables to be employed in agricultural pursuits, as to corroborate it very strongly. Hence we are brought, though with regret, to accept the numbers given in the Census Tables, and to believe that, year by year, agricultural pursuits occupy not only a smaller proportion, but a smaller actual number of the total population. At present the average acreage under corn and green crops, including in this term the 'roots' so important to the agriculturist, has not altered very materially in Great Britain since the year 1866.

It is by no means absolutely certain that, even if the wages of labour rose materially, the proportion of land employed for growing wheat would be permanently diminished. Mr. Rogers in his 'History of Agriculture and Prices in England,' reminds us that while wheat has been the customary food of this country from the earliest times, 'England has been alternately a corn-growing and a grazing country;' and while the system of agriculture remains what it is at present, it is quite possible that even in the face of rising wages, and increasing imports, the proportion of land under wheat to the rest of the cultivated land of the country may not materially and permanently change. Some persons have expected that one result of the strike among agricultural labourers would be an increase in the size of farms. This may possibly be the case. But it is a remarkable circumstance, as mentioned by Mr. T. Brassey, M.P., in his address to the 'Conference of Co-operative Societies' at Ilalifax, that while the average size of the farms in the seventeen representative agricultural counties of England, referred to before, was 152 acres, the average size of the farms of the United States, according to the Census of 1870, was 154 acres. We may, therefore, safely infer that, as there is a coincidence in point of size between the farms of England and the United States, the acreage has in each case been determined by con-

siderations of convenience, and, it may be added, is consequently scarcely likely to be altered with great rapidity.

That the produce of the soil is less now than it has been formerly is not likely either. Beyond doubt an increase in the use of agricultural machines, and a vast improvement among these and other implements, have enabled a larger return to be obtained from the soil with the employment of a smaller quantity of labour. The strikes among the agricultural labourers must exert an influence in the direction of a further diminution among their number. The reduction of this class during the last twenty years may lead some to the consideration whether, if it shrink within still smaller limits, the farmers will be able to carry on their accustomed operations with the help of those who remain. The inference to be drawn from the Census Report is, that they certainly will. Within the last twenty years the numbers of the agricultural labourers have diminished nearly 20 per cent. Even within the last ten years this class, properly speaking, has decreased by more than 10 per cent., without apparently any considerable reduction in the quantity of land under cultivation. Another diminution to an equal extent, as great even as that which has taken place since 1851, would probably be met without difficulty by an increase in the appliances, of machinery. It must also be remembered that to create a sudden diminution of the numbers of the agricultural labourer to the extent of 10 per cent. only on their total number by removal or emigration, is a more difficult operation than may at first sight appear. The number of persons to be provided for, if 100,000 heads of families, with those dependent on them, were moved, is not short of half a million. Those who remain will be better paid; and it is to be hoped, better lodged. That their 'perquisites' and 'privileges' must have a considerable money value is curiously shown by a very interesting statement in the agricultural returns for 1873 of the number and size of 'garden' allotments (by which are understood allotments detached from a cottage or house) in each county in England. On examining into the number of the allotments in the seventeen representative agricultural counties referred to before, it will be found that there were no less than 91,492 such allotments among them. As there were 201,903 labourers in these counties in 1871, and as the number of allotments is exclusive of gardens and land attached to cottages, it is clear that there was a sufficient number of allotments to exercise a very considerable and beneficial influence on the condition of the agricultural labourers. While a diminu-

tion in the numbers of so important a class must be a matter of great regret, an improvement in their condition will be a source of increased strength to the country. That their status still requires considerable improvement, to bring it up to the level of the rest of the country, is shown by some painful facts. The proportions of births to marriages is lowest in the strictly agricultural counties. There is also among them a greater proportional number of blind persons than in the rest of England. The number of the blind may, in some degree, be attributed to the emigration of the young and healthy to districts in which their labour is better remunerated. Something also is probably due to food scarcely sufficient to induce a very vigorous life. There is a greater proportion of aged persons in the agricultural districts than in the rest of England; but, even allowing for this, there is a very remarkable number of blind persons in those portions of the country. The Census gives the numbers of men and women living at different periods of age in the various counties of England. If we look down the list, and place a mark against the names of those counties in which the men, between the age of 20 and 40, the most vigorous period of life, are below the average, we shall find these almost without exception agricultural counties. If, again, in the same list we notice the numbers of men between 60 and 80—the old men—and those places where the numbers of such are above the average, we shall find them to be the same counties which we have marked before. The agricultural counties which are deficient in young life are redundant in aged life; and any change in the distribution of the population, which might tend to remove from the agricultural districts what vigour remains in them, would be greatly to be deprecated. We trust that not this effect but the reverse may be the ultimate outcome of the present movement, and that the agricultural population may emerge from the ordeal which they have undergone invigorated by the process. Except when warped by injudicious legislation, the landowner is the natural ally of the labourer on the land. It is a good sign that mutual respect did not break down in the late turmoil. The words of the old song may yet be verified—'The falling out of faithful friends renewing is of love.'

We will now turn from the agricultural to the town population. In approaching this part of the subject we must first define what is meant by a town. If we include in the description municipal boroughs, towns under Improvement Acts, and towns of some 2000 or more inhabitants, the description

adopted in the Census, the number rises to 938. Of such 'towns' there were 580 in 1851, and 781 in 1861. Thirty years ago the 580 towns included less than half the population of England and Wales, but in 1871 more than 60 per cent., that is, more than six persons out of every ten, inhabited such 'towns.' It may be considered that a town with so limited a population as some of these, which hardly rise above the position of villages, scarcely deserves to be considered among the ranks of 'cities.' If we divide the towns of England and Wales into classes, and include, together with London, the 65 old county and assize towns, the 56 watering-places, the 42 principal sea-ports, and the 169 manufacturing towns, we shall find that nearly half the inhabitants of the country reside in these 333 towns. Their growth has been extremely rapid, and proceeds at a far greater rate of progress than the rest of the population. Gradually the more powerful life of rural England is being absorbed into the towns. The reverse of the agricultural districts—it is here that the largest number of men of the most vigorous ages, the smallest number of men in old age are to be found. This reminds us how needful to the well-being of the country is an improved municipal organisation for the towns; and how far, with our cumbersome, incomplete, and expensive method of local administration, we still are from attaining to a good system of municipal government. Only 224 of the 938 towns mentioned before are boroughs with a true municipal organisation, and these boroughs contain less than half of the town population.

Something has undoubtedly been done to improve local government during the last twenty or thirty years; much, however, remains undone. To go no further than one point. The memorial recently presented to the Prime Minister by the College of Physicians, on the house accommodation of the metropolis, shows the importance which the most scientific body, in matters of hygiene, in the Country ascribes to the question of the housing of the working-classes.

The manner in which Mr. Kay Shuttleworth's motion on the subject was received by the Government, leads to the hope that some measure for the relief of this want may shortly be brought forward. But though the condition of the dwellings of the poor in London may call for the most immediate attention, yet it is not to London alone that the operation of such a measure should be confined. There are many houses, in the Towns generally speaking, inhabited by persons above the scale of the working-classes, which, though not as deficient in

proper arrangements of a sanitary kind, still can scarcely be called healthy dwellings. It may be said that these classes of householders, and, in some respects, even those below them, have a power of choosing their dwellings, and need not occupy such unsuitable houses. The limitations in the choice of a residence are, however, far greater than at first sight may appear. Nearly one-fourth of the population consists of children of the school age, three years old and under thirteen, as defined by the Education Act. The children must, of course, accept the home provided for them by their parents, whether it is a healthy dwelling-place or not. But the parents themselves are nearly as much limited in the way of choice as their children. Ask even one of the better class of artisans, whose wife and children suffer in health, who perhaps suffers in health himself, from deficient or unhealthy house accommodation, why he continues in the dwelling obviously so prejudicial to the well-being of the family. The answer, 'It is so handy for my work,' is felt to indicate an almost insurmountable obstacle to a change. It is often not want of proper feeling for those dependent on him, or even want of consciousness of the harm which is being done to them, which prevents the man from attempting to move. It is the knowledge that it would be scarcely possible to find anything better at the price which they can afford to pay, which retains the family in the dreary dwelling where perhaps they have more than once been decimated by preventable disease.

No remark of the late Mr. J. S. Mill is more acute than the one in which he defines houses, and desirable sites for houses, in towns; among objects which are continually under the limitations governing monopolies. The information supplied by the Census enables us to compare the average number of persons to a house since 1801. The proportion of inhabitants to houses continued nearly uniform for the first forty years of the century. Since that time a slight improvement has taken place, and the extent of the house accommodation appears to be somewhat, though very slightly, enlarged. This induces the belief that the removal of the taxes on building materials, commenced about thirty years ago, has been reflected in some degree in an improvement among the dwellings of the people. But in one point, and a very important point too, no real improvement is observable. It is of course most desirable that only one family should be lodged in each house. Though many dwellings occupied only by one family possess but very inadequate accommodation for their in-

mates, yet, beyond doubt, by far the worst instances of over-crowding are in those dwellings in which many families congregate. There are considerably more 'families' than houses in England and Wales, and the proportion between the families and the houses they occupy shows now scarcely any difference between the proportion in 1801, when the first Census was taken, and when as now there were about twelve families to ten houses. Earlier than that date no exact information exists. The industry of a very careful and trustworthy observer of social matters, the Rev. John Howlett, enables us to carry the investigation a little further back, about to the year 1780; and all that can be said at this time is, that the condition of the average population of England and Wales does not now appear to be worse in this respect than it was a century ago. It is very much to be desired that fuller information on this point should be obtained. When this has been done, it will most probably be found that the general average of the proportion of inhabitants to houses, masks a series of variations almost incredible in their differences. The general average does not at first sight seem so much amiss, though it cannot be altogether satisfactory to any one to think that out of every 1200 families 200 have to share a dwelling with at least one other family; but if we were able to look below the surface, another, and a very different, state of things would be found to underlie an exterior not so obviously objectionable. The density of the population in the houses themselves, probably increases in proportion to the inferiority of the individual houses. Mr. Caird, a most competent and careful inquirer, computed, in 1861, that 'one-third of the population of Scotland lived, each family, in houses of one room only; another third in houses of two rooms; two-thirds of the whole people being thus found to be lodged in a manner incompatible with comfort and decency, as now understood.' Though it is to be hoped that the condition of England is better in this respect than that of Scotland, yet there is good reason for believing that the difference is not so great, and that the over-crowding is not so completely confined to towns as might at first be imagined. Some very painful information on the subject, for the rural districts, can be gained by consulting the Report of the Commission on the employment of children, young persons, and women in agriculture. The general correctness of these observations is confirmed by many statements made during the agricultural labourers' lock-out last year. Some impor-

tant remarks about the condition of the metropolis, in this respect, may be found in the Reports of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council. But more exact knowledge is much wanted.\*

That at present our information on many points connected with the numbers of the people is defective was curiously exemplified at the last Census, by the fact that the extent of the population when enumerated proved to be considerably greater than had been estimated. There were found to be no fewer than a quarter of a million more persons in England and Wales than had been expected.

Some discrepancy between the estimated

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\* An effort was made in 1870, as will be seen by the following quotation from the Journals of the House of Commons and 'Hansard,' to obtain this information at the time when the last Census was taken. The late Government opposed the inquiry, and the proposal was lost in a thin House by a majority of one against it. In answer to the apprehension of the late Home Secretary that such an investigation 'would add enormously to the expense of the inquiry,' it may be mentioned that the cost of the Scotch Census of 1861, when this point was first inquired into, was through careful management reduced below the cost in 1851.

#### *In Committee on the Census Bill.*

'Clause No. 6. (Enumerators to take an account of houses, &c., and to distinguish the boundaries of parishes, boroughs, &c.)

'Amendment proposed by Mr. Miller. After the word "division," to insert the words, "stating the number of rooms (including the kitchen, if any, as a room) having a window or windows, not being windows with a borrowed light, in each dwelling-house where occupied as a whole, or where let in different stories or apartments, and occupied distinctly by different persons or families."—*Commons Journals*, 26th July, 1870, vol. cxxv. p. 366.

'Mr. Bruce opposed, "believing the provision unnecessary, and that it would add enormously to the expense of the inquiry."

'Mr. Orr Ewing supported the amendment, which required a return that was already made in Scotland, and was found to give very useful information.

'Mr. Chadwick urged the Home Secretary to accept the amendment, or the mover to divide the Committee, on the ground that the information sought would be most valuable in a sanitary point of view.—*Hansard's Debates*, 3rd series, vol. cciii. p. 1011.

'Question put: That those words be there inserted.

'The Committee divided.

Tellers for the Yeas { Mr. Miller. } 56.  
                                  { Mr. Orr Ewing. }

Tellers for the Noes { Mr. Glyn. } 57.  
                                  { Mr. Adam. }

This amendment in the clause was therefore lost. The cost of the inquiry would have been a trifle in comparison with the advantage which would have resulted from making it.

numbers of the people and the reality may always be looked for. The numbers of births and deaths, the lists of emigrants, are, or ought to be, duly recorded, but many circumstances, readily to be imagined, prevent these statements from being more than approximately correct. Whence, however, arose this very considerable difference? The Report ascribes it, and, beyond doubt, rightly, to the number of emigrants who have returned from foreign countries. The Civil War in the States of America, the unsettled condition of industry in that country ever since, have probably induced many, who would otherwise have remained in that Continent, to return. France, more unfortunate than America, has, during the last ten years, suffered both from foreign and civil war. Many English probably returned home for shelter during the conflict. Besides these there are many who have emigrated and subsequently come back to England, after residence in a colony. It is most likely that those of our countrymen who have returned from foreign lands were of all ranks and classes in society. Most of us are acquainted now with men of all classes, from the workman who has tried his luck, up to a barrister or a bishop, who have returned 'home' after some years in a colony. Collateral evidence to support the opinion that some part at least of the unexpected increase in the population was due to this cause, may be drawn from other sources. It is the practice of the authorities of the Registration Office to estimate, from the data in their possession, the extent of the population in each year, during the interval between those on which the Census is taken, and these estimates are published in the Report. If we examine them closely, we shall find that the numbers of the male population actually enumerated differ more widely from the actual results than those of the female population; and the numbers of the men in the estimate of the population differ by being less than what the enumeration proved them to be. 'Immigrants,' as the Report terms those who have returned to this country from residence abroad, are, like emigrants, more probably men than women. Hence it is clear that, since the numbers of the men proved to be larger than had been computed, a reflux from abroad was the cause of this unexpected increase.

While dealing with this portion of the subject it is impossible not to express regret that the machinery for enumerating the population is so imperfect as it is.\* Many

persons—most persons probably—believe that the Census Office is a permanent institution. A curious proof of this is shown by the fact that the 'office,' with the names of the 'officials' connected with it, may be found in the lists of our public institutions long after Craig's Court has been deserted by its temporary occupants, long after the employes have been dispersed, long after the materials for the basis of the Census have been packed up and stowed away in dusty boxes. It is greatly to the credit of the Registrar-General's office that it is able every ten years to undertake this addition to its ordinary duties. It is from that office the staff of officers under whose supervision the work is executed, is drafted for the occasion. The result shows that their work has been admirably performed. But the many important points in the organization of society, for the due arrangement of which an exact knowledge of the numbers of the people is essential, render it desirable that something more than this should be done. What is needed is a small but competent permanent staff, to be specially employed in the duty of taking note of the more considerable alterations in the numbers of the people; in recording the establishment of new municipalities and local governing bodies, with the extensions of their boundaries, and in similar duties. The absence of a regular official record of the movements of population between each Census, is sometimes productive of real inconvenience. For some purposes, the number of the population given in the Census tables is the only recognised basis. Thus, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in making grants to new parishes and districts, and in augmenting existing benefices, systematically and inexorably adhere to the last decennial Census. The population may have doubled, may have tripled, since the last Census was taken, but it is believed that no certificate whatever to that effect will induce the Commissioners to do otherwise than adhere to their rule; probably the inconvenience which might arise from departing from a readily recognizable standard may be so great as to compel them to take this course, but their practice supplies an illustration of the uses which an office devoted

copies of the Census Returns are, or can be for sale, the remainder of the impressions being required for official purposes. A very general public interest can hence hardly arise towards a publication of which the circulation is thus so limited. With a view to promote a knowledge of the main facts, a digest of the English Census of 1871 has been carefully compiled by Mr. James Lewis of the Registrar-General's Department, and published by Mr. Stanford of Charing Cross.

\* One reason which may account for the absence of a more extended interest in the work of the Department may be that only about 1000

ed to the purposes of enumeration would perform. A staff thus organized would keep up a continuous record of any remarkable development of the population in any part of the country, and might also provide, among other things, that all the numerous returns continually being made to Parliament, in which the numbers of the population form an element, should be executed on a uniform basis. The saving in expense caused by uniformity in 'gauge' is well recognised in this country; the economy for instance caused by arrangements such as those which Sir Joseph Whitworth has perfected. And a similar economy, in a more extended way, would doubtless result from an analogous process in registration.

We referred a few pages back to the influence which war and troubles in America and the United States appears to have exerted in promoting the return to this country of many who had emigrated from it. These causes may also be supposed to have affected the numbers of foreigners resident in these Islands, happily undisturbed by the turmoil which has gone on around them. The influence of American and Continental strife certainly appears to have been felt both in the numbers and the composition of our population, but that influence has not always been what might have been anticipated.

The total number of persons reported as 'born abroad' has greatly increased during the interval between 1861 and 1871. But a very curious point in the matter is that this increase was not in the number of 'foreigners,' properly so called. The greatest proportional augmentation is among the number of those who, though born out of the United Kingdom, are still British subjects. It remarkably illustrates the extent to which English enterprise and English people are constantly exploring foreign lands, as well as the strength of that feeling which urges them home when they have reaped the fruits of their expatriation, to find that the English subjects born abroad and now living in England have more than doubled during the last ten years. The increase is rather greater among those under twenty years of age. This shows that it is not merely the elderly man who makes his way home to lay his bones among the associations of his youth, but it is the children who return as well with their parents. The total increase among foreigners born in Europe and resident among us is less than might have been expected; it is considerably less than that of the English subjects born abroad. An examination of the details shows in what a curious manner and in what opposite directions, the war be-

tween France and Germany influenced the number of natives of those countries living among us at that time. Nearly half as many more French persons were living in England in 1871 as compared with 1861. On the other hand, though there was a greater number of Germans, they had increased not only to a smaller extent, but in a considerably smaller proportion. In 1861 there were nearly 13,000; in 1871, nearly 18,000 French people in England. \* Of Germans, at the corresponding dates, the numbers were 28,000 and 32,000. But for the war, the increase in the numbers of German men resident in England would probably have been much more considerable. The influence of the war and the fear of the 'Commune,' is shown beyond doubt in the numbers of French women living in England, and in particular of those described as 'wives of Frenchmen.' There were, according to the Returns, nearly three times as many 'wives of Frenchmen' in England in 1871 as in 1861. The 'wives of Germans' had also increased, but nothing like in the same proportion. This statement, coupled with the occupations mentioned as followed by the various foreigners living in England, induces the belief that many wives of Frenchmen must have taken refuge in this country from the troubles going on in their native land; and that, while the wives of the Germans indicated a more distinctly resident population, a greater number of the Germans themselves were young unmarried men engaged in mercantile pursuits. There is already a very considerable colony of German merchants, brokers, and clerks in this country. The statements in the Report enable us to trace the distribution of foreigners in the various portions of the kingdom. The greatest number is naturally to be found in London. But wherever the industry of England works quickest, wherever there is the best chance of carrying on a profitable business, there the foreigner, and especially the German, is to be found. The French residents among us are also mostly aggregated in the great centre of population. But while they have principally taken up their habitation in the metropolis, or among the principal watering-places, such as Brighton, the Germans are located, after London, principally in busy, industrial cities, like Manchester, Leeds, or Bradford. This is no subject of regret; on the contrary, it should be matter of satisfaction. If we have taught foreign nations much, we may learn from them much also. There are many occupations which they carry on with greater skill than we do. The frugality of France, the industry, the careful education of Germany, may teach us many a useful lesson.

We have given but a slight sketch of some of the main facts which may be learned from the Census Report. It is the only official record of many points in the social condition of the people, and of these points an accurate registration is most desirable. Further than this, it is by far the most important scientific statistical inquiry carried on by the Government. At the outset we mentioned that it scarcely received from the public at large the recognition which such considerable labour and skill deserves. It is no easy matter to arrange the contents of four solid volumes, besides another of supplementary index, and one of preliminary report, in such a manner as to be convenient for reference and readily accessible. But this, though no slight task in itself, is but a small portion of what is actually required. The scientific skill, which directs that the inquiry shall be made in such a manner that the most important facts may be elicited, is the mainspring of the whole machine. As we said in the commencement of our notice, all this labour scarcely receives the attention it deserves. Nor is this to be wondered at. Though the Census contains far more than the past history of much that is important to the well-being of the State, for it affords in many respects the only trustworthy basis on which to ground a calculation for the future; yet the form in which the information is given is one almost repulsive, except to those who care to search for the important truths which lie hid among those masses of figures. The ordinary reader is too apt to turn aside from those pages of tables, feeling '*il senso lor m'è duro*.' They certainly do not form a style of literature likely to be attractive to people in general. Yet even the ordinary reader might find in the details of the Census, when he had mastered their significance, much to interest him. The well-being of the country in time past, the prospects of the country in time to come, are chronicled there. The proof of energy among preceding generations, the promise of the reward for exertions accomplished, are both clearly indicated. Taken as a whole, the Census gives no reason to doubt that the prosperity of the country has continued to increase, as well as the numbers of the people. The details afford every ground for the belief that this prosperity will be fully maintained; though occasional and temporary fluctuations in it may doubtless recur. As the Report reminds us, 'the people of England, which calls herself "old," are younger than the people of many other countries, not because life is shorter, but because the births are continu-

ally increasing and infusing youthful blood into the people.'

With increasing numbers there have been some alterations among occupations. The advocates of women's rights, and also the more sensible helpers of those women to whom a remunerative employment is a matter of necessity, will be glad to learn that the number of women 'engaged in specific occupations, and, no doubt, earning wages or profits of some kind,' has increased more than 800,000 during the last twenty years. As this exceeds the rate of increase among the remainder of the female population, it becomes evident that there has been a considerable increase among the numbers and the proportion of women engaged in remunerative work. The Report proudly adds:—'There is no evidence of the increase of idle women;' and remarks, with much common sense, that in order to induce a corresponding emigration among women to the emigration among men, it is desirable that their 'education should be directed so as to suit the circumstances of country and colonial life.' The number of women-servants has greatly increased—it has even more than doubled during the last forty years. It is a curious incidental illustration of one of those 'leaps and bounds' which the prosperity of the country has recently made, that the greatest increase among the number of the women-servants in the country has taken place during the last ten years, during which time they have been augmented in number about one-fifth. This of itself goes a long way to account for the rise of wages so much lamented by careful housekeepers. There has not been, during the last ten years, any considerable increase among the higher classes of the liberal and learned professions. Medical men have remained nearly stationary; clergymen of the Church of England have but slightly increased; solicitors are nearly the same in number; but there has been a decided growth of the numbers of barristers. Brewers, wine and spirit merchants, and innkeepers and publicans have greatly extended their numbers; and there is an increase in about the same proportion among chemists and druggists. The friends of temperance will be glad to learn that there has been quite a corresponding increase among grocers and tea-dealers. Boot and shoe makers form almost the only trade which has diminished in number.

As we turn the pages of the report, and read the list of the new occupations, the greater openings for industry, the further developments of intelligent life, the feeling how rapidly the population is changing, how

rapidly one generation succeeds another is brought vividly before the mind. Though the character, the disposition of the people appears to most observers but little altered, this is only because such changes, though perpetual, advance usually in so imperceptible a manner, that each separate step cannot be traced. Even by the most watchful, the most experienced, it is but in hints, so to say, in disjointed facts that the results of the alterations in ways of life can be perceived. It is only when the aggregate is massed together that their real tendency will be seen. A census can, it is true, take no ostensible account of the habits, of the modes of thought of a people. Caution, or recklessness in the management of affairs; prudence or extravagance; a decadence of propriety, or a higher standard of life, these things cannot be stated in the tables. But none the less will the results of these influences be marked, and the progress of the nation onward or downward will be found recorded by the process of registration in a form undisturbed by passion, uncoloured by prejudice. Wherever there is life there must be movement. That movement may be guided, but it cannot be stayed. We are apt to forget this. We are apt to think that the state of society that surrounds us is permanent, and to imagine that nothing in it alters, 'though fresh and fresh men die, and fresh and fresh men are born, so that the whole is ever shifting. Yet we forget all that drop away, and are insensible to all that are added; and we still think that this whole which we call a nation is one and the same, and that the individuals who come and go, exist only in it and for it, and are but as the grains of a heap or the leaves of a tree.' The leaves of the tree present the comparison which brings the reality more closely before our minds. Their appearance and their number mark the growth and the condition of the parent stem. There is many a lesson which the nation, if it possesses the will, may find in the Census. From such periodical investigations, we may learn to gauge the actual progress of changes which otherwise might steal imperceptibly on to the lasting detriment of the State.

Gradually, as each census comes round, we feel that another step in our national as well as our individual life has been taken. To the householder, as he fills up his schedule, the occasion brings the remembrance of the changes in his family circle within the previous ten years. Ten years can hardly pass in a man's life without making vast alterations among those who assemble under his roof. The vigorous boy, at school in the preceding decade, has advanced into the opening stage of a promising career;

the bright girl, a child ten years since, is now the happy wife, the centre of another household. And then there is the gap made, not by removal but by death—the void left which time may help to bridge over, but never can fill.

'God gives us love. Something to love  
He lends us; but when love is grown  
To ripeness, that on which it thrives  
Falls off, and love is left alone.'

Ten years make many changes in this way, yet ten years are but the merest fraction in the life of a nation. We have now a fairly exact record of the population of England and Wales for seventy years. Seventy years even do not provide in many respects a sufficiently extended basis on which to build a really sound scientific theory. Periods extending over a considerably greater space than this are still far too small to justify a complete confidence in all the results which may be inferred from the changes recorded during their term. A Census has been taken in Sweden for a longer period than in any other European country; but even there an exact Census has only been taken since the middle of the last century. Mr. Newmarch, when President of the Statistical Society a short time since, called attention to some of the curious facts which the Swedish Registers display. From them certain times appear to be deduced, during which the population seems to fluctuate in its rate of increase.\* They may be taken to extend over periods of seventy years. In making observations of this kind, the influence of war and of internal dissensions in a country, should any have occurred, must be allowed for. It cannot yet be distinctly stated on what these periods are based, or whether they are absolutely certain to recur. The length of time over which accurate returns extend is not yet sufficiently long to enable a precise opinion to be formed; but whether periodical or only occasional, a series of plentiful or deficient harvests probably supplies the governing cause. Vast as our progress in a mastery over the powers of nature has been, such forces exert an influence to which we all must submit.

These observations are referred to here as giving instances of the information which may be gained as to a knowledge of the social progress of a state, from careful investigation based on scientific statistical research. Such studies enable us to mark the

\* The English reader will find a great deal of information in an accessible shape in Mr. F. Hendriks's very careful paper on the 'Vital Statistics of Sweden,' in the 'Journal of the Statistical Society for 1862.'

results that are recorded. The record itself traces out as well the guiding influences which lead to these results. The condition of France, as reflected in the Census reports of recent years, affords an illustration and a warning. The last French Census shows that what appeared inevitable a few years ago has now occurred; and that the population, instead of increasing, has fallen off in number. This is not alone due to the serious conflicts in which that country has recently been engaged. It cannot be explained away either as resulting from a possible inference that the population of France had a tendency to periodical fluctuation such as that indicated above. The decline in numbers was clear many years ago. M. Maurice Block's remarks in his admirable work 'L'Europe Politique et Sociale,' show his apprehensions for his country as far back as 1869.

Speaking of the small proportion of births to marriages in France, he remarks:—

'Il y a en France beaucoup plus de mariages entre jeunes gens de l'un ou l'autre sexe avec des vieillards que dans tout autre pays; on a conclu qu'il se faisait chez nous beaucoup plus de mariages d'argent qu'ailleurs. Il est certain que, dans les pays où n'existe pas l'usage de donner une dot à la fille, il est plus rare de rencontrer d'aussi grands écarts d'âge entre les époux.

'Il est même des personnes qui—par une bonne ou une mauvaise logique—font remonter à cet usage la faible fécondité des mariages en France. On ne veut pas trop éparpiller la fortune. . . . D'autres attribuent l'infériorité plus ou moins volontaire de notre fécondité à la loi du partage égal des héritages, sans parler de l'influence du luxe, des vices,' &c.—*L'Europe Politique et Sociale*, p. 38. Par Maurice Block.

If we examine the very careful statements

in the 'Annuaire Politique' of the same eminent economist, we shall find the rate of increase in the population of France tabulated from 1817 onwards. That rate of increase, always small, had undergone so great and progressive a decline in recent years, that it was already doubtful in 1868, whether the population, almost stationary in numbers in that year, would not, if events proceeded in the same ratio, shortly experience a decline. The tenour of the chapter on population in M. Block's 'Statistique de la France,' the second edition of which work was published this year (1875), and thus provides the latest information accessible, certainly on the whole supports this opinion. M. Raudot, a member of the National Assembly, confirms, by an examination of the figures in the last French Census, M. Block's statements. No question there is the very heavy loss of life during the war, and the Communist insurrection to be allowed for. No question, also, Alsace and Lorraine contained more than a million and a half inhabitants whose allegiance was transferred to Prussia after allowing for those who preferred to retain their French nationality. The war had affected the population also in other ways; still, allowing for all these circumstances, there remains a diminution of the population which cannot be estimated at much less than half a million souls. That this decrease was not altogether caused by the war is shown by the fact that it was greatest in those departments which were not invaded by the Prussians.

The official return gives the numbers as follows:—

. . . . 'La comparaison des deux dénombrements (1866-1872) s'établit ainsi :

'RÉCAPITULATION GÉNÉRALE.\*

POPULATION.	POPULATION EN		DIMINUTION.	
	1866.	1872.	Totale.	P. 100.
Population civile . . . . .	37,751,857	35,728,210	2,023,647	5.36
Armée de Terre et de Mer . . . . .	440,207	374,711	65,496	14.84
Totaux . . . . .	38,192,064	36,102,921	2,089,143	5.47
A déduire: la population de l'Alsace-Lorraine . . . . .			1,597,238	
Diminution de la France entière . . . . .			491,905	1.29

\* P. xviii, 'Statistique de la France. Résultats généraux du dénombrement de 1872. Paris. Imprimerie Nationale, MDCCCLXXIII.'

Fifty-six out of the eighty-nine departments enumerated in the Census were not invaded by the German armies; but the occupied departments contained about half the entire population of France. In the uninvaded portions of the country the diminution was the greatest, amounting to more than 300,000 inhabitants. It is doubtful whether the total number of deaths attributable to the war can be computed at more than 200,000. This leaves a large margin of diminution to be accounted for from other causes. The official statement endeavours to account for this from the results of the war alone; but the calculation made by M. Raudot, and based on the numbers of the male and female population in 1866 and 1872 certainly appears to justify him in saying that if this were the case 'nous verrions une différence énorme entre le nombre des hommes et celui des femmes dans le dernier recensement.' Instead of which the disparity between the two sexes had only increased by about 100,000 in the six years, 1866-1872: that is to say, as the disparity between the population of men and of women had only increased by about that number, it is probable that the total decrease is not attributable to the war alone.

The losses of France since 1870 by internal and external war, the industries wasted, the lives sacrificed, may be tabulated and estimated with considerable exactness. Vast as the effort was by which the ransom to Germany has been paid, still more wearing as the effort to provide the annual expenditure resulting from that debt must be; heavy as these losses have been—heavier still as the clog they are likely to impose on the industry of France will prove them to be in future—they are as nothing compared with the utter rottenness in social life which the passionless enumeration of the Census reveals. Weighed in the balance, the German indemnity is a burden nothing like so heavy as that which the diminution of the population will inflict. It is this diminution which appears to be the greatest source of danger to the future of France. The tree may recover from the loss which the lopping off of a branch may inflict, but the gradual decadence of the vital power evinces a far more deadly, though less obvious, cause of decay. The violation of one of the highest laws of nature cannot take place with impunity. The greed for wealth among the masses which compelled an equal division of property among a family has recoiled on itself. A far greater loss, even in a pecuniary sense, is shown by the want of vigour, which prefers self-indulgence, combined with a repression of numbers, to the sus-

tained energy by which alone a larger population may be supported in increased well-being. This loss cannot be estimated, but it marks the difference between an advancing and a decaying people.\* Mere numbers, it is perfectly true, supply but a very imperfect test of the material prosperity of a country. The actual condition of the population has, of course, to be considered as well. The supply of the necessaries and comforts of life must keep pace with the increasing numbers, otherwise there is no real progress. Prudence, together with propriety, steps in and demands that some restraint should be placed on too early or unwise marriages. But early marriages, combined with a small rate of births, mark something beyond that sober prudence which requires suitable preparation to be made before marriage, in the way of a provision for the wants of the future. An increase of a restless, shiftless, proletariat class is greatly to be deprecated; but, as far as our knowledge extends, we see no reason for believing that such a class has, with our growing numbers in England, increased more rapidly than, or even as rapidly as, in France. On the contrary, such indications as exist, point in the opposite direction. The stimulants to increased production, and

\* 'Une autre conséquence directe de notre régime de partage forcé est la stérilité systématique des mariages. Après avoir conjuré par la recherche d'une dot le morcellement de la maison paternelle, le nouveau chef de famille devient naturellement enclin à alléger pour son fils le poids de la même épreuve; mais, en présence des prescriptions de la loi, il n'a d'autre moyen d'atteindre ce but indiqué par la prévoyance que de restreindre sa postérité. Des recherches persévérantes, poursuivies, avec le concours de mes amis, auprès d'une multitude de médecins et de ministres du culte, signalent les résultats, chaque jour plus funestes, que ce désordre entraîne pour toutes les classes de la société française: une enquête ouverte à ce sujet condamnerait avec évidence les idées systématiques qui président chez nous à la transmission des biens; elle révélerait surtout les causes d'affaiblissement social que j'ai l'occasion d'indiquer plus loin, en ce qui concerne le régime du travail, l'aptitude à coloniser et la défense du pays. Ceux mêmes que touchent peu ces grands intérêts publics ne peuvent, désormais, méconnaître la réaction funeste que la stérilité exerce sur le bonheur individuel.

'La violation des lois essentielles qui commandent la fécondité pèse particulièrement sur la femme. Dans l'ordre physique, la stérilité semble affecter profondément l'organisme des femmes françaises de la dernière génération: et des médecins observateurs y voient la cause d'un état maladif qui ne se manifeste point dans les contrées où les mariages féconds sont en honneur. Dans l'ordre moral, les conséquences de la stérilité sont plus regrettables encore.'—*La Réforme Sociale en France*, par M. F. Le Play. Quatrième Edition, Tome i. p. 392.

thus to increased wealth, are far stronger with a rising than with a declining population. The morale of a nation is so closely interlinked with its material prosperity, that whatever saps the one strikes a blow at the other. To take one instance alone, in many respects the wealth of a country depends, not only on the superficial extent of the territories, but on their reproductive value. The diminution of the number of agricultural labourers in England does not appear to have been accompanied by any diminution of the return from the soil. In France, according to M. Raudot—and in this he is corroborated by a writer holding very different opinions, M. Jules Simon—there are districts in which from a deficiency of labour, intelligence, and capital, the ill-cultivated soil yields insufficient produce.

‘D’ailleurs, sauf sur certains points, la France n’a pas de trop plein, la population est insuffisante même dans bien des contrées, parce que, manquant de bras, d’intelligences, de capitaux, la terre mal cultivée y donne des produits insuffisants ; c’est la France elle-même qui, sur plus d’un point, aurait besoin d’être colonisée.’—*Recensement de la Population de la France en 1872*. Par M. Raudot, Député de l’Yonne, p. 16.

It is a remarkable thing, that as far as can be traced, this diminution in the growth of the population of France appears to be distinctly subsequent to the introduction of the existing law of inheritance. Towards the commencement of this century, when the influence of that law was not, as it were, fixed in the minds of the people, the rate of increase in France corresponded far more nearly than at the present time with that of England. Some information may be obtained as to earlier periods which points in the same direction. The ‘Brief Essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages which respectively attend France and Great Britain with regard to Trade,’ written by Dean Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, towards the end of the last century, and first published, at that time anonymously, in 1750, gives a good deal of information as to the social condition of France at that period. No observer, writing at the present day, would speak of France and England in the manner that he does. ‘Nothing is more visible,’ are his words, ‘than the great difference between the morals and industry of the manufacturing poor in France, and in England. In the former, they are sober, frugal, and laborious. They marry, and have flocks of children, whom they bring up to labour.’ The general tenour of the observations in Arthur Young’s well-known ‘Travels in France,’ about thirty-five or forty

years later in date than Dean Tucker’s pamphlet, are to the same effect. It is not possible, and it would not be desirable, to proceed to a more detailed comparison between this country and its nearest continental neighbour. Of all investigations into the condition of social life, those of the comparative prosperity, far more of the comparative morality, of nations, are the most difficult to bring to a satisfactory conclusion, even with the aid of a most complete and exhaustive inquiry. The different branches of the subject shade off like the features of an extended landscape. Boundaries, which at a distance appear well marked and sharply defined, are often found, when approached more nearly, to shade off into each other with countless and delicate gradations. Yet sometimes, too, a closer investigation shows, masked by a natural similarity of form on either side, a gulf unseen, because sunk beyond the ken of ordinary observation, but forming a complete barrier of separation. So, between the standard of life in this country and France there exists on this most vital point, and till France changes we trust there ever will continue to exist a fundamental difference, the vast results of which are shown in the aggregate by statistical computation, while the roots lie deep in the different motives swaying the individuals of each nation. These motives in France are grounded on the laws governing the rights of inheritance and the distribution of property. They are laws which exalt selfishness into a virtue, and reduce prudence to the level of a vice. Far different has been the vigorous self-reliant course of England, a course which has retained increasing numbers in greater comfort at home, and has yet sent increasing numbers as colonists abroad. The boldest course has been the safest course. The British Colonies, under judicious administration, form the best supports of the British Empire. They are likewise the best markets for our produce.

This country stands, as shown by the Census, high in national prosperity. But we must not allow ourselves, while looking at things in the aggregate, to be blind to the conditions on which our prosperity is based. It is not on the mine, the loom, or on accumulated wealth, that our well-being is really founded, or which can be relied on for providing the basis on which it may continue. Other nations, infinitely below us in the scale, are nevertheless far more highly gifted with the unused elements of wealth than we are. Our prosperity has been won by the unceasing efforts, by the unflinching exertions of our people. It can only be preserved by maintaining a high standard of individual character.

ART. IX.—*Parliamentary Debates, Session 1875.*

IN the palmy days of Mr. Gladstone's majority, no charge was more freely levelled against the Conservative opposition than that they had no policy. No doubt they were not prepared to make a bid for office by any promise of legislation akin to that of Mr. Gladstone. But even at that time, when the prospects of the party were most gloomy, when few ventured to anticipate within any reasonable time the 'swinging back of the pendulum' of popular favour, its great and never-despairing leader, in a famous speech at Sydenham, gave utterance to what he described as the hereditary or traditional policy of the party—the maintenance of our institutions, the preservation of our empire, and the improvement of the condition of the people.

What was then uttered without any immediate prospect of being called upon to give effect to it, is becoming an accomplished fact. The sympathy of our colonies with the mother country, and the interest of the people of England in the maintenance and consolidation of the Empire, have again been recognised. The ties which kindred and common interest have formed are being drawn closer together; and the selfish policy, not of any political party, but of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal leaders, which bid fair to disintegrate the Empire, has been abandoned with the cordial approbation of the country.

The late Lord Lytton, himself thoroughly acquainted with Colonial administration, declared that from the time of the accession of the Gladstone Government to power, we must date the rise of an irritation, a disturbance, an unsettlement in the principal portions of our Colonial Empire, which it would task their statesmanship to allay and remove. 'They succeeded,' he wrote, 'to the administration of that vast empire when it was singularly tranquil and loyal; they contrived in the space of a year to destroy that tranquillity and to endanger that loyalty. Happily that state of affairs exists no longer. The declarations of the Colonial press during the present year cannot possibly be mistaken. Our Colonial fellow-subjects have been gratified beyond measure at the increased attention which has been given to questions affecting their interests, at its outward expression in Her Majesty's speech from the throne, and at the active support and warm sympathy of Lord Carnarvon and his colleagues.

For years, too, the working classes have witnessed almost the whole time of Parlia-

ment devoted to the elaboration of fundamental changes in the Constitution, which were to them of little moment, until at last they might have been tempted to cry out that the governing power of this country knew little and cared less for the real happiness of the lower classes, and that the small but really vital reforms which they desired could not, except perhaps by force, be obtained from their own representatives. They have now seen the reins of power pass into the hands of men who believe that the first and foremost duty of Government is to secure the social welfare of the people, and that statesmen can afford to despise democratic agitators, if the comfort and happiness of the mass of the population in what are called comparatively minor matters is adequately attended to.

Such, then, has been the deliberate policy of the Government of Mr. Disraeli, and there are ample indications that it has not only obtained the cordial support of his parliamentary majority, but that it has also been satisfactory to the country. The end of his second session of office finds him with an undiminished party, and with no sign of decreasing confidence. His followers are united and enthusiastic in support of their policy and of their leader. The great Liberal party, on the other hand, has neither a programme nor a leader.

To talk of its being divided into three great sections is to give no idea of its real disintegration. 'The position of our party,' said Mr. Bright, in February of the present year, 'if we look around, is not one which affords altogether the most pleasant prospect. (Hear, hear!)\* We should think not. The cheers gave expression to the widespread feeling of satisfaction amongst Liberals of various shades at their own exclusion from office even for a long period. And though Mr. Bright went on to speak of his party as 'tolerably unanimous,' it would be difficult to indicate any policy, hardly any prominent political topic, upon which any real unanimity exists. Can the Church be said to be in danger when a deliberate attack upon it, uttered with the well-known eloquence of a statesman returning at a crisis in the history of the Liberal party to resume his active duties in Parliament, failed to meet with the smallest response in the country? The carefully prepared and powerfully expressed argument of Mr. Bright disappointed many Liberals just as much as the extraordinary declaration of the Radical Mayor of Birmingham had disgusted them, when he urged that the downfall

\* Meeting at Reform Club, Feb. 5, 1875.

of the Church was to be effected by appealing to the love of personal gain which animates every citizen, and to the passions and prejudices which more particularly influence the poor and uneducated. 'At the first blush it may seem that this is not exactly the kind of question . . . which will stir the working classes to enthusiasm, and bind them to the Liberal cause !' Mr. Chamberlain is not far wrong.

Even Mr. Bright himself appears now to see how useless for the practical purpose of rallying the Liberal party is the effete cry of 'down with Establishments ;' and having been recently called upon by certain anonymous Radicals to invent a grievance for the ensuing autumn campaign, he has advised that common ground for the joint action of the various sections of the party is to be found in Parliamentary Reform. But when Mr. Forster, with reckless and acknowledged disregard of the consequences which must necessarily follow the adoption of household suffrage in the counties, gave it in emphatic terms the weight of his great authority, the leader of the great Liberal party could not make up his mind on the subject, and Mr. Lowe voted against it. The result of this debate made it apparent to many members of the party that, as a supplement to the adoption of household suffrage, some scheme for the redistribution of seats must be matured. But utterly unable to make practical suggestions or to agree amongst themselves as to what that scheme should be, they hit upon the extraordinary expedient of asking for a Royal Commission—to be presided over by Lord Grey—to examine into the crude ideas of these political quacks, and to settle a future policy for them. There is no prominent question more unripe for settlement, or towards the elucidation of which less has been contributed than that of Parliamentary Reform.

Take the land again. Has any advance been made towards the adoption of any definite line of action ? Has such an object been promoted, when upon the vital question of permitting entire freedom of contract—to our minds the key of the whole position—the leader of the party and Mr. Lowe separated themselves from the bulk of their followers ?

But what Mr. Trevelyan denounced as the 'Tiverton and Taunton doctrine' has prevailed. Liberalism is to be kept in abeyance until, as is fondly hoped, the reaction shall have expended its force. Its new leader is to hold a watching brief. His chief duty is to be that of 'careful criticism.' Almost any one would do well enough for what is avowedly only a period of transition. Lord

Hartington, therefore, entered under considerable disadvantages upon the duties of a position which he had not sought, and for which he declared himself to be unfitted.

'As in a theatre, the eyes of men,  
After a well-graced actor leaves the stage,  
Are idly bent on him that enters next,  
Thinking his prattle to be tedious ;'

so Lord Hartington has hardly received from his own party proper recognition for the manner in which he acquitted himself. In spite of mistakes—such as his weak and vacillating speech upon the Bill to amend the Irish Land Act, and his unfortunate reference in his eulogium upon Lord Charles Russell to the Liberal bias of that official—his moderation, his hardheadedness (as Mr. Bright called it), and common sense have produced a favourable impression. And upon more than one occasion, notably in the debates on the Peace Preservation Act, he has shown his fairness and consistency by the support which he gave to the Government, in spite of his colleagues. He has exceeded expectation, he has filled the office as well as any man of his party could have done, and yet he has not led. At the meeting to which we have already referred, Mr. Charles Villiers expressed his belief that the choice of a leader would fetter no man's judgment. It certainly has not done so. The Opposition benches have become Liberty Hall. Every one has pursued his own crotchets in his own manner and at his own time ; and the only man who perhaps has shown steadiness in the pursuit of a definite object, and who has ever been on the watch for possible combinations by which his adversaries might be placed in a minority, his rivals shown to be incapable, and he himself to be indispensable, is Sir William Harcourt.

Hardly, however, had the new leader warmed to his work than a new element of disturbance was suddenly introduced. His illustrious predecessor was politically neither dead nor sleeping. To some it had seemed that an overwhelming dread of Papal aggression had entirely engrossed a mind for which religious speculation had always had a special attraction, and that the greatest orator of the day had permanently abandoned the field in which he was pre-eminent for one in which he had always failed to obtain more than a qualified success. To him, like Roscommon,

'the wit of Greece and Rome were known,  
And every author's merit but his own.'

But it was not to be so. No sooner had the unambitious Budget of 1875 been given to the world than he superseded Lord Har-

tington, and rushed again into the fray with an energy that recalled the time when Mr. Disraeli expressed his satisfaction that he was separated from his political rival by the breadth of the table. This was very hard upon the new leader, but to the Liberal party it was eminently disastrous. The Budget, in which he had detected some mysterious iniquity, was gratefully accepted by a large section of his own party, and was approved by the nation at large.

But his intervention on the subject of economy was even more unfortunate. Nothing had discredited the late Government more than the general belief in their love of cheeseparing. How far this was due to the roughshod changes of Mr. Lowe and Mr. Childers, or to the directing mind of the Prime Minister, had not been revealed. But Mr. Gladstone has now announced that as almost the solitary representative of opinions respecting public economy which thirty years ago were the opinions of all men of any note in both political parties alike, he 'declines controversy' about efficiency when any petty economy can be achieved. All this is bad enough, and fully explains many past errors, but the most astounding feature of his conduct was the occasion upon which he delivered himself of these sentiments. It was in the debate on the Bill for constituting the judicial bench of the future, upon the adequacy of which the success of the administration of justice mainly depends. Because thirty years ago economies might with advantage be made, and indeed were absolutely needful, they are to be made now, not only without any consideration of their necessity, but without any idea as to whether they will prove advantageous to the honour and prosperity of the country.

While hardly any statesman of prominence on the Liberal benches, with the exception of Mr. Lowe who, on more than one occasion, has shown a marked superiority to his former colleagues, can be said to have improved his position during the past session, the popular estimate of more than one member of the Ministry has been materially altered. Mr. Disraeli himself, true to his often-declared practice of giving his younger colleagues opportunities of self-distinction, has not taken a very prominent part in legislation. But he never made a better speech than that in which he appealed to the common sense of Englishmen against the absolutely groundless charges of Dr. Kenealy, and dexterously scoffed at the terrible results which were represented as likely to follow the rejection of his motion upon the Tichborne trial; and his vindica-

tion of the importance of being guided by 'musty precedents,' in answer to the attack of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, was a masterpiece of parliamentary debating. But beyond any question the most important result of the session to the Conservative party has been the development of Sir Stafford Northcote. Hitherto he would have been universally admitted to be a trustworthy financier, a good administrator, and a master of detail. All, however, must have been surprised at the neat, logical, and effective manner in which he disposed of Mr. Gladstone's criticisms upon his Budget, and thoroughly convinced the country of the soundness of the principles upon which it was based. In debates upon financial questions the front bench of the Opposition is remarkably strong. He has had to encounter them almost single-handed, and, if not always absolutely victorious, he has steadily gained in reputation. And on all occasions he has shown a readiness in reply and a knowledge of the temper of the House of Commons which indicate that, whenever the occasion may arise, the party will not be in want of an effective leader in that House.

Lord Carnarvon too has steadily advanced in public estimation. The Minister who founded the Dominion of Canada, and who is attempting the arduous task of consolidating the various sections of our South African possessions, has also shown that he is not insensible to other duties attaching to an Imperial position. He is determined to redress injustice. In the case of Langelibalele, although fully aware of the discontent which it would excite in the colony, and of the personal unpopularity which it might entail upon him, his decision was that British honour should not be tarnished by any unjust act. Here was a case when it might have been supposed that all would be equally anxious to uphold the credit of the mother country. This was not the view of the Liberal peers. Although neither Lord Kimberly nor Lord Grey, and still less Lord Selborne, could deny that the trial of Langelibalele was a mockery of English justice, they declined to support Lord Carnarvon in reversing a decision which was as unwise and impolitic as it was illegal. And why? Because it was not right for a Minister in England to overrule the opinion of the responsible Governor of a colony. Lord Carnarvon very rightly held that such a view of the responsibilities of our Imperial position was altogether untenable, and that this country, which has always exercised a powerful influence on behalf of humanity and justice, ought not to exhibit so degenerate a spirit.

'If there be any truth whatever in our theory and idea of empire, it is surely in this—that the servants of the Crown are bound to have a conscience in this matter, and bound also to have a voice; and when an act of wrong or injustice has been done in any part of the Empire, it is their duty to raise their voice in its condemnation. If the ties of the Empire will not bear that strain upon them, then I say the whole Imperial theory becomes an absolute fiction, and worse than fiction.'\*

We now propose to take a brief survey of the proceedings of the past session. Within a week of the delivery of the Queen's Speech, eight Bills of importance were submitted to Parliament, and, however uneventful and unexciting, the session has produced many measures of lasting importance. The chief legislative successes of the year are undoubtedly due to the Home Secretary. He has shown that, having set an object clearly in view, he can direct all his energies to its attainment, without suffering himself to be diverted from it.

The delay in dealing with the question of the Labour Laws had produced amongst the working classes discontent, if not exasperation. Mr. Gladstone's Government had incurred great unpopularity by the contemptuous way in which suggestions for the amendment of those laws were rejected. The most obnoxious clause of the Masters and Servants Act was described as wise and necessary. Even the proposal of the present Government to refer the subject to a Royal Commission was denounced by the representatives of the workmen in no measured terms, and by the refusal of any information or assistance its success was endangered. When that Commission reported, it left the matter in a more hopeless state than ever. The Report afforded no satisfactory or permanent solution of the difficulties which it brought to light. It proved that much of our legislation upon the subject was confused, unintelligible, and incapable of amendment, but the remedies which it proposed did not touch the root of the evil. Mr. Cross, with a mastery of the subject which alone could have made success possible, and with a courage which surprised even his friends, threw over the timid and vacillating Report of the Commissioners, admitted in the fullest way the substantial justice of some of the complaints of the workmen, and showed a straightforward desire to remedy them. For some days the organs of public opinion were undecided. While conceding that his proposals were not unsatisfactory, they urged further con-

sideration. But the opinion of the workmen themselves was expressed in no uncertain way. From every quarter there was a chorus of approval; and when the Bill came on for a second reading, every speaker in the House (with the exception of Lord Robert Montagu, whose defence of 'rattening' would have justified even Broadhead) gave utterance to that feeling.

The demands of the trades' unionists might have been briefly described as the abolition of criminal penalties for breach of contract, a clearer definition of the law of conspiracy as applied to employers and workmen, and the total repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. As regards the first of these complaints, it must be admitted on all hands that the workmen were placed in an anomalous and exceptional position. The non-payment of damages for a breach of contract could not, except in the single instance of a contract between employer and employed, be followed by the penalty of imprisonment. And it was urged that, under the law as practically administered, a breach of contract by a workman was made a crime, while, if committed by a master, it was treated as a civil offence only.

Under the new law all ordinary breaches of contract of service will be dealt with as civil offences, and those which are for the future to be invested with a criminal character are defined in a separate statute, and are confined to cases in which the public interest is deeply involved. Where, for instance, the supply of gas or water to any town is endangered by a breach of contract, public danger to a large section of the community is involved, and such an act is rightly constituted a crime. Mr. Henry Crompton, the representative of the trades' unions, and no mean authority, has expressed a very strong opinion of the manner in which the difficulties connected with the specific performance of contracts have been solved by Mr. Cross.

'He refused to give the power to compel specific performance on two grounds: firstly, on the slender ground that workmen's contracts could not be practically enforced; secondly, on the substantial ground that the power was too liable to be abused. It was difficult and almost impossible for the men to insist upon what we must call a most favourable exemption. It was most generous and wise of Mr. Cross to grant it of his own accord, and to substitute a different process, which we hope may prove as effective.'

In the abolition of the old law of conspiracy, so far as it affects the relation of master and servant, a still more important and substantial concession was made. Vague and unsatisfactory at the best, its administration,

\* House of Lords, April, 1875.

as in the famous case of the gas-stokers, had in some cases outraged public opinion, and given real cause for complaint. The working classes have now been put into a more advantageous position than the rest of the community by what is avowedly a piece of pure class legislation.

The success of the Home Secretary in the preceding proposals no doubt emboldened him to adopt a suggestion of Mr. Lowe, and to deal also with the Criminal Law Amendment Act, in spite of the recommendation of the Royal Commission that it should remain practically without alteration. The object of the legislation of 1871 had been to prevent workmen, and associations of workmen, from exercising their power in coercing others to submit to their dictation. But as the terms 'intimidation' and 'molestation,' which had formerly been made use of, were objected to as vague and uncertain, it was resolved to make the law clear by a simple but complete definition of its intention. Unfortunately the word ultimately chosen by the Legislature was 'coerce.' This soon became the cause of even greater difficulties. The law was found to be as uncertain as before. The latitude which was thereby afforded in its administration was unsatisfactory, and was declared to have been exercised to the prejudice of the employed. It was said that the interpretation given to the word by the learned Recorder of London differed from that subsequently put upon it by Mr. Baron Cleasby. What was above all wanted was a clear and simple provision which all could understand, and which would apply to all persons alike. Whether the clause which has now been substituted for the Criminal Law Amendment Act has achieved this object time alone can show; that it is an enormous improvement on the existing law can hardly be denied. But in reality the difficulty has not been in the law itself, but in its application to the facts of a particular case. What is peaceable and legitimate persuasion? How narrow a border line separates it from that more powerful influence which dominates over the mind of a man and constitutes criminal intimidation! Granted that the law is as simple and intelligible as it can be made, and yet the determination of what really amounts to an interference with individual freedom of will must remain a task requiring the most delicate and careful consideration.

On the whole, however, Mr. Cross may congratulate himself on having in a few weeks solved a problem which might have unsettled a ministry, and which might well have been expected to lead to prolonged and

acrimonious debates. 'Mr. Disraeli's words at the Mansion House that "for the first time in the history of this country the employer and employed sit under equal laws" were not an exaggeration. He might have added that in several particulars more had been conceded by the Government than had been asked for by the workmen.' This testimony from Mr. Henry Crompton, the leading advocate of the workmen, proves that the liberal and conciliatory spirit in which their complaints have been met has not been without recognition, while on the other hand it is obvious from the tacit assent of the employers that they also have no reason to be dissatisfied with a law which is based upon the principle of impartial justice between masters and men.

Even if the session had been productive of no other advantage, it will be remembered as having afforded an opportunity for reconsidering the application of the principle of compulsion, which the late Government (whenever in the intervals of political changes social questions forced themselves upon their consideration) commonly adopted as the groundwork of their legislation. It was this 'unnecessary restraint and meddling interference in their affairs' that eventually roused the English people to resistance. But the Liberal leaders, true to the principle of violence which vitiated their whole course, now denounce the general character of recent legislation, on the ground of the absence of compulsion. The proper employment of this principle is, perhaps, the most complicated problem of the day. It certainly should be applied with reluctance, generally with hesitation. Even the Gladstone Cabinet, when they desired to compel the attendance of children at school, found it impracticable to force upon the country a general measure for the purpose, but had to content themselves with permissive or (as Mr. Forster prefers to consider it) tentative compulsion. In a country like England, full of diversities of customs and interests, it is impossible to deal at once in a precisely uniform manner with questions affecting the social habits of the people in all parts of the country. It is necessary to feel the way. We allow powers of local government and administration, or of enforcing school attendance, to be adopted or rejected, according to the wishes of the inhabitants of a particular district, because we believe that the true objects of local control will be best promoted amongst a free people by encouraging their free action, and not by forcing upon them powers which, if not in accordance with the public sentiment, would be absolutely nugatory in their hands; and if

compulsion is ever alien to the feelings of the English people, it is sure to be especially so in all matters affecting their social relations. Always suspicious of interference, they are sure to regard it as unnecessary if it intrudes to an undue extent upon their daily life. But if a machinery is created by means of which thrift may be encouraged, health promoted, and the general condition of the people elevated, an intelligent public opinion will voluntarily adopt it with such a hearty sympathy that all local prejudice and local self-interest will speedily be overcome. If legislation of a social character is to be successful at all, it must be so timed as to fall in with the public feeling of the country; otherwise no compulsion whatever will save it from being utterly useless. It may be a bad thing to pass a permissive law which is not generally adopted; it is far worse to pass an inoperative compulsory law. "If you wish to make any considerable change in the manners and customs of the people, you must trust to persuasion and example as the two great elements.\* You must rely upon their good sense and public spirit, and, placing before them facilities for adopting a particular course, the opportunity will not be neglected.

"Violent legislation," said Lord Salisbury, "had always been alien to the spirit of the Conservative party. Compulsion, on the other hand, was dear to the Liberal party. Their only freedom was freedom for the majority to coerce the minority. That was not his notion of the legislation that would be either acceptable or useful to the country. Those who sat on his side believed that persuasion was the best and most useful instrument that Parliament could wield, and that compulsion should be adopted only with reluctance and as a last resort."

Of course it might turn out that any persuasive measures that they might adopt might ultimately be insufficient; that they might be unable to persuade those whose feelings they desire to alter, and whose course they wished to modify; and that at last there might remain an impracticable minority to whom it might be necessary to apply compulsory measures. But that was an alternative which they ought to put off till the furthest possible time; and if they were driven to adopt it at last, compulsory measures would then be submitted to all the more willingly, because it would be felt that they had not been resorted to until every other method had failed."†

This question of permissive legislation came into especial prominence during the discussions on the Agricultural Holdings Bill. Lord Granville, with singular infelicity, took occasion, on the return of the Bill from

the House of Commons, to criticise more especially the clauses which enable limited owners to charge their estates with the compensation paid by them in respect of improvements made by their tenants. Now, as this power can be incorporated with any agreement without the necessity of adopting the remainder of the Act, we feel confident that it will be very extensively taken advantage of, because it is especially in the case of land held in limited ownership that such compensation has, not from unwillingness, but from legal inability, hitherto not been paid. Permission, therefore, to use this particular relaxation of the law of settlement was all that could possibly be required, and to attack the Bill for being permissive in this respect was perhaps the best way to point out its advantages.

Indeed it soon became clear that, with the exception of a very small minority, both parties agreed in deprecating compulsion. To say that landlords and tenants are no longer to be free to enter into any contract between themselves without interference from the State, is to treat them as unfit to make their own bargains, and to introduce a practice which could be shown to be dangerous, if it were not likely to be nugatory. Hitherto, indeed, no attempt has been made to interfere with freedom of contract, except upon moral or sanitary grounds. The advocates of compulsion now seek upon economic grounds to prevent landlords and tenants from contracting freely with one another. And it was admirably pointed out by the Duke of Argyll, that the teaching of our legislative experience in this matter is loudly condemnatory of any such attempt.

"The great principle," he said, "which lies at the root of the condemnation and abandonment of" the laws which aimed at securing some purely economic result "is simply this—that individual men are always in the long run the best judges of their own pecuniary or economic interests, and that the interests of the public and of the State are best served on the whole, when men are allowed in all such matters to pursue freely their own natural instincts and desires."\*\*

It was no little disappointment to the Radical party when they found that the proposal of compulsory tenant-right, so often agitated, in chambers of agriculture, really excited no interest whatever among the mass of tenant farmers, and when the result of the West Suffolk election proved that they could no longer hope to embarrass the Government by pressing it upon Parliament. Lord Hartington at once said that he should oppose compulsion in any form; no impor-

\* Mr. Disraeli on second reading of Agricultural Holdings Bill.

† House of Lords, April 16, 1875.

\* House of Lords, April 15, 1875.

tant member of the front Opposition bench supported it, and more than one voted against it.

Mr. Arthur Helps once expressed the opinion that the real pleasure of farming consisted first in its being physically enjoyable; and, secondly, in its being a speculative employment. But this speculative character certainly ought not to extend to any doubt as to the security of the capital which the farmer puts into the soil. Hitherto he has relied almost entirely upon the good relations which throughout England generally exist between landlords and tenants. Throughout the recent debates, ample testimony was borne by disinterested observers to the existence of this friendly feeling, and it is very remarkable that no single case was quoted in which any farmer had been deprived of the unexhausted value of the improvement which he had made upon his farm. Lord Hartington himself expressed great doubt if there was room for much change in these respects. We may assume, therefore, that cases of oppression are rare, and that substantially justice is attained under the present system.

What, then, is the use of an Act out of which people can and generally will contract themselves? In the annual discussions upon Mr. Locke King's Bill for assimilating the law of inheritance in respect of real property to that regulating personality, or in other words for abolishing the law of primogeniture, it was constantly pointed out that the law in reality hardly ever took effect; that the custom of primogeniture, so popular with Englishmen, would continue to be as universally adopted as before; and that the abolition of the *law* would make no difference whatever.

"I will tell you," said Mr. Bright, in one of his most famous speeches, "what difference it would make. It would take the tremendous sanction of the law from the side of evil and put it on the side of good."—*Speeches*, i. 345.

This is just what is done by the Agricultural Holdings Act. It reverses the presumption of law so as to make every tenant entitled to compensation for the capital which he has invested in the land, so far as it is still unexhausted; and it endeavours to lay down general rules by which it may be decided whether that capital is exhausted or not. And if it has no other effect, we believe that it will little by little educate owners as to the best mode of doing justice to their tenants. That they should follow the Act in all its details is not to be desired, for nothing was made more conspicuous than the extraordinary diversities of cultivation and of habits in different parts of England.

But the principle is of universal application, and will by degrees be everywhere adopted. It is somewhat remarkable that the Lincolnshire custom itself, from which the main features of the Act are borrowed, followed and did not precede the great agricultural improvements made in that county. The tenants expended their capital in consequence of their confidence in their landlords, and it was only after they had done so that a custom of the country grew up which gave them also the security of the law. Not long ago Mr. Clare Read expressed the opinion that he would rather farm under the Lincolnshire custom, with two years' notice to quit, than under any lease that could be devised. And why? A lease has been described as an inducement to a tenant to spend the first few years of his term in putting capital into his land, and the last few years in taking it out again. The effect of the custom on the contrary, and of the Government Bill which was based upon it, is to encourage him to keep his capital in it as a permanent investment up to the day of quitting his farm. So long as great care is taken to prevent it from degenerating into the unhappy system of tenant-right prevailing in some parts of the south of England, which is so oppressive as for years to cripple the incoming tenant, we believe that it will be found to satisfy all reasonable and moderate men, and in the words of the Committee of 1846 to 'be beneficial to agriculture, to the landlord, and to the tenant; to stimulate the production of food, and to give increased occupation to the rural population.'

The declaration of the Prime Minister that in sanitary improvements—using the words in their widest sense—would be found the surest means of elevating the condition of the people, has already borne much fruit. But the Factory Act of 1874, the consolidation of our Sanitary code, and the increased powers obtained to check adulteration, are far surpassed in importance by the Artisans and Labourers' Dwellings Act, the success of which will inevitably be followed by measures extending similar advantages to other parts of the country. In a speech at Shaftesbury Park, Mr. Disraeli had expressed a strong conviction that some assistance could be given by the State to the erection of improved dwellings, and Mr. Cross (following in the footsteps of the late Lord Derby) had already effected a practical reform by the standing order requiring suitable provision to be made for the working classes who might be displaced by the operations of the great railway companies. The conditions upon which the State can in ordinary cases properly interfere with private property, or

can even indirectly undertake the duty of providing dwellings for the working classes, raise questions of such great importance that Mr. Cross was well advised in avoiding them, as far as possible, by basing his legislation on the sole ground of health. It required no statistics to prove that the sanitary condition of the people has been injured by overcrowding, and that the mischief was increasing. The so-called improvements of the Metropolitan Railway Companies in the demolition of old quarters were only an aggravation of the evil elsewhere: and these plague-spots, by becoming centres of epidemic disease, were destroying a great part of the effect of all the sanitary measures which were being adopted at an immense expense.

It was also very wisely determined that the experiment should, in the first instance, be confined to large towns. The whole duty of carrying out the objects of the Act is cast upon the local authorities, and in the large towns at any rate they may be reckoned upon not to neglect it. What is absolutely necessary to strengthen the hands of local government is a strong public opinion. That this is to be found to a sufficient extent in our agricultural villages and country towns to enable the authorities to overcome the opposition of the smaller ratepayers to everything that increases the rates, is more than doubtful; and, besides this, there is every reason for believing that the machinery required in the latter case must be of a very different character. In the towns subject to the operations of the Act, the 'unhealthy area' which is to be cleared of its fever dens is afterwards to be applied to the purpose of erecting buildings of a similar description, because it is certain that the population, if displaced, would be unable to find other habitation within a reasonable distance, and would be driven to reside far away from their work. In smaller towns, on the contrary, the very opposite is the case. It is often desirable on many grounds to drive the labouring population more into the suburbs, where they can get houses and gardens at a cheaper rate, and obtain the benefit of purer air without being placed at an inconvenient distance.

After the experience of the Peabody trustees and of Sir Sydney Waterlow, it could hardly be doubted that sufficient enterprise and capital would be available for the process of reconstruction. It was urged, however, that the real blot in the Act was that the power of initiating the whole reform was placed in the hands of the Medical Officer of Health, who might be disinclined to move in the matter. Here, again, was an admirable opportunity for the application of the compulsory principle! It is more likely that, if

an endeavour had been made to force upon the ratepayers of all these towns an enormous outlay for these purposes, there would have been such an explosion of indignation in some quarters as to hinder, perhaps for a quarter of a century, the progress of Sanitary reform. In London, at any rate, the practical working of the new Act is to be tested without delay. More than one medical officer has already presented a report upon the overcrowded and unhealthy areas to be found within his district, and new companies have been formed under most favourable auspices for the purpose of building suitable dwellings. It was rather melancholy to hear Lord Shaftesbury, after his long experience, declare against the Act as being too ambitious, and urge the necessity of being in the first instance content with the repair and improvement of existing tenements. On sanitary grounds, however, no such temporary expedients would be sufficient. The only effective way of dealing with these hotbeds of disease is to destroy them altogether, and the example of Glasgow and of Edinburgh proves that by so doing we confer a real benefit upon the evicted families, and raise the standard of what is considered necessary accommodation.

We have so recently called attention to the subject of Friendly Societies that it will only be necessary to refer very briefly to the Act which has just been passed. All previous legislation has been too much based upon the endeavour to promote, by the *direct* action of the State, the soundness of these societies. Not only has this attempt been a complete failure, but the action of the State has in some respects had a precisely opposite effect to that which was intended. For a long time it positively made matters worse. The delusive certificate of the registrar was the means of artificially sustaining rotten societies and of misleading their ignorant members. Having once interposed, it was no longer open to the State to stand aloof altogether, but its action is for the future to be founded upon the principle of interfering as little as possible with the voluntary action of those who manage these societies, and of leaving "a good work which has sprung from the people to be carried on by the people themselves." Setting aside all philanthropic considerations, the fact is that no action of the State can secure the soundness of Friendly Societies, and the attempt has wisely been abandoned. For example, the real cause of the failure of the village clubs is to be found not so much in fraud, or mismanagement, or miscalculation, as in insufficiency in numbers to form a proper basis of insurance.

‘Two or three cases of protracted sickness, when reinforced by the simultaneous beginnings of old age in half-a-dozen of the men who founded the club twenty-five or thirty years before will break down any conceivable village club of a hundred members or under.’\* During the last few years a great improvement has taken place, because it has been found that the only way to meet this difficulty is to extend the area of operations—a fact which has been acted upon by the establishment and development of the great affiliated orders and the county societies. In some of these well-managed institutions, the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows for instance, the greatest obstacle to progress has been that the central executive is far in advance of the great body of the order, and is unable to stimulate the backwardness of some of its branches. By the operation of the new Act their hands will be materially strengthened. Its effect has, in our opinion, hardly yet been realised. At present out of the 22,000 registered societies many have no audit at all worthy of the name, while as to the periodical valuation of assets (which lies at the root of all solvency) not one in two hundred has regularly required it. By degrees all this will be changed. Both these essential points are now compulsory, and the enlarged powers of the registrar will enable him to enforce them; while the publicity given to the results will create a competition between the societies which cannot fail to secure the efficiency of these safeguards. The working classes will be taught to rely only upon those which offer a reasonable hope of permanence, and that it is by their own exertions alone, and not by any Government inspection or guarantee, that real security for their savings can be obtained.

This desirable result might, in our opinion, have been accelerated by legislation of a rather more stringent character, but we cordially welcome the Act as being a step in the right direction. One concession, however, to the pressure of private members and the influence of the large societies, is to be regretted, though it may have been inevitable. No one who has read the Report of the Royal Commission will doubt that repressive measures as to the insurance of infants are urgently required, or that the safeguards provided by the Act are inadequate for the purpose.

The Government showed a laudable desire to meet the case of Mr. Plimsoll's clients by introducing their Merchant Ship-

ping Bill at the commencement of the session. On the history of its failure we need not dwell. We are not disposed to think with Mr. Gorst that it failed because it was too favourable to the shipowners, or with Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, because it was drawn too much in the interest of the sailors. It failed because it was a weak and imperfect Bill. If it had been in strong hands, it might have been remodelled and added to; but the lamentable weakness of the department, which became apparent as the House floundered through the various clauses of the Bill (without any assistance from its authors, for they scarcely professed to understand them), and the perfect labyrinth of amendments through which Parliament could have been guided only by a firm and decided hand, led to its postponement and subsequent withdrawal. But, whatever blame rests upon the Government for the delay must be, to some extent, shared by the House of Commons. The shipowners, by overloading the notice papers with amendments, made legislation impossible without considerable pressure, and yet nobody expressed any particular admiration for the Bill until they had lost it.

When the hysterical outburst of Mr. Plimsoll, and the popular feeling which it instantaneously evoked, made immediate legislation necessary, the fact that the work was undertaken by a member of the Cabinet sufficiently indicated the reason of the previous failure. For ourselves we do not, under the circumstances, profess to regret the postponement of the question for more mature consideration. To have legislated satisfactorily under the influence of the Plimsoll outbreak would have been impossible; and when the attention of Parliament is again called to the subject, some of Mr. Plimsoll's proposals will have undergone the test of six months' experience, and others will receive more complete discussion than would be possible in the month of August. In saying this, we are not depreciating the efforts of Mr. Plimsoll. He has fought the Board of Trade with a dogged perseverance which all must admire, and with no slight success. The Act of 1875 reflects the spirit of his proposals. No one, except perhaps some officials of the Board of Trade, now believes that that department has done all that, with properly extended powers, it might have done to save the lives of our seamen. Our losses may have been exaggerated, the possible remedies may be less effective than is represented by their supporters, but to say, as Mr. Cavendish Bentinck does, that the statements of Mr. Plimsoll are ‘a scandalous fabrication and!

\* Sir G. Young's ‘Report to Friendly Society Commissioners.’

that 'of all the ships alleged by seamen to be unseaworthy there was only one to which any suspicion could attach, and to the best of his belief that ship was not one of a doubtful character,' is to put the Government into this dilemma: either these facts are true or not true? If not true, why did the Government legislate at all upon the subject? But if true, then the responsible officials of the Board of Trade have much to answer for. The probability is that the truth is, as usual, to be found between the two extremes; and it ought not to be beyond the wisdom of Parliament to devise a remedy which may add to the safety of our seafaring population, without materially impairing the responsibility of individual ship-owners, on which, after all, our main reliance must be placed.

No more striking instance of the impossibility of carrying out a law affecting the daily habits of the people, unless it falls in with their temper, habits, and condition, can be found than in the practical experience of the working of the compulsory powers of the Elementary Education Act. A too rigid administration of the strict letter of the law would not only occasion great hardship, but create widespread dissatisfaction. The well-known case of Mrs. Marks is only one example out of many of the want of discretion sometimes exhibited by those whose duty it is to administer the law; and yet the over-zeal of enthusiasts might easily produce a reaction which would greatly enhance the difficulties of the question. We cannot help believing that the Education Department has been well advised in holding its hand for the present instead of endeavouring to force upon the country coercive measures for which the public mind is only just ripening. But the changes ushered in by the New Code of 1875 were received with universal approbation, and constitute an important improvement in the quality of the education given in our elementary schools, while the liberal terms granted to the struggling schools in scattered rural districts show a real desire to remedy the hardships with which country school-managers have to contend.

The clauses in the Endowed Schools Bill of 1874, which were dropped on account of the opposition of the Dissenting constituencies, have not been brought forward again this session. The Government have perhaps acted wisely; but so much misapprehension existed, and still exists, respecting the object of these clauses, that a brief explanation of their real intention may not, even now, be out of place. These

clauses concerned two matters only: 1. The religious denomination of the Governors of Endowed Schools. 2. Whether the Head Master was or was not to be of necessity in Holy Orders.

The law, as settled by the Court of Chancery, up to the year 1869, was to this effect:—Every school founded before the Toleration Act must be a Church of England School. Every Church of England School must have none but Churchmen for its Governors. The Endowed Schools Act, 1869, pretty nearly reversed this state of things. It enacted that, with certain exceptions stated below—The Governors of no Endowed School shall ever be required to be of any particular denomination. And further, also subject to the same exceptions—That the Head Master should never be required to be in Holy Orders (Clauses 17, 18). The exceptions were (Clause 19):—1. Cathedral Schools. 2. Schools in which "the express terms of the original instrument of foundation" had directed children to be taught in the doctrines of any particular denomination.

This provision created great discontent. Its words were so restrictive that they took away from Church government, schools which had been founded by Churchmen in very recent times, as well as those which had been for centuries under Church management. One of the especial causes of grievance was, that this clause was held to forbid the continuance of *ex officio* governorships, which for centuries had been vested in ecclesiastical officers—bishops, deans, or rectors of particular places.

In 1873 Mr. Forster moved for a Committee on the subject. It recommended a certain number of concessions. A certain other number of concessions were moved in it by Mr. Hardy, were supported by all the Conservatives, and were lost only by the casting vote of the Chairman. The first set were embodied in the Amending Act of 1873. The second set were embodied in the Amending Bill of 1874, but were ultimately dropped by the Government. Both these sets of concessions were enlargements of the category of exceptions from Clauses 17 and 18 above referred to, that is to say, exceptions from the provision that no governor should be required to be of any particular denomination, and no head master should be required to be in holy orders. The category of additional exceptions recommended by Mr. Forster's Committee in 1873, and passed into law (36 & 37 Vict. c. 87, ss. 6, 7), consisted of the following:—

1. Cases, of whatever date, in which the holder of a particular office was named as

governor in the original instrument of foundation. In such cases, such a provision might be continued.

2. Cases subsequent to the Toleration Act, in which the governors, or their electors, or the head master, or the scholars, were required to be of a particular denomination. In such cases, the governors might be required to be of that denomination still, and the head master might be required to be in holy orders.

But in Mr. Forster's Committee, Mr. Hardy had pressed for further exceptions, and had only been beaten by one vote. These were embodied in the Bill of 1874. They were as follows:—

1. They applied to *all* schools the provision in the Act of 1873, which was limited to schools later in date than the Toleration Act.

2. They further included schools in which the children were directed, in the original deed, to attend the worship of any particular denomination; and those in which the statutes were subject to the approval of any person holding office in any denomination. This last exception had *not* been moved in Committee.

Further, it was proposed that when the teaching of any denomination had continued in a school for a century, children belonging to that denomination should continue to receive it.

Apart from technicalities, the gist of the difference between the concessions of Mr. Forster, in 1873, and those proposed in 1874, was this: In 1873 the Commissioners were allowed (*not forced*) to put schools, clearly founded for Church purposes, under the management of Churchmen, if those schools had been founded after the Toleration Act. But they were forbidden to do so for schools founded before that time. In 1874 it was proposed to give a similar liberty with respect to all schools, whenever founded. But it must be noted—

1. This liberty extended equally to requiring Dissenting schools to be under Dissenting management, as Church schools under Church management.

2. It was only a *liberty*. This was incessantly forgotten in debate. The proposal only was to set the Commissioners free to do as they thought best. There was not a word of compulsion or direction in this respect.

Had the proposal of 1874 passed, it would have been open to the Commission to take into consideration not only the founder's will, but the present state of the district, and the requirements of the population; and having done so, to put the

school under Church, or Dissenting, or unsectarian management, as they might think fit. As the law now stands, they are *bound* to put some 500 schools, founded during the reign of Elizabeth and the Stuarts, under unsectarian management—that is, to leave the religion of the school to be battled for on each occasion at the elections of governors.

To return to the past session. Law Reform has hardly occupied so conspicuous a place as might have been anticipated from the reputation of Lord Cairns. Still a session has not been wasted in which one question of great importance has been practically, if not formally, settled. Since the passing of the Judicature Act of 1873, the opinion of the public and of the legal profession has declared itself in no uncertain terms as to the necessity of an intermediate Court of Appeal, and as to its preference of the House of Lords over any other tribunal which has been suggested as the Final Court. The more that the arrangements of 1873 have been examined, the less they have been appreciated. Scotland and Ireland, indeed, have always been most decided in their disapproval of them. In England a great change of feeling has taken place. The bench and bar of the three kingdoms are all but unanimous upon the subject; and we trust that the result will be to enable the Government, by providing for its continuous sittings and by adding to its judicial strength, to establish the Appellate Jurisdiction of the House of Lords upon a sound and satisfactory basis.

The experience of two years enables us also to judge of the character and tendency of the financial policy of the Government. It is abundantly clear that Mr. Gladstone's implied charge of extravagance is wholly without foundation. It is true that Mr. Lowe's economies were prominently made known to the world by the widespread dissatisfaction to which they gave rise, while the large reduction in the Civil Service estimates effected by the close personal supervision of Mr. W. H. Smith has hardly received the attention which it deserved, because it has been accomplished without any opposition or discontent. Nevertheless, in the face of the greatly enhanced price of labour, and of the steadily increasing demands for every department of the public service, it seems impossible to hope for any material reduction in our expenditure. The national wealth advancing by 'leaps and bounds,' and the very slight pressure of taxation, especially upon the working classes, will greatly increase the difficulty of effecting it. One of the shrewdest of our

political observers has well pointed out the reasons for believing that the cry of economy before everything has lost much of its power :

'The total margin between the strictest parsimony which a Liberal Government would think it safe to urge, and the boldest expenditure which a Conservative Government would venture to propose, would not make a difference of 4s. a-head throughout the nation, nor certainly a penny a week to each poor man's family. Saving two or three millions out of a total expenditure of seventy has ceased to be a matter of practical and *felt* importance to the great body of the nation. But, besides this, the people as a whole think much more of efficiency than of economy ; and they are right. They wish to be well served rather than to be cheaply served. They are less anxious to save their money than to get their money's worth. They know perfectly that England can well afford to pay whatever may be necessary for its safety, its tranquillity, its honour, and its good internal administration. . . . They hate waste, but they hate stinginess still more. They scorn, instead of respecting, a Minister of Public Works who announces that his conception of public duty is not to do things well or nobly, but to do them cheaply, or to prevent them from being done at all.'—*Political Problems*, by W. R. Greg, 331.

All men are now agreed that last year the Chancellor of the Exchequer 'sailed rather too near the wind,' although his very sanguine estimates were even surpassed by the reality. It is, therefore, a little hard upon him to have been attacked this year for the anticipation that his more moderate calculation would probably be exceeded. If he had framed his estimates upon the principles of the Budget of 1874-5, his surpluses would have been swollen by no less a sum than 900,000*l*. With full confidence, therefore, in the reality of his surplus, Sir Stafford Northcote was able to approach a subject which may mark the present year as an era in our financial history. It is no exaggeration to say that our efforts for the reduction of the National Debt have hitherto been miserably inadequate. Two years of war sufficed to add what it had taken fifty years to subtract from it. The average reduction during fifty-five years (1815-70), after providing for the expenditure of those years, is only 1,100,000*l*. a year,—'a rate of progress which,' as Mr. Dudley Baxter points out, 'would require 700 more years to effect the final extinction of the Debt existing in 1815.' Compared with the results actually achieved by some other countries, this appears insignificant. Even little Holland, with one-tenth of the population and resources of Great Britain, has reduced its debt to a greater extent. Worse still, in

spite of the great increase of wealth in the country, we are actually making less effort now than during the fifty years succeeding the termination of our great war.

At different times, either on the ground of moral obligation, or of the threatened exhaustion of our coal-fields at no very remote period, Mr. Gladstone has pressed upon Parliament the extreme urgency of this question ; but when he found himself in possession of a probable surplus of five millions, the temptation to employ it in bribing the constituencies was too great to be resisted. The time has, however, now come when, in the opinion of Sir Stafford Northcote, the general condition of our finances and the unoppressive character of our taxation justify the adoption of a more regular system than has been hitherto pursued. He proposes to make no longer 'violent and spasmodic,' but 'continuous and steady' efforts for the reduction of the National Debt, by the appropriation of a fixed annual sum of twenty-eight millions. This deviation from the policy followed by the late Prime Minister seems to have filled him with indignation ; but the proposal, supported as it was by the mass of the Liberal party in spite of the defection of their chiefs, and by Sir John Lubbock and the principal financial authorities of the day, has been accepted as an honest attempt to deal with the question. All the arguments used against this Sinking Fund (with one exception) told with equal force against Mr. Gladstone's alternative plan of Terminable Annuities. The solitary advantage claimed for the latter is that they were a device for 'hoodwinking' the public. By mixing up the payments of interest and capital the fact that debt is being paid off is said to be somewhat disguised ; by smearing the bowl with sweets the child is induced to take the medicine. Sir Stafford Northcote attempts no concealment of his medicine. He urges that the great increase in the national wealth and the diminished pressure of taxation ought to make us abandon this self-deception, and adopt a straightforward course. Our action upon the debt is to be direct and intelligible, instead of being concealed from the public eye. Its security, however, against the encroachments of future Parliaments will for the present be materially enhanced by its not having to be submitted to the test of an annual vote. But is it an impossible contingency, now that a really effective machinery for the reduction of debt on a large scale has been put into working order, that a time may come when the national pride will become interested in its maintenance?

Independently of the inherent merits of the new Sinking Fund, it was the only means by which the Chancellor of the Exchequer could hope to attack the debt in any but a fragmentary manner, unless indeed he had been prepared to attempt the impossible feat of imposing fresh taxation for the purpose. It is, therefore, not at all to the disadvantage of the scheme that it has been initiated in a year when the surplus is not likely to be a large one. The great object of committing the nation at once to it has been achieved. The opportunity has been seized of anticipating the great scramble over the five millions which will fall into the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1885, and which might afford an irresistible temptation to a tottering administration to try to regain its popularity by large reductions of taxation. That sum has now been prospectively applied to the reduction of the debt.

A second and even more important feature of the Government proposals relates to local taxation and government, 'the highest object of national interest' at the present time, and perhaps also the most difficult question pressing for solution. In the course of last session the Government was repeatedly charged with not having fulfilled the pledges which it was alleged to have given upon this subject, especially by Mr. Fawcett, who for the purpose of embarrassing the country members gave notice of a hostile amendment to every Government Bill which in any way referred to it. It may, therefore, be not unprofitable to examine more closely the policy which has been pursued.

In the years 1870 and 1871 the subject was referred to in the speeches from the Throne, and in the latter year the late Government introduced a 'large and comprehensive' measure to revolutionise our system of local government in every parish. This abortive attempt—for the Bill never reached a second reading—appears to have paralysed its authors as much as it dissatisfied the country, and in the following year it was thought prudent to make no reference to the subject in the programme which was submitted to Parliament. In consequence of this Sir Massey Lopes brought forward his famous resolution, calling upon Parliament to contribute out of the Consolidated Fund towards the relief of local ratepayers in respect of the administration of justice, police, and lunatics, the expenditure for which was 'almost entirely independent of local control.' This resolution very naturally obtained the united support of the Conservative party. More than twenty

years before, Mr. Disraeli himself had brought forward, in the interest of the agricultural class, a somewhat similar proposal, in favour of which there was so much 'reason and justice' that it obtained the support of Mr. Gladstone, at that time an independent member. The Government, however, having decided to give its opposition to Sir Massey Lopes' resolution, found itself deserted by a large section of its supporters both from urban and from rural districts, and was placed in a minority of one hundred. The feeling clearly exhibited by this crushing defeat continued to increase, until at the beginning of last year the paramount importance of attempting 'relief coupled with reform' of local taxation was tardily recognised by Mr. Gladstone in his famous manifesto. Upon the failure of this *coup d'état*, it became the duty of the Conservative party to endeavour to give effect to the policy which they had so long supported. Within a few months of coming into office Mr. Disraeli's Government dealt with two of the items contained in the resolution of 1872 (which contemplated assistance from the Imperial Exchequer to the extent of two millions) by contributing a subvention of 1,154,000*l.*, and by pledging itself to give some further assistance on the earliest possible opportunity in respect of the administration of justice. We hope that it may be found feasible to carry out also the old scheme of the Prime Minister, and to make a contribution in aid of the establishment charges of our workhouses and of the cost of indoor relief. No grant from Imperial sources could rest on sounder principles, for it must inevitably act as a direct discouragement to outdoor relief, and tend not only to economy, but also to the greater independence of the labouring class.

Having thus given some relief to the over-burdened ratepayer by contributions from Imperial sources and by the rating of woods and game, the next step, in the opinion of the Government, is to place 'the relations between Imperial and local finance upon a proper footing' before altering and amending local finance within itself, on the ground that all questions of local taxation more or less involve Imperial considerations. Nor can the justice of this view of the case be disputed. Every one agrees upon the importance of the sanitary improvements now being achieved throughout the country. We are as yet only upon the threshold of the work and of the necessary expenditure. 'Il n'y a rien de fait tant qu'il reste à faire.' It may, perhaps, be thought by some that great and comprehensive works are too much the fashion of the day, and that our

engineers are almost too enamoured of a system which concentrates a number of insignificant smells into one enormous and unmanageable nuisance. But the fact is that vast works of sewerage and drainage are before us, involving an outlay which is positively alarming. And the time may come—who can say that it is not already reached?—when the burden of the ratepayer becomes intolerable, and the whole progress of our work is hindered just at the point when its incomplete state renders it more than ever essential to the preservation of the national health. Is it not for Imperial as well as local purposes that we are throwing upon the already overburdened ratepayer the task of remedying the apathy and neglect of past generations? Or take Education or Highways. Are not these questions so intimately connected with the consideration of the extent to which Imperial control should be exercised and assistance afforded, as to render their final settlement impossible without full investigation of the more comprehensive subject of the relations between Imperial and local finance?

Steps have also been taken this year to ascertain, consolidate, and give additional security to the loans of local authorities, to simplify the mode in which they are contracted and audited, and to call the attention of Parliament and the country by means of an annual budget to these rapidly increasing liabilities. After this will come the consolidation of our local rates, the adoption of some uniform principle of valuation, the simplification of areas and local authorities, and the reform of local government, not by 'a great and showy measure,' but by steps calculated to enlist the co-operation of the many wise and diligent men now devoting themselves in various localities to the service of their country.

'It would certainly be possible,' said Sir S. Northcote, 'to bring forward some ingenious plan for reconstituting the local authorities of the whole country which might make a great sensation, and afford opportunity for declamation and display, but I doubt whether any great good would be effected in that way. Far better will it be to throw as much light as possible on the subject, and to facilitate the improvement of the existing machinery. By this means I believe it will be found that an improvement can be effected without any violent organic change.'

With some part of this extensive programme Parliament will, no doubt, be called upon to deal in the coming session. The arrears of pressing legislation, the legacy of the last Parliament, are still numerous. But

a Government which acts in accordance with the public sentiment of the country, and in harmony with both branches of the Legislature, approaches them with excellent prospects of success. Lord Granville indeed referred with a sneer to the speedy and satisfactory manner in which the House of Lords now disposed of the Bills submitted to it as compared with its reception of the proposals of the Government of which he was a member. As for years past the preponderating party in the Lower House has professed principles not acceptable to the majority of the Peers, it was natural that their measures should be regarded with suspicion, and submitted to a careful scrutiny. Now all is changed. The majorities in both Houses of the Legislature are in cordial agreement, and the Conservative peers accept with readiness and satisfaction the work of their political allies.

In spite of this change [the difficulty of passing measures through Parliament has increased, and a feeling has found expression that much time has been unnecessarily wasted. In part, at any rate, this has arisen from the abuse of privilege. A morbid desire for sensation, stimulated and sustained by the exciting character of Mr. Gladstone's legislation, seems to permeate certain classes of the community. The 'Member for Orton' and his scandalous misrepresentations for some time supplied a want which has since found a worthier satisfaction in the proceedings of the seamen's friend. This desire for excitement seems even to have infected the House of Commons. Scenes—one at least painful, several ridiculous, but all dangerous to the character and reputation of Parliament—have been of frequent occurrence. Great as the strain has been, it has been borne. No eye-witness of these occurrences will deny that some at any rate have served only to bring into greater prominence the practical good sense of the House of Commons. Nothing could have been more creditable than the manner in which it heard and extinguished the Tichborne scandal; nothing more dignified and generous than its conduct during the Plimsoll episode.

But this love of the sensational has led to another result also—the decline of parliamentary reporting. A report of the proceedings in the House of Commons is not so remunerative as a minute account of some remarkable murder, or a description of the personal appearance of some person of momentary notoriety, and the editors of several of our leading daily newspapers now place before their readers only a most

indifferent summary of our parliamentary proceedings. Some of the best speeches in the House of Lords are not reported at all. In consequence of this the political education of the people (so much promoted by a cheap press so long as it remained free from the infection of the worse type of Yankee journalism), and the opportunities of estimating the merits and comparing the performances of our rising statesmen, are in danger of being seriously interfered with.

Nevertheless, we do not believe that the private interests of particular newspapers afford any indication that the people at large really take less interest in the proceedings of Parliament. The increased attention which had been paid to social questions has afforded to the people special opportunities, in matters with which they are intimately acquainted, of observing the conduct of their representatives; and any member of Parliament would bear witness to the largely swollen correspondence which the spread of education and political knowledge amongst the working classes has entailed upon him. Something, indeed, may be done to render our parliamentary machinery more adequate to cope with the enormous mass of business annually submitted to it, but the machine itself—imperfect as it is, and sometimes wholly out of proportion to the work it has to do—is still recognised and honoured as the best and purest specimen of a national parliament. Its proceedings are scanned with interested appreciation by English-speaking people scattered over the whole world; its work, which for good or evil exercises an undiminished influence over all representative institutions, is criticised with increasing intelligence in our country. Guided by the trained hand of one whose own talents and exertions have raised him to the foremost place in that assembly, its dignity is in no peril. And if anything can tend to exalt its high reputation and extend its influence, it is the knowledge that it is now applying itself with patriotic zeal to measures which have for their end and aim the promotion of the comfort and well-being of the whole community.

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NOTE TO THE ARTICLE ON 'CHURCH LAW AND CHURCH PROSPECTS,' in No. 277.

MR. MACCOLL has protested, in the 'Guardian' and 'Spectator' newspapers, against the exposure of his book in the last number

of this 'Review.' We should be sorry to do him any injustice. Having examined, in the Article referred to, only a hundred pages of his work, we will now give a few examples of his method, drawn from a wider surface. Mr. MacColl regards us as having defended the Purchas judgment and other decisions. We have felt no call to do anything of the sort. We have only set right his mistakes; and, so far as they affected the judgments of the Privy Council, we could not help supporting them to that extent. Beyond this we have not gone; we shall not go. Judgments of courts of law should be respected if they are binding, and should be held to be binding until they are reviewed and modified in other judgments.

1. Mr. MacColl admits ('Guardian,' July 28, 1875) that he knew those extracts from the 'Zurich Letters,' by which this 'Review' endeavoured to show that the vestments about which men's minds were excited were not the special eucharistic vestments, but the surplice and the outdoor garments of the clergy. But he did not quote them, because they were of various dates, and he 'had no particular wish to make a fool of himself' by quoting what was irrelevant. If we examine just one of the things which he knew and suppressed, we shall have to ask whether he was equally scrupulous about 'making a fool' of his reader. Wiburn went to Zurich, in the summer of 1566, and left some tract there giving an account of the English Church under Elizabeth. ('Zurich Letters,' 1st series, pp. 187-188; 2nd series, p. 128.) A book of that sort from Wiburn still exists at Zurich; few will doubt that this is the very tract which he left. In it he says, 'In every church throughout England, during prayers, the minister must wear a linen garment, which we call a surplice. And in the larger churches, at the administration of the Lord's Supper, the chief minister must wear a silk garment, which they call a cope.' This visit and this book brought Wiburn into trouble. He complains that the Zurich people had exaggerated what he said, and had set afloat false notions of the state of the English Church. ('Zurich Letters,' 1st series, pp. 187 foll.) A pretty strong caution against relying on Zurich witnesses when English testimony is at hand. Beza writes from Zurich to Bullinger, in September, 1566, saying that clergymen were cast into prison unless they 'will resemble also the priests of Baal in their square copes, bands, surplices, hoods (*casulis*), and other things of the like kind.' 'Here then,' says Mr. MacColl, 'we have indisputable evidence that chasubles were in use,' &c. (p. 69). Let us observe

what he lets in and what he suppresses. He suppresses half of Beza's sentence, which proves too much, that clergymen *were sent to prison* for not wearing chasubles, whilst the Advertisements forbade them being worn. He suppresses Wiburn's plain declaration that surplice and cope were alone in use; he suppresses Wiburn's complaint against the Zurich people. He gives his reader half a sentence of Beza's; he will not trust him with more; and so gets in the word *casulis*, which, after all, does not decide anything. Is this to inform or to mislead a reader? A transaction which, read in full, contains the 'indisputable evidence' of Wiburn that surplices and copes alone were worn, comes before the reader as 'indisputable evidence' for chasubles, and nothing else.

2. The next is perhaps a stronger case. Mr. MacColl quotes from Lever as follows:—'The same order of public prayer and of other ceremonies in the Church which existed under Edward VI. is now restored among us by the authority of the Queen and Parliament.' And then he adds: 'There are prescribed to the clergy some ornaments, such as the Mass-priests formerly had and still retain.' And in this letter Mr. MacColl finds 'demonstrative proof that vestments were in use in parish churches.' What has been suppressed? As usual he has mutilated a sentence, and to great purpose. The sentence should run: '*In the Injunctions however published by the Queen, after the Parliament, there are prescribed,*' &c. Very inconvenient words, for the ornaments are thus limited to what the Injunctions order, and these limit to what 'were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of King Edward VI.' (Brice's *Law of Public Worship*, p. 499.) In that latter year the Prayer Book of 1552 was in force, by which the chasuble, alb, and tunicle were forbidden! 'Indisputable proof' that the vestments are in use turns into indisputable proof the other way, the moment the poor reader is suffered to read the sentence ungarbled.

3. Here is another case equally bad. A clergyman, named Werndly, printed in 1693 a translation of a Zurich Liturgy, and some English Bishops sanctioned it 'as a work that may be of very good satisfaction and use' ('*Lawlessness*,' p. 166, foll.) In it wafer bread is directed to be used. "It seems a little strange then that what eminent Bishops recommended for "use" in 1692 should subject a clergyman to penal consequences involving utter ruin in 1871, the law remaining unchanged meanwhile' ('*Lawlessness*,' p. 168). One immediately

asks what has been suppressed here? Mr. MacColl mentions that the Liturgy was used with a regiment of guards, but suppresses the fact that they were 'all foreigners, most of them Germans and Dutch.' He suppresses that Werndly had 'to preach some sermons in the High German tongue and administer the sacrament.' He suppresses Werndly's assurance 'that if the Anglican Liturgy had been turned into the High German language they would have been very willing and glad too that the form of the Church of England should have been read to them.' It is one thing for Bishops to say a book may be 'of use,' and another to recommend it 'for use,' and Mr. MacColl suppresses the explanation of Werndly himself, of the words 'of use,' that it would be of use in undeceiving 'Churchmen and Dissenters, for both do generally think that the Protestant Switzers do use no set forms of prayer in their churches and chapels.' The translation was not published for use in churches; Mr. MacColl conveys the impression that it was. But the chief suppression of all is that of a plain statement on one of the pages which he quotes, that 'the Tigurine Church differ (for aught I know) from all other Protestant or Reformed churches in that point. For they use no common or table-bread, as all other Protestant Churches as yet known to me are used to do, but they use unleavened bread. . . . ' Here again a book is made to prove that Bishops ordered wafer bread to be used, which really proves that 'common or table-bread' was alone in use.

After these complete perversions mere misquotations seem tame.

4. 'The insertion of the word surplice in this rubric is simply one of their Lordships' careless interpolations' ('*Lawlessness*,' p. 117). In no single case where the rubric in question is quoted is the word 'surplice' interpolated.

5. Mr. MacColl refers to a remark of the Privy Council, that if the act of mingling water with the wine in Holy Communion was illegal, the private mingling of them was not likely to find favour, and had never prevailed. On this Mr. MacColl observes, 'What the Court here declares to be no custom, either in the Eastern or Western Church, is, in fact, the rule of the former' ('*Lawlessness*,' p. 151). If he were to go to the Russian Church in London he would see that the mingling takes place twice in a very formal and solemn manner at the credence table. What the service is with which this takes place Mr. MacColl will find in Neale ('*Eastern Church*,' i. p. 344), or in Daniel ('*The Saurus*,' vol. iv.); it is called the 'office of prothesis.' Rather than let any word from

the Privy Council pass, Mr. MacColl is ready to contradict it, and take his chance.

6. 'The Bishops repelled the objection, and declared that when the minister addresses God on behalf of his congregation "it is fit that they should all" face one way; that is, towards the altar' ('Lawlessness,' p. 185). An entire misrepresentation; there is no mention at all of 'altar;' which by the rubric might be in the body of the Church, but of praying to the *East*, as the quotation from Augustine shows.

7. 'In the Abbey Dore Consecration Service other rubrics follow which make it clear that the positions of the clergy at the altar were as follows: the Bishop, as celebrant, stood in *medio altaris* facing east; while the Epistoler and Gospeller were on his right and left, but behind him' ('Lawlessness,' p. 206).

'But, in fact,' writes a very competent critic, whose hand it might not be difficult to recognise ('Hodr' Newspaper, July 1, 1875), 'the "other rubrics," of whose meaning Mr. MacColl speaks so positively, show very clearly that, except during the prayer of consecration, and perhaps the prayer of humble access, the principal officiating minister in the communion service proper stood at the north end of the table.'

'When the offertory sentences are to begin (p. 26 of Mr. Fuller Russell's book), "the priest and the chaplain, with due reverence, go 'again,' one to the 'north part,' and the other to the 'south part' of the table, and the priest with a loud voice pronounceth, 'Let your light,' &c." The "again" indicates that they had previously occupied the same position during the first part of the communion service. That "part" means the same as "end" appears from a rubric on page 28, stating that the chaplain who had gone "before the table" to receive the oblations of all that offer "then goeth to the south 'end' of the table 'again.'"

'Before the last exhortation to the communicants, "Ye that do truly and earnestly repent" (p. 28), the Bishop takes the priest's place at the north end. The words of the rubric here (p. 28) are: "Then cometh the Bishop unto the table 'in the priest's place,' who is now to kneel behind the Bishop, and he saith—" Again, after the distribution of the elements (p. 30), "the priest returneth to the 'north end' of the table behind the Bishop."

'The Lambeth MS. (p. 30) contains an additional rubric stating that the Bishop "appointeth the priest to take the bread, and the chaplain the wine, and so deliver to all the rest" (of the communicants), "he himself staying at the 'end' of the table."

'These extracts clearly prove that the principal officiating ministers, viz., first the priest, and afterwards the Bishop stood at the north end during considerable portions of the communion service, contrary to Mr.

MacColl's statement, and anyone who has access to Mr. Fuller Russell's pamphlet will readily see that they comprehend the whole communion service except the two prayers I have mentioned—the prayer of humble access and the consecration prayer.'

Here is another case where passages that prove one proposition are quoted with confidence as proving the opposite.

8. Mr. MacColl mentions Oughton's work, 'where a good deal of additional evidence in favour of the eastward position may be found, in the forms of consecrating churches. . . . ' (p. 207). We have searched Oughton, and so has the careful anonymous critic just quoted. There is no such evidence.

9. At pp. 208, 209, Mr. MacColl gives various rubrics from 'the Consecration Service used by Bishop Andrewes.' Where it is to be found we are not told. The rubrics are remarkable, and not a little difficult to understand, for the priest appears as the celebrant, in a service conducted by the Bishop, and in one of them the priest, and in the other the Bishop, places the wafer-bread on the altar. It is not, however, because they are difficult that we stumble at them; but because we cannot find them. In Sparrow's curious collection, reprinted in 1846, Andrewes' Consecration Service is set out, and these rubrics are not there at all. What is there, and what Mr. MacColl does not quote, is that the Bishop, after the elements have been distributed, finishes the service on his knees, 'to the north of the Sacred Table. *Ad sacræ mensæ septentrionem*;' a form of expression fatal to several of Mr. MacColl's arguments.

10. Mr. Purchas 'did not decline to plead. On the contrary, he pleaded poverty as an excuse for not employing counsel, and ill-health as a reason why he could not conduct his own case. But he offered to defend himself if the Court would only supply him with professional assistance. The Court declined to do so' (p. 215). The whole is at variance with the facts.

11. Mr. MacColl appeals, in proof of the gross unfairness of the Judicial Committee, to four cases, in which costs were not given. The constellation of mistakes upon this point, from one who tells Lord Chancellors that they know nothing of law, is very sparkling. Two distinct tribunals are treated as one; the Lay Committee which sat in the case of Westerton and Liddell, and the Mixed Committee which heard the Purchas case. A suit which had nothing penal in it whatever is described as a 'prosecution' of Mr. Liddell. That gentleman had been cast in costs by the Court below, and the Final Court relieved him of the costs of the respondent;

and this is quoted as a proof that the Judicial Committee is unfair to him. Mr. Bennett's is supposed to be a hard case, because there was 'no order as to costs' (p. 221). Mr. MacColl, after his manner, suppresses the words 'as the respondent has not appeared.\*' He had not incurred any costs whatever, and therefore he did not get any. What would Mr. MacColl have? Was the Court to order a prize of 500*l.*, or a gold medal, to be awarded to Mr. Bennett at Mr. Sheppard's expense? Costs Mr. Bennett had incurred none. In the case of Mr. Purchas, the costs followed the event, and we suppose the usual rule was followed. Mr. MacColl allows himself to accuse the Council 'of gross partiality and injustice in this matter. It is a grave charge' (p. 220). The gravity of the charge will depend somewhat on the person who makes it, and the reasons by which it is sustained. The reason here is that 'the Dean of the Arches probably knew more about the facts than all Mr. Purchas's judges put together' (p. 220).

12. Mr. MacColl has made much of Zanchius's letter, but he has suppressed an important passage, in which he says ('Zurich Letters,' p. 339) that 'the occasion of this flame has originated from hence;' that the Queen 'has now more than ever formed the resolution and decreed, willed, and commanded, that all Bishops and Ministers of churches should be attired during the performance of divine service in the white linen garments that the Mass-priests wear in the popish religion.' Of course to have quoted this would have been fatal, because the garments are 'white linen,' while chasubles were not, and have been commanded by the Queen, which chasubles had not been. All that the reader is allowed to build on is, that the vestments were 'consecrated,' and that 'the Mass' was never celebrated in a surplice; but the original Latin of Zanchius does not assert the one or the other. 'Most consecrated' is '*sacratissimis*,' and this superlative does not imply degrees of consecration, but is like the *numen gentibus illis sacratissimum* of Pliny, or the form *sacratissime imperator*, which do not mean 'consecrated up to the third degree,' but simply 'most sacred.' As to the 'Mass-priest,' the Latin has no 'mass' in the case; the word is simply '*sacrifici*' (doers of sacred rites). Thus a letter concerning the Queen's command to wear a white linen garment, which must be the surplice, for the Queen had, in fact, so ordered, becomes after manipulation, a proof that chasubles were worn in spite of the Queen. When this was shown in

the 'Review,' Mr. MacColl made the following reply: 'I will not insult the intelligence of your readers by presuming to expose the imbecility of the reviewer's objections' ('Guardian').

Shall we go on? He tells us that 'September 10, 1571,' is 'seven years and seven months after the issuing of the Advertisements' (p. 71), which would give the date of February, 1564; and tells us in the 'Guardian' (July 28) that the Advertisements were published 'certainly not earlier than the end of 1564.' He tells us that 'the Court decided in *Martin v. Mackonochie* that omission is prohibition;' and then, in a sentence full of mistakes about Aristotle and Roman law, says that the Committee are here in contradiction with one of the fundamental principles of English law (p. 32). The decision of the Privy Council does not contain the dictum that he assails! And as to the principle to which he refers, that the Acts of Uniformity must be construed as ordering what is to be done, and as restraining additions, whether it be or be not contrary to Roman law, the Mixed Committee of Council did not originate or invent it. It was first declared in *Newberry v. Goodwin*, in a purely ecclesiastical court, in 1811; and further developed by the Lay Committee in the case of *Liddell v. Westerton*. Mr. MacColl's confusion as to these two distinct courts runs through his book. He tells us that Bishop Wren, when he was accused of standing eastward in the consecration prayer in the Holy Communion, and defended himself on the ground of convenience—'being low of stature,' &c.—'was here practising an economy' (p. 199). Wren was an honest man, and suffered much and long for his opinions. Why should he then be accused of falsehood? Mr. MacColl says it was not dishonesty to put forth as his one reason this which was not his only or principal reason. 'To attempt,' he says (p. 201), 'to defend his practice on theological and liturgical grounds would simply have had the effect of intensifying the ignorance of his enemies, and exposing sacred things to ridicule. He would have been "casting pearls before swine," and provoking the fate divinely predicted for such folly. He fell back, therefore, on a line of defence, true in itself, and which his accusers could understand and appreciate, but which was far in arrear of that which he would have occupied in happier circumstances. On offering this plea on behalf of Wren I am not, I think, indulging in an illegitimate exercise of casuistry. Our Lord Himself on one occasion (St. John x. 34-36), seeing that His adversaries were incapable of understanding the truth about His

\* Brooke, 'Privy Council Judgments,' p. 248.

Person, retreated from the claim He had just made to one which they could not gainsay.' It is a new ground for not speaking the whole truth, that it 'would have had the effect of intensifying the ignorance of his enemies;' but in the name of sound exegesis, in the name of decency, let us be spared this introduction of the Saviour's name, and of a passage of the Bible which bears no kind of resemblance to Mr. MacColl's theories.

Here we leave this remarkable writer. We do not complain of being accused of 'imbecility' and 'incapacity.' We are dealing with a gentleman who has said of the Lay Committee of Council that, 'in order to save the Evangelical party,' it 'solemnly and deliberately declared that black was white' (p. 17), and of the Mixed Committee that it was guilty 'of gross partiality and injustice.'

We reckon from such lips on a few suffrages from his litany of scorn, and on being dismissed with the usual benediction, 'Thou fool.' The question, however, is not wholly whether a reviewer is imbecile and incapable, but whether he has displayed the character of a book in which documents are transformed and garbled, plain facts misstated, legal matters discussed without an attempt to understand them, and all this with a violence of language as unusual as it is unseemly, when aimed against the Courts of the realm. If our readers are able to find grounds for acquitting Mr. MacColl of intentional perversion of facts, we shall rejoice. It is not the reviewer's province to judge the writer; it is his province to prevent, so far as he may, books of this class from being written.











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